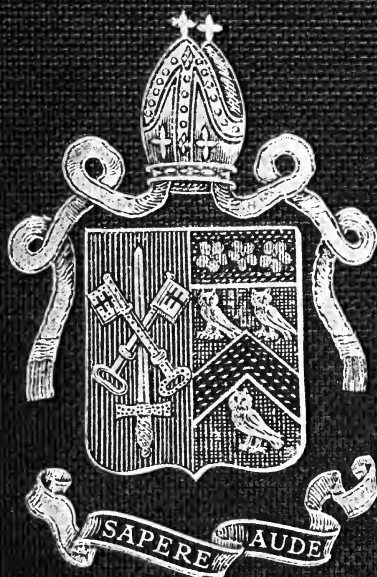


THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1515-1915



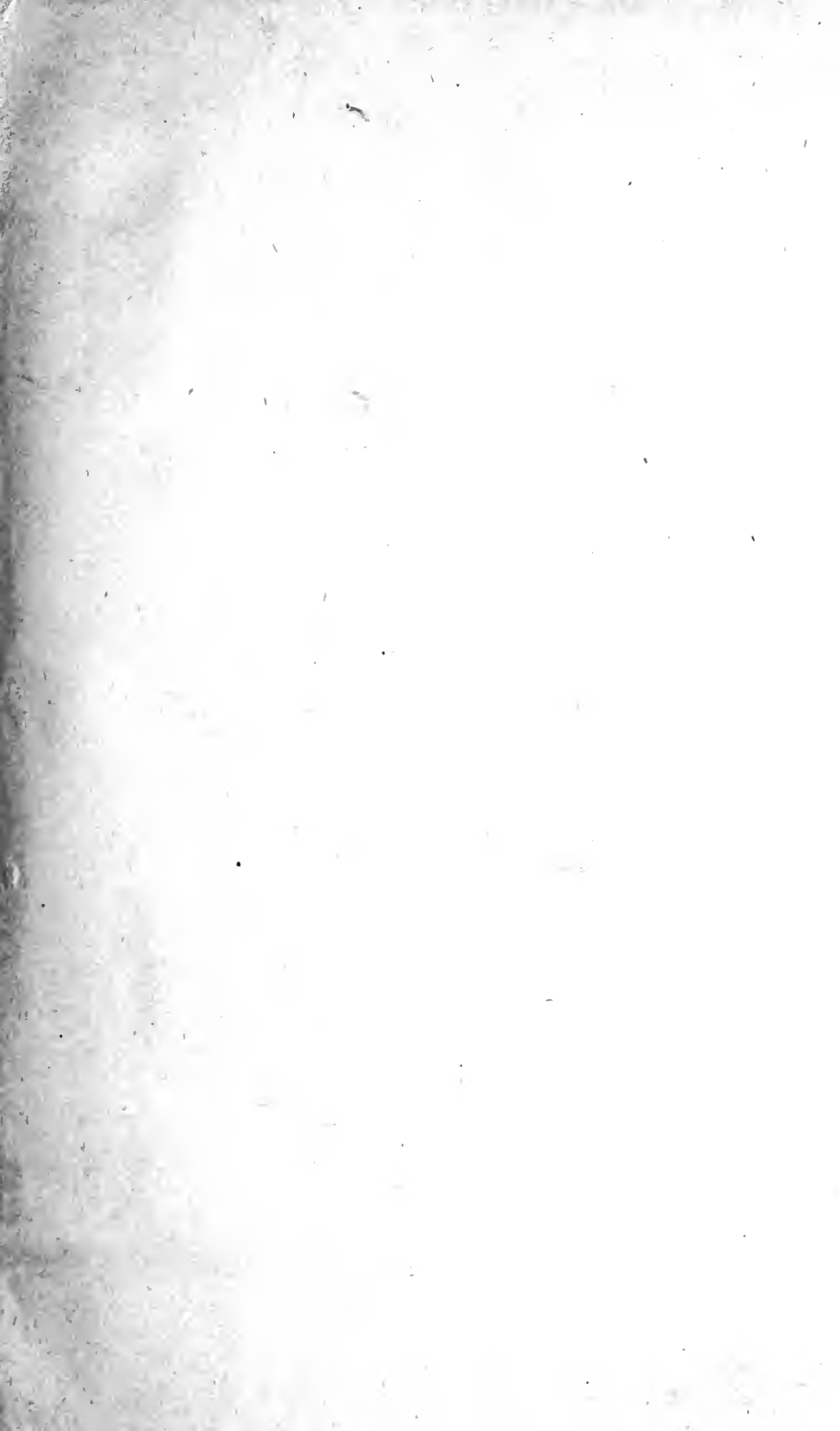




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THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1515-1915





MARGARET BEAUFORT, COUNTESS OF RICHMOND AND DERBY, 1441-1509.
In the National Portrait Gallery.

THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1515-1915

A REGIONAL STUDY OF THE
ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING IN MANCHESTER
SINCE THE REFORMATION

BY

ALFRED A. MUMFORD, M.D.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

IN his famous treatise on 'The Advancement of Learning,' Francis Bacon was principally concerned with the organised body of knowledge as it existed in the time of James I. He described the dignity, the power, and the utility of the various departments of learning and the causes which impeded or fostered its growth. He praised the existing foundations and endowments ; but he showed little interest in the aims and aspirations of the founders, and regarded learning as the peculiar possession of the leisured and professional classes. He was opposed rather than favourable to the multiplication of grammar schools for the people.

Now that democracy has displaced absolutism as the form of national government, the position of learning in the Commonwealth has undergone a change. Since all citizens have to take their part in a complex system of government, and the majority have to earn their living in an ever-changing civilisation, the need for a wider intellectual and moral training has steadily grown. Some elementary education has always been provided, but, as the need of the democracy to classify its members according to their natural abilities rather than their material possessions became manifest, a constantly increasing extension of educational opportunity has been found necessary to permit those who have more intelligence and character than their fellows to find proper means for their development. Advanced as well as elementary education has thus become a national matter.

A regional study of the influences which have built up a body of educational tradition, and have led many in the community to seek higher intellectual and moral growth, though necessarily bearing reference primarily to one district

only, may shed valuable light upon the larger and national problem.

In the following pages I have attempted to consider the way in which a collegiate ecclesiastical body established in the time of the Plantagenets; a Grammar School founded 'for godliness and good learning' in the time of the early Tudors; a town library established and well endowed during the Commonwealth; and a succession of Nonconformist academies, ultimately giving place to a provincial University in the latter half of the nineteenth century, have acted and reacted on each other, and have succeeded in arousing a zeal for truth, justice, and beauty, which has moderated the absorption in the purely self-regarding instincts so readily fostered in a large commercial town.

The early history of the collegiate church was fully written by Dr. S. Hibbert (later Hibbert Ware), and much information concerning the early history of the grammar school and the Chetham Hospital and Library has been given by W. R. Whatton in 'The History of the Foundations in Manchester,' published in 1834. Scattered details of the early Nonconformist academies appeared in the 'Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society,' while 'The History of the Foundation and Growth of the Owens College' was written by Joseph Thompson in 1886, and a later description, giving details of the various departments, was published by Dr. P. Hartog in 1900. For sixty years the annual publications of the Chetham Society have enriched our local knowledge. There is thus a mass of valuable information available.

For more than four hundred years there has proceeded from the Manchester Grammar School a stream of able, eager, and enterprising boys. This stream has persistently grown in volume, for the School now contains nearly twelve hundred boys, some sixty of whom it has been accustomed to send annually to various universities and centres of higher education, and more than twice that number into occupations demanding more than average intelligence and grit.

I began to study the earlier phases of the development of the School, not because I possessed historical knowledge or had leisure to devote to historical research, but because certain problems were being forced upon my attention when examining and supervising the health of these privileged boys. By presenting themselves for higher training at the

School, they, or their parents, revealed the existence of a special desire for improvement ; moreover, extensive records were available for considering the subsequent use which many of the boys made of the opportunities afforded. I first compiled the statistical details now relegated to the Appendices. From the nature of the case these are of varying accuracy, but I regard them as of sufficient value to serve the purpose which I had in view. I further collected a mass of information concerning concurrent and contemporary local or national events, which seemed to draw out or illustrate the significance of these statistics. My desire was to approach the story of the School, not so much from the point of view of an historian, critically studying past records, as from that of a naturalist, who, in order to understand the conditions of growth of a living organism, desires to know something of the soil which surrounds its roots, or the circumstances of its early development, as well as the atmosphere which it breathes and the source whence it derives its stimulation.

Scanty leisure, which has forbidden all but a limited acquaintance with accepted text-books, compels me to crave the indulgence of those who have had more adequate training in historical and theological research ; while the stress of professional work has, I am afraid, inevitably led to some scrappiness of method ; to not a few inaccuracies and repetitions, and to some lack of proper perspective, especially in the earlier parts of the work. Of this I am deeply conscious, but quite unable to provide the remedy.

In the collection of materials my thanks are particularly due to Mr. C. W. Sutton, the kindly and resourceful guide of all students of Manchester history, who has placed the ample stores of his knowledge so freely at my disposal ; to the staff at the Free Reference and Chetham Libraries for their constant help in the extra work I have imposed on them ; to Professor Foster Watson and Professor Tout for reading the MS., and for valuable hints as to the real scope of the work I had undertaken ; to Sir Samuel Dill ; to Mr. F. Jones, Mr. F. A. Bruton, Mr. G. A. Twentyman, and other assistant masters, past and present, for many details and suggestions ; to the late Mr. J. R. Broadhurst for a rendering into literary English of the various Latin inscriptions ; to Mr. Fred Garnett for a dramatic delineation of several of the

incidents described in the text; to the Salford Art Gallery Committee for permission to reproduce the pictures of Sir Nicholas Mosley, John Wesley with his friends at Oxford, and E. R. Langworthy; to Mr. Atherton Byrom for similar permission to reproduce the picture of John Clayton and his scholars; to Mr. H. Yates, and to the Corporation of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company for permission to include a picture of a model of Old Manchester in 1650; and to the *British Architect and Builder* for permission to reproduce the view of Old Manchester in 1760, which they issued in January 1893.

I owe to the Governors of the Grammar School the opportunity of watching for the last ten years the work in which the present high master is engaged—the carrying on of a great experiment in democracy, which consists in the persistent breaking down of class and caste barriers, giving scope to the talented of all classes, and inspiring and encouraging the less fortunate to a fuller self-expression. His indomitable faith and his strenuous example have impelled me to try, firstly, to understand the problems involved, and secondly, to describe the answers which he and his assistants have discovered and adopted.

Above all, my thanks are due to my wife for constant help in elucidating and logically arranging a vast accumulation of details. Without her aid, and the generous help of the old Mancunians' Association, which has undertaken the full financial obligations of publication, the work could never have been completed nor presented to the public.

ALFRED A. MUMFORD.

THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
MANCHESTER.

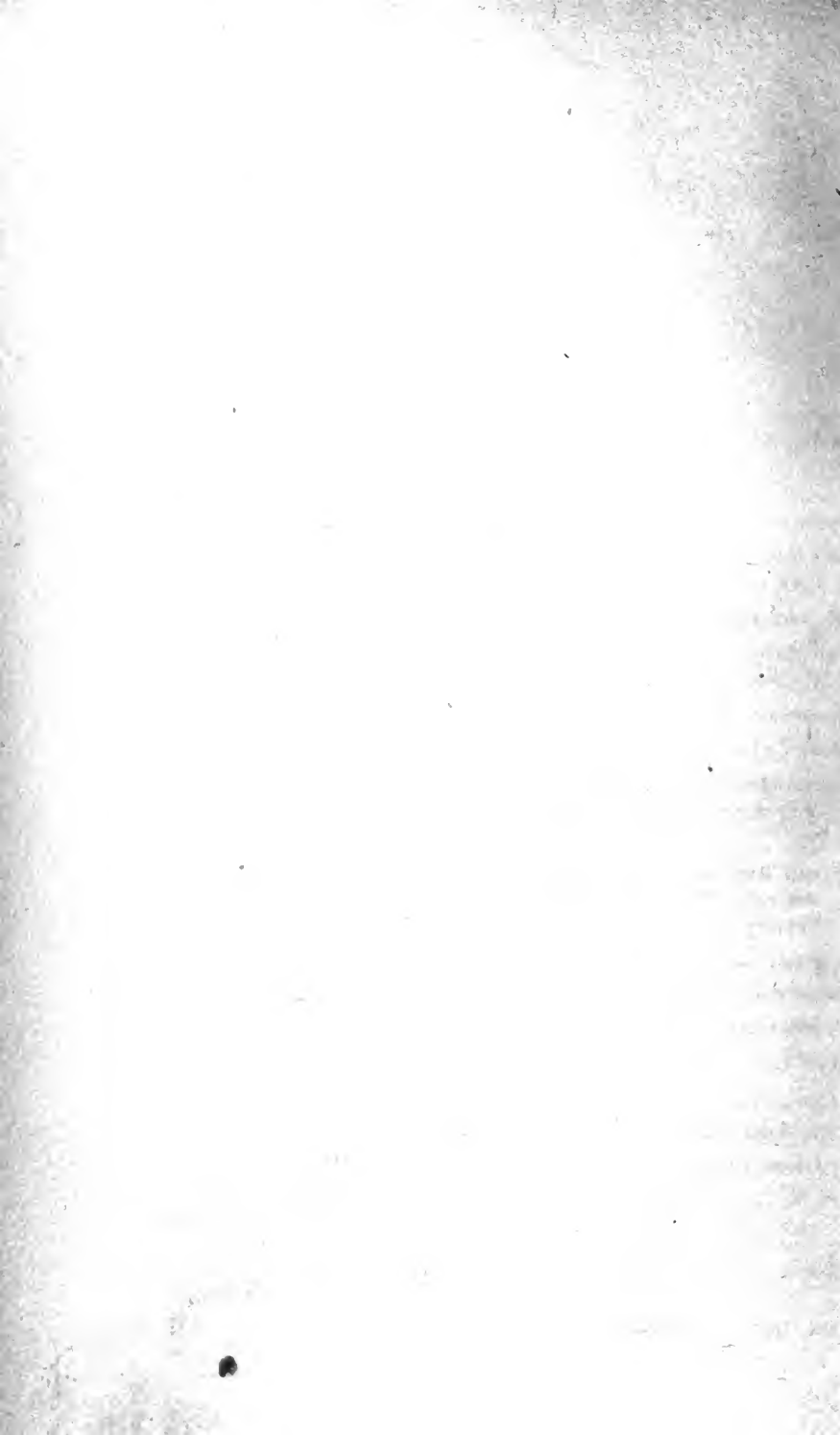
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THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

1515-1558

HUGH OLDHAM FOUNDS A SCHOOL

‘The bringing up in learning, virtue, and good manners of children should be the key and ground of having good people.’—HUGH OLDHAM.

The passing of the Old Learning of the Middle Ages owing to the rise of a Middle Class possessing new aspirations and conscious of new needs—Lady Margaret Beaufort and statesmen-ecclesiastics provide for the spread of the New Learning—Chantry schools at the Collegiate Church of Manchester—Hugh Oldham follows Colet and founds a grammar school for the bringing up of children in good learning and manners—Early scholars and methods of study—Attempted spoliation of school funds by Ralph Hulme, and threatened dissolution under the Chantries Act—Restoration of the collegiate body and resettlement of the school under Queen Mary.

THE history of the School which Hugh Oldham set up in Manchester at the beginning of the sixteenth century is interesting, not only on account of the prominent part which the school has played in English educational movements during the last sixty years, but because of the constantly repeated efforts which have been made from its foundation to free the School from the limitations of its own age and period and keep it in touch with the wider needs of society. Although the circumstances which existed at its foundation, and those which have accompanied and influenced its growth, are probably but slightly to be distinguished from those of many hundred similar schools throughout England, yet the materials exist for such an adequate study of them that the forceful currents which have influenced English

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education can be fairly well analysed in connexion with its history.

The period of its foundation, or perhaps more accurately of its endowment, was one of rapid national and social transition, due to the rise in power of a new Middle Class—consisting of the lesser landowners and yeomanry, the merchants and husbandmen, and the general traders—a class possessing vigour and intelligence, and demanding ampler scope for its mental growth. The learning of the Middle Ages had aspired to a complete grasp of all knowledge, statecraft, and science, as well as philosophy, theology, and medicine. Its great scholars had gathered vast stores of knowledge and had organised them into systems. It had nourished the genius of Dante, perhaps the highest expression of mediæval thought, had inspired the architects and builders of the great abbeys and cathedrals, had organised ecclesiastical and political institutions on a comprehensive scale, and had given to each individual his special place in the whole structure, and protected him in the discharge of his duties.¹

But its very organisation had at length begun to impede its further growth. It had lost all pliancy and adaptability to new conditions, for it had subordinated the interests of the individual to those of the ruling classes, and was preventing individual development. Moreover, caste spirit and social prejudice, which always grow up in any long-established social order, had limited the spread of enlightenment and education to a fortunate few.² Though the Universities had been open to all, only a small proportion of the total population had been sufficiently educated to take proper advantage of the opportunities they offered, while the subjects which were studied were out of touch with daily life and experience. The new Middle Class, composed of merchants, craftsmen, and yeomanry, possessed new needs, new interests, and new aspirations, and for it a new learning, or new humanism, was needed, less ambitious than the old learning in its claim for finality, but better able, on account of its close contact with the merchant classes, to satisfy the cravings and the

¹ Cf. *Essay on Cathedral Schools*, by Ouseley; *Historical Notices of Training of Chorister Boys*, by Millard; *On the Music of the Churches*, by Latrobe.

² A. F. Leach estimates that there were 200 collegiate schools before the Reformation (*Encyclopædia of Education*).

needs and to correct the failures and the faults of ordinary life.

Independently of the governing classes, a new educational movement arose—its progress being facilitated by widening commercial intercourse, by travel and maritime discovery. It had sprung up in Italy and, with the extension of the art of printing, had gradually spread throughout Europe. So strong was the movement that the old traditions and old habits of thought now deeply engrained in national life had perforce to lose their characteristics or disappear altogether. That the moral fervour of the past did not entirely disappear from English life was due to the statesmen-ecclesiastics who were at the head of affairs in England on the accession of Henry VII, and who took a wide view of their responsibilities. They eagerly welcomed and supported the new movement without losing touch with the past.

Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), Countess of Richmond and of Derby, in her long retirement during the exile of her son Henry Tudor, occupied a position midway between the Old Learning and the New. She had provided a home where promising youths with aptitude and desire for learning might be brought up, and for their instruction employed a University tutor. A scholar herself, she had cultivated the friendship of other scholars, particularly that of John Fisher (1459–1535), her confessor, and of Richard Fox (1448–1528), whom she employed at Paris to look after the interests of her son. On the accession of Henry VII both these men received advancement, as did also two at least of the Lancashire youths she had trained—William Smyth and Hugh Oldham. It was John Fisher who, as Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, invited Erasmus to England. An intimate friendship sprang up between Erasmus and Thomas More (1480–1535), son of a Judge on the King's Bench, and John Colet (1466–1519), son of a merchant who served as Lord Mayor—a friendship fraught with far-reaching results to English education. For Erasmus desired the general enlightenment of all classes :

‘Peraventure¹ it were most expedient that the counsels of kings should be kept secret, but Christ would that His counsels and mysteries should be spread abroad. . . .

¹ Introduction to the Greek Testament, 1516.

I would to God that the plowman would sing a text of the Scripture at his plow beam, and that the weaver at his loom with this would drive away the tediousness of time. I would the wayfaring man with this pastime would expel the weariness of his journey. . . . Truly I do greatly dissent from those men which would not that the Scripture of Christ should be translated into all tongues, that it might be read diligently of the private and secular men and women.'

And while Erasmus, by his writings, was arousing the interest of many who were capable of aspiring to a wider knowledge, and was at the same time materially assisting in discrediting the self-sufficiency of the now decadent scholasticism, Colet was planning the scheme of a new school, and Sir Thomas More was illustrating the New Learning in his daily life and thinking out the political ideas which he embodied in 'Utopia.' Education for the people was in the air. Rich bishops as well as wealthy merchants were busy founding Grammar Schools. John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, founded Kingston-on-Hull School in 1486. In the same year Dr. John Harmon founded Sutton-Coldfield School, near Birmingham. In 1502, Edward Storey founded Chichester School, and Dr. Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, founded Cirencester in 1508. Farnworth School, near Prescott in Lancashire, was founded by Dr. Wm. Smyth, Bishop of Lichfield, later of Lincoln, in 1507.

But St. Paul's School, founded by Colet in 1509, was different in character from all its predecessors. While promoting the study of the New Learning, it retained the personal devoutness of the best period of the Middle Ages and endeavoured to inculcate a love of gentleness and modesty as well as of earnest study among its scholars. The instruction was in classical as opposed to monkish Latin, and the study of Greek was included, since Greek was the language of the New Testament. A figure of Jesus Christ was placed in the school to serve as a constant reminder of His presence, and infinite trouble was taken to select a suitable high master and to prepare a special Greek Grammar.

The new school soon excited jealousy and animosity among many clerics, who did not like the general public studying Scripture for themselves, and who cared only for the old mediæval methods of argumentative hair-splitting, which ministered to their vanity and self-importance and served

to cloak their ignorance. Colet had already excited their suspicion in 1498 by delivering lectures at Oxford on the teaching and writings of St. Paul, choosing for his subject the Epistle to the Corinthians. In 1511, his enemies laid a trap for him, arranging that he should preach in St. Paul's before the Convocation of the Church, and trusting that they might then find suitable ground to prosecute him for heresy. Colet had accepted the duty with some anxiety, not from any fear of consequences, but from a fear lest he should prove unworthy of the great occasion. In the sermon he preached on 'The Need for the Reformation of the Church,'¹ he boldly attacked the high ecclesiastics for their worldliness and covetousness and their lack of study, and exhorted them to consider the responsibilities rather than the emoluments of their position.² He evidently made a profound impression, and aroused the consciences of not a few of his hearers. The foundation of University-Colleges and Grammar Schools devoted to the new humanistic learning proceeded apace, and Oxford and Cambridge were becoming full of scholars. The discovery of the art of printing, which created a new craftsmanship and a new trade, facilitated the spread of the movement, and great printers arose who were able to employ scholars to edit the great writings of Greece and Rome. In 1494 the famous Aldus Manutius³ had set up his printing-press in Venice, not only for the publication of Latin, but also of the Greek works which were now being rescued from oblivion, and in 1500 he had established the new Academy of Hellenists, whose members took their share in preparing the works of classical writers for publication and at whose meetings Greek was the sole language of discussion. Each month witnessed the production of a thousand copies of the works of some good author. The writings of Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, as well as those of Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and Horace, and indeed all the classical writers, were placed

¹ *The Oxford Reformers*, F. Seebohm, 1867; J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet*, p. 194.

² Among the most attentive of his listeners was Richard Fox, Bishop of Durham and of Winchester. 'He was a wise man, and one who could see through the present to the future.' One result of the sermon was evident in the foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1516.

³ J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*.

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in the hands of numerous scholars throughout Christendom.

It was not till the latter part of this rebirth of the desire for knowledge that Lancashire participated in the general improvement. Till towards the end of the fifteenth century, the county as a whole was not prosperous. Its yeomanry and husbandmen were unlettered and untravelled, and the great mass of its people were superstitious as well as ignorant, rough and violent in their manners, poor and with but few acquirements, for Lancashire occupied an isolated position compared with other parts of England. Moreover, particularly in the southern and low-lying districts, there were such large tracts of moss and bog, and the roads were so badly kept, that even the small towns then in existence were in their turn separated effectually from one another. With the exception of a Guild School at Preston, established at a very early date, and a Chantry School at Middleton dating from 1413, there is no evidence of there being any provision for education, and though Whalley Abbey, Furness Abbey, and Cartmel Abbey, near Ulverston, provided shelter and occupation for many monks, some of whom must have possessed intellectual attainments, and these religious houses must also have included some kind of school in which acolytes could be taught the rudiments of reading and singing, as 'centres of learning' they were too secluded to equal in importance those which existed in other parts of the country. It was this condition of affairs which led those Lancashire men who had travelled to desire to raise the general level of thoughtfulness in their native county.

The encouragement of sheep-grazing by the monks in the abbeys and convents had already provided the conditions necessary for the growth of the woollen textile industry carried to such a high level by the Flemish weavers in the reign of Edward III. Under Tudor patronage English foreign trade made rapid progress and fresh markets were found for English wool,¹ which gave the woollen industries a further impetus. Preston, on the Ribble, and Manchester at the junction of the Irwell and the Irk, were the most important towns in the county, Manchester owing its rise to the force

¹ The fact that a trading charter was granted to the English Merchant Adventurers' Company in 1505 shows the importance of the English textile and woollen industries at that time.

and rapidity of the river Irk, on the banks of which fulling and other mills had been erected for the benefit of the Flemish weavers who had settled in Manchester at the invitation of the Lord of the Manor. As trade improved the population naturally increased, and at the end of the fourteenth century the parish of Manchester covered nine miles from east to west, and seven from north to south, containing many scattered hamlets in addition to the more centrally situated mediæval towns. For the better edification and spiritual oversight of the increasing population, the then Lord of the Manor, Lord de la Warre, who had gained experience in Flanders, founded a central organisation or collegiated body of 'warden, fellows, chaplains and singing men,' in the place of the old parochial church with its non-resident rectors. The Charter of Collegiation was granted in 1421; the building was commenced; and, for the next hundred years, local landowners and wealthy citizens continued the work. At least six separate private chapels were built, to some of which chantries were attached, and the elaborate carving of the seats in the chancel—thirty in number—which dates from 1506, reveals something of the social habits, customs, and occupations as well as the growing wealth of the people.¹ That the town even then possessed some organised education is proved by the allocation of special stalls to the high master and the usher. It was probably on the basis of one of the chantry schools connected with this collegiated body that Hugh Oldham founded his Grammar School early in the sixteenth century.

Hugh Oldham is believed to have been one of several sons of Richard Oldham of Ancoats,² and to have been brought up by the Countess of Richmond in the traditions of the Older Learning. The administration of law was, at that time, in the hands of ecclesiastics, and the study of Common Law at the Inns of Court still in its infancy. Oldham entered Jesus College, Cambridge, and took the degree of B.C.L.

¹ Cf. Hudson, *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 1919.

² 'Richard' in the statutes of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, edited by R. M. Ward, 1843. A Roger Oldham died intestate in 1472. His eldest son James succeeded to the Ancoats estates, and in 1475 granted them to Hugh Oldham, then chaplain or clerk to Robert Booth at Durham.—Leach, *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 239.

His career was a singularly successful one, favoured, like that of many ecclesiastics of that period, by the gaps in public life due to the destruction of so many members of the old baronial families in the Wars of the Roses. He appears first as chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, then as incumbent of St. Mildred's Church, London, later as the first master of a Grammar School in Lichfield, reconstructed from an old hospital by his friend, William Smith, Bishop of that town; then as canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster; prebendary of St. Paul's and chaplain to Lady Margaret; and finally, in 1504, as Archdeacon of Exeter, and in the following year as Bishop.

The disorder and neglect of the monasteries were at this time exciting attention. The majority of them, particularly those founded after Norman times, claimed to be free of local episcopal control and subject only to the direct jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome. Some, however, were founded as ancient parish churches, and over these the bishops often claimed authority. As Bishop of Exeter, Hugh Oldham claimed the right to inquire into the state of Tavistock Abbey, founded in the reign of Henry I. Richard Barnham, the thirty-fifth abbot, opposed his visitation, and as Hugh Oldham insisted, Abbot Barnham finally procured his sentence of excommunication from the Pope.

That he possessed remarkable business ability is proved by the frequency with which he was entrusted with the administration of many important estates.¹ It is probable that in the exercise of these duties he repeatedly came under the notice of the famous extortioners, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, as on numerous occasions he received 'pardon' from the king, no doubt at the price of handsome donations to the treasury.

¹ In 1492, together with Sir Reginald Bray, another protégé of the Lady Margaret, subsequently architect of the famous Henry VII Chapel, Westminster, he was appointed receiver and surveyor of the lands of the late Richard, Earl of Warwick; in 1496 keeper of the lands of Richard Wood of Wynkley, Gloucester; in 1498 of those of John Knollys of Bradford, Co. Devon; in 1499 of those of John Taverner of Devon; in 1500 Keeper of the View of Frank Pledge, and Free Warren of Cottenham, Northants; in 1501 keeper of the lands of Robert Lever; in 1503 he acted as administrator of the estates of Sir Reginald Bray himself.—Cf. *State Papers* (Domestic Series). He also acted as 'supervisor' of the will of the second Earl of Derby.—*History of the House of Stanley*, p. 44.

Though Oldham never lost touch with the devotional spirit associated in his upbringing with the Older Learning, his robust character soon found opportunity in the New Learning for independent thought and action. While occupied in London, he must have met and visited William Caxton, and he had been among those present at St. Paul's when Colet preached his great sermon.¹ There is no clear proof that he ever met Erasmus,² but it is hardly possible that he was not brought into contact with Linacre the learned physician, and Sir Thomas More the great lawyer. Moreover, as Dr. Richard Colet became Hugh Oldham's commissioner for the diocese of Exeter in 1505, it is extremely probable that he corresponded or conferred with Dean John Colet (1467-1519) both before and after the foundation of St. Paul's School. The influence of Colet, if not that of Erasmus, is shown in a letter which he wrote to Richard Fox on the subject of the creation of his new College of Corpus Christi :

'What, my lord,' he wrote, 'shall we build houses and provide livelihood for a company of bussing monks whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good in the church and commonwealth. And,' it is recorded, 'to this end Bishop Fox at length yielded, and so they proceeded in their buildings. Wherein Oldham, reserving to Fox the name of the Founder, was content with the name of benefactor, and verily liberally did contribute great masses of money to the same; and since, according to his wish and desire, the same college hath been and is the nurse of many notable good scholars.'

Hugh Oldham's interest in the education of Manchester boys had evidently begun to develop by 1509, when Colet opened St. Paul's School, for, in the 1515 Indenture, it is stated that he and his friends 'had often taken into consideration that the youth, particularly in the county of Lancashire, had for a long time been in want of instruction, as well from the poverty of their parents as from the want of some person who should instruct them in learning and virtue,' and

¹ He read the Epistle for the day. See Lupton's *Life of Colet*, p. 194.

² Erasmus at Oxford in 1498, in Cambridge from 1503-9.

³ Raphael Holinshed, 1800 ed., vol. iii. p. 617.

Lord de la Warre expressly stated in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster that the object, for which, in 1509, he had sold his rights over the mills on the Irk for sixty years to the sister and nephew of Hugh Oldham, had materially influenced him in the price he asked for them.

Besides his friends in Devonshire and London, Oldham had kept up his intimacy with many in the North around his old home.¹

When visiting his relatives in Manchester, Oldham must have heard of, and become interested in, the foundation of several of the chantries at the old parochial church,² and have taken counsel with their founders and with the warden as to the narrowness and limitations of the training given to the singing boys and others by chantry priests, or by the Archididascalos and Hypodidascalos, for whom stalls were provided in the chancel. His own estimate of the value of education was far above the ordinary :

‘The bringing up of children in their adolescence, and to occupy them in good learning and manners, from and out of idleness, is the chief cause to advance knowledge, and of learning them, when they shall come to the age of virilitie, or whereby they may the better know, love, honour and dread God and his laws, and for that the liberal science or art of grammar is the ground and fountain of all the other liberal arts and sciences which surge and spring out of the same, without which science, the other cannot profitably be had, for the science of grammar is the gate by which all other be learned and known in diversity of tongues and speeches. Wherefore the said late Reverend Father, for the good mind which he had and bare to the County of Lancashire, considering the bringing up in learning, virtue and good manners, of children in the same country, should be the key and ground to have good people there, which hath lacked and wanted in the same, as well as for great poverty of the common people there as also by cause of long time passed, the teaching and bringing up of young children to school, to the learning of grammar, hath not been taught there for lack of sufficient Schoolmaster and Usher there, so that the children in the same county having pregnant wit, had been most part

¹ See Appendix.

² In 1506 there was a lawsuit in the Duchy Court of Lancaster between the Warden of Manchester, the Abbot of Whalley, Adam Holland, James Radcliffe, Richard Hunt, and William Galley, endeavouring to recover money which Richard Bestwick had left to support the chantry priest.



HUGH OLDHAM DECIDES TO FOUND A SCHOOL AT MANCHESTER.

brought up rudely and idly, and not in virtue, cunning, erudition, literature, and in good manners.'¹

That the Grammar School which he ultimately decided to found had some relation to a pre-existing chantry school is indicated by the fact that when the chantries were subsequently abolished in King Edward VI's reign, a pension was granted to the Grammar School from the funds of the duchy in lieu of the original chantry bequest, while the statutes of the school direct that the scholars should attend the church on Wednesday and Friday and All Saints' Day, to say the Litany, the Suffrages, and the De Profundis psalm, for the souls of the various benefactors of the chantries, similar to those which were accustomed to be said by the chantry priests.

The scholars for whom Hugh Oldham built the school, planned a library, and arranged for University exhibitions from its accumulated funds,² must have presented a curious sight at its first opening, which probably took place in 1515.

There would be small boys from the chantry schools, training for choristers, learning their alphabet from the older boys or from the usher. Their school education would be complete when they had acquired the use of the Song Book for the services in the church. There would be a few very serious boys, older than their years, members of families who may have come recently from Flanders, or who possessed traditions of knowledge inherited from Lollard ancestors. Some of these may have already learned to use printed books which in all probability were brought to the Manchester market by travellers, and, if so, they would know something of the New Learning, which was to bring joy and freedom to all, and which was countenanced by the young and popular king. A small number, perhaps one or two every few years, were preparing for further training at Oxford or Cambridge. And, lastly, there would be some—idle, boisterous, rough, and intractable—whose wandering curiosity was caught by any new thing, and whose speedy

¹ School statutes drawn up in 1525 by the trustees and given in the Appendix.

² Such boys as showed talent were assisted to further study at the University, either by private benevolence or by the aid of school funds when there was a surplus exceeding the sum of £40, which had to be kept in the school chest for emergencies.

departure from school would be a relief to teachers and fellow-scholars alike. There would be boys who enjoyed cock-fighting on Shrove Tuesday, and who helped the ushers and subordinates of the school to eke out their scanty stipends by paying their cock pennies for the maintenance of the cocks. The families from which all these boys were gathered would include many of those best established in the district, but it was stipulated in the regulations that no scholar was to wear any 'dagger, hanger, or other weppon invasyve,' that is, no sign of social condition between rich and poor¹ was allowed. No scholar, of whatever county or shire, could be refused entry unless he was stricken with some horrible contagious disease, but if any should leave the school to go to another, once only could they be granted readmission. School began at six o'clock in the summer, at seven in the winter, except for boys who came from long distances, and for them special arrangements were made. It was not perhaps till the school had won a reputation that boys came to lodge in the town in order to attend.

The most notable scholars of the period are John Bradford, the great preacher and martyr of the Reformation; Laurence Vaux,² a Catholic of considerable repute, founder of the famous College at Douay, and Warden of the Manchester College; William Birch, who succeeded Vaux as Warden; Richard Hall, for a time head master of the Middleton School and a friend of John Bradford; and Edward Pendleton, who was probably educated at the school, and who became high master in 1547. Some short biographies are given in the Appendix.

The school, though possessing a wide educational outlook, had been established in the first place under ecclesiastical management, but after the death of Hugh Oldham in

¹ Owing to the very unequal distribution of property, many of good family were often called 'poore,' but this did not mean destitute or impoverished, but that they were without possession of landed estate or other inheritance, and were therefore compelled to seek their own living. But the schedules of 1525 contemplate that some of the scholars would be able to pay for meals, and others from their great poverty would have to bring their meals with them every day. Two poor scholars were to be chosen by the high master or usher to keep the register and clean the school once a week, receiving in payment the penny paid as entrance fee by each of the scholars.

² Cf. *Wardens of Manchester College*, Rev. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society), N.S., vol. v.



THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AND THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER VISIT JOHN BRADFORD IN PRISON AND URGE HIM TO RECENT.

(Based on a Woodcut in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,' published 1610.)

1519, one of his relatives and a co-trustee, Ralph Hulme, a lawyer of indifferent honesty, prepared a deed transferring some of the lands to himself and his son Stephen, under the guise of securing the right of the mills to the school. The case was brought into the Duchy Court of Lancaster, and was decided against Hulme, who was compelled to pay a heavy fine. New deeds were therefore drawn up (*circ.* 1524) and the school re-established under lay management and clerical supervision, the high master and usher nominated by the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The new regulations were similar to those already in force at St. Paul's School in London, and not only showed a profound insight into the needs of the time, but made ample provision for any alteration which might be rendered necessary in the future. None of the highly placed ecclesiastics of the district, and none of the numerous family connections of the bishop among the mercantile classes, were on the list of feoffees, which included eight of the wealthiest local landowners; but it is interesting to note that several of these local landowners—the Byrons, the Traffords, and the Radcliffes—were already interested in chantries established on behalf of members of their own families.

Probably the Manchester School, during these early years, was of no great repute, for when John Leland, the King's Antiquary, made his tour through England between 1533 and 1540 to gather information concerning the disestablished monasteries, he took note of the flourishing mills of Manchester, but made no mention of the School which they supported, though he was himself a scholar of the recently founded St. Paul's School, London, and a member of the University of Cambridge.

The fortunes of the School were closely bound up with those of the Manchester College, the Warden of which was, from the first, its official visitor. On the passing of the Chantries Act in the reign of Henry VIII, sanctioning the confiscation by the Crown of all endowments of chantries with their propitiatory services for the souls of the dead, an attempt was made to suppress the Manchester College and seize its revenue, but the general inhabitants, together with the landed gentry,¹ were firmly on the side of the old religion, and

¹ Cf. *Foreign and Domestic Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. xi. (ed. by James Gairdner).

the attempt failed. The reorganisation of the Church and the foundation of a bishopric at Chester probably led to better administration. Even Edmund Bonner, the Bishop of London, took active part in the printing of the Bishops' Bible, and caused six copies to be chained in St. Paul's for the use of the public. Readers were admonished to edify themselves when no divine service was being conducted, but not to dispute. On the accession of Edward VI the Chantries Act was re-enacted, and the commissioners granted extended powers to enable them to suppress all collegiate bodies for the maintenance of clergy, and all schools except the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. This time the School was threatened with the College. George Collier, a staunch papist, was Warden, and Edward Pendleton, whose changes of principle closely followed political events, was high master. The few feoffees still living were naturally of the old faith. One of them, Sir Edmund Trafford, had already been appointed in 1542 among the ecclesiastical commissioners for the diocese of Manchester, and was probably a relative of Hugh Oldham. Another feoffee, one Thurston Tildesley of Wardle Hall, Worsley, had been chosen to represent the County of Lancashire in the new Parliament. It is doubtful which of these was most actively interested in the preservation of the School, but someone must have intervened, for not only was the School preserved, but the pension granted by the Duchy of Lancaster to the dispossessed chantry priest, who served as schoolmaster, was henceforth paid to the School.¹

It is doubtful whether the School made much progress during Edward VI's reign, for local opinion was much divided, and occupational applications of learning were little recognised.

The most interesting incident of the period was the extraordinary success of the missionary preaching of one of its earliest and most famous scholars, John Bradford, throughout the parishes of Manchester, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bolton, Wigan, Liverpool.

Edward VI died July 1553. His sister, Queen Mary, had been well trained in the New Learning, and possessed good business abilities as well as a strong will. Many broken and disbanded religious institutions were re-established, parti-

¹ There are several similar pensions mentioned in an account of the Duchy funds of 1588 and given in Baines' *History of Lancashire*.

cularly those of an educational tendency ; the Manchester College was restored, the Warden replaced, and Dr. Edward Pendleton, high master of the Grammar School, succeeded not only in retaining his high mastership but in obtaining the vicarage of Eccles. Though the persecution of the Reformers aroused considerable anger, local administration became more settled. New feoffees were elected on the Grammar School trust to take the place of old ones who had died. They at once began to repair the neglect of the past few years.¹ These feoffees were younger members of the same families as their predecessors. They were still ardently attached to the old religion, and though some of them no doubt had listened to the stirring appeals of John Bradford and other reforming preachers, and their children were destined to take active part in establishing the Reformation, yet they themselves showed little interest in the matter, nor can we gather from the wills and inventories of the goods that are to be found at Chester that they shared the vision of Hugh Oldham, or even took any particular interest in learning.

In spite of the great pains taken by the Bishop and his relatives to equip the school properly, its early history must have been a chequered one. There are repeated changes in the high mastership. This may indicate that the occupation of schoolmaster was unattractive unless accompanied by clerical employment, such as that of Fellow of the Manchester College, or possibly that there was an exceptionally heavy mortality due to the frequent visitation of the plague or pestilence. That such repeated visitations of plague were anticipated as a natural occurrence is shown by the fact that the Trust Deed makes provision for the closure of the school when the plague lasted twelve weeks or more.

¹ Cf. *Manchester Court Leet Records*.

CHAPTER II

1558-1603

IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES

' Yet I doubt not through the ages, one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.
—TENNYSON.

The Merchant Adventurers' Companies promote trade intercourse between various towns and countries—Latin the natural language of commerce—New social forces find outlets—Merchants favour schools and universities, and spread various kinds of knowledge—Queen Elizabeth organises the State Church, and the education of the parochial clergy and of licensed preachers progresses—Reforms of the collegiate body cause Manchester to become a centre of puritanism—James Bateson high master, and some of his scholars—William Chadderton becomes Warden of Manchester College and Bishop of Chester. He punishes Catholic recusants, sends their children to English schools, and favours the highly educated public preachers—Dr. Thomas Cogan becomes high master—'The Haven of Health'—Thomas Sorocold and 'The Supplication of Saints'—Warden Dee—Mathematics and astrology—Neglect at the School.

DURING the reign of Queen Elizabeth, owing to the great increase of intercourse between different countries as well as different towns, the long pent-up social forces which had begun to find outlet spread widely and rapidly, and broke down the artificial barriers of long-established habits. The English merchants who constituted the Merchant Adventurers' Company multiplied and increased in power.¹ They had branches in all the principal towns in the North of England which were concerned in the woollen trade, and they had agents and settlements in the important towns in the North of Europe. They had received encouragement from

¹ Cf. Wheeler's *History*; Anderson's *History of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 199; John B. Williamson, *Stanhope Essay*, 1893; Lingensbach, *Merchant Adventurers of England*, 1903.

Henry VII and Henry VIII, though efforts were made to suppress them in Holland during the reign of Queen Mary, acting in the interests of Spain. They received a fresh charter and encouragement under Queen Elizabeth, and sympathised in the efforts begun in 1563 to establish the Dutch republics and overthrow the yoke of Spain. That struggle had many issues—racial, religious, political, and economic—for the merchants of the North of Europe were successfully competing with the great trading cities of Italy and the Mediterranean, while navigators were finding new markets for all. Latin was the only possible language for international commerce, as well as for the understanding of such subjects as were of general interest, geography and travel, geometry, astronomy, and the natural history of products of foreign countries. Consequently, merchants liberally supported schools and universities.¹ The writings of Galen and Hippocrates were studied for guidance as to regimen and diet. There was a modicum of practical knowledge worth preserving even in the superstitions and vagaries of astrology, not perhaps so much for its contributions to astronomy, but because it included a folklore about the growth and properties of healing plants—a modicum of knowledge which proved of value when physicians began to make a careful study of such ‘simples’ by planting physic gardens and studying botany to obtain exact knowledge for the pharmacopœias which took the place of antiquated herbals.²

The spread of intelligence and healthy inquiry was also helped by the return to England of the exiled Protestant reformers, who were able to offer a new philosophy of life, which was much better fitted to the new social conditions than was the old subservience to papal and ecclesiastical authority. For the claims of the priest to sell pardons and to obtain freedom from purgatory at an agreed price were substituted the doctrines of Calvinism, which taught that the destiny of each individual

¹ Anthony Mosley (brother of the London clothier who purchased the manor of Manchester in 1596 and became Lord Mayor of London in 1599 and High Sheriff of Lancashire 1604) left £5 yearly during ten years to poor scholars going out of the free schools of Manchester, Middleton, and Rochdale to either university, at the discretion of his executors and overseers.—Chetham Society, N.S., vol. xxviii. p. 59.

² John Gerrard (1545–1612), a barber’s surgeon of London, had a physic garden in Holborn. He published his herbarium in 1597.

was settled by Divine decree from the foundation of the world ; that the chosen ones lived in a state of grace which involved a constant and direct communion with God without any priestly intervention, and that each would find guidance for daily conduct in the personal study of the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament. The more religious merchants supported special preachers, and thus learning found fresh patrons. The organisation of the English National Church which had been begun under Edward VI provided fresh scope for scholars, and its honours and emoluments were now open to those who had influence or had distinguished themselves by their abilities and energies. Many received support and benefactions as chaplains of private merchants. It was, however, some time before the curates and vicars who were left in charge of the parochial churches were raised from their state of ignorance and superstition.

Many of the rich merchants purchased estates from the landowning classes, and soon imparted some of their fresh ideas and enterprise to their untravelled members. Having younger sons to provide for, both classes sought out opportunities to advance them in life in new channels. Those with an inclination to scholarship entered Holy Orders or attended at the Inns of Court and acquired a knowledge of the law, for though the Crown frequently interfered with the proper course of justice by its arbitrary enactments, yet the use of the Law Courts greatly increased. Others made a study of medicine. For all these careers, as well as for the higher branches of mercantile life, adequate preparation was necessary. Universities and grammar schools were the natural avenue of approach. Those schools were the most attractive in which the religious devotion that had characterised the learning of the Middle Ages persisted. Education continued to be by service and song as well as by reading and speech. This gave an energy and a freshness to study, which later became lost when other methods prevailed.

Unfortunately the proportion of the people affected by all these movements was small. Many traders failed to appreciate their high opportunities. Money was lent out at exorbitant rates of usury, and legal knowledge was used for purposes of extortion.

The pseudo-science of Astrology as well as the deceptions of witchcraft were consulted by many gullible people. The

parochial clergy too often shared the vulgarity and even the impurity of life of their parishioners. Consequently the age of Elizabeth was a crude mixture of noble effort and slothful indifference. Its literary productions were full of the highest aspirations, but its daily conduct was too often of the basest character. Superstition and cruelty—the offspring of ignorance and fear—still held in subjection the great masses of the people ; self-respect based on self-government was rare. Many of the clergy were really popish priests, and too ignorant, even if desirous, to exert any power to raise and instruct their people. Yet it is evident that the new middle class which had arisen from the merchant class and from the smaller landowning class, was morally earnest and purposeful and intellectually alert, and their sons were attending the Grammar Schools, and passing thence not only into the so-called learned professions but into business careers, where the value of learning was well understood and for which institutions of learning were being encouraged. It is evident that this middle class was now so strong that it was able to secure that the theology adopted by the English Crown, and imposed on the English Church, was a theology not only intelligible to them and conformable to their new aspirations, but one which as a philosophical interpretation of life included all the knowledge at that time available.¹

This theology involved a certain duty of individual judgment, and therefore freedom of conscience—freedom, that is, from ecclesiastical authority. It was associated with a demand for some lay representation in the government of the Church—viz. by presbyters, a system not at all agreeable to Queen Elizabeth, who however showed herself favourable to the efforts to increase personal devotion in liturgy and prayer and thanksgiving, and in the ritual of Church life.

Soon after her accession, an ecclesiastical commission of forty-four members was appointed, having jurisdiction over the whole of the kingdom. It was entrusted with the duty (1) of abolishing all foreign influence in the government of the Church in England ; (2) of enforcing uniformity of worship ; (3) of obtaining from the clergy a subscription to certain

¹ Compare ‘ Certain Sermons or Homilies and Canons appointed to be read in Churches ’ in the time of Elizabeth with those set forth by Bonner.

articles of discipline. Active steps were taken to reconcile the people to the new order of things by the encouragement throughout the whole kingdom of public preachers or prophets, as they were called, who, by their previous training at the Universities, were capable of instructing the people in the doctrines of the Reformation. The policy of favouring preachers had a marked influence in increasing the number of scholars at the English Universities. For those who had not sufficient learning or wit to compose their own sermons, the Book of Homilies was revised and published. The general policy was successful, for though all the Romish bishops but one refused to acknowledge her supremacy, yet nearly all the clergy, some 24,000 in number, who had previously followed the Roman ritual, adopted the new order. Catholic families attended Anglican services, and the reformers, though they disliked the government of the Church by State-appointed bishops and objected to certain customs, such as the sign of the cross in baptism and the use of the ring in marriage, offered little opposition.

In local affairs the mild-mannered William Downham was appointed Bishop of Chester, a see which included South Lancashire; while Thomas Herle was appointed Warden in place of Laurence Vaux the Catholic. The old Catholic trustees of the Grammar School were not interfered with, and the constantly changing Edward Pendleton retained the high mastership.

As time wore on, complaisance became neglect. Warden Herle disposed of much of the valuable property of the collegiate body by granting peppercorn rents to greedy courtiers and local magnates until the College became impoverished. Public comments were aroused, and Warden Herle became frightened. He appealed to Matthew Parker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to use his influence with the Queen to obtain a decree that the Manchester College should be annexed to a college in a university, preferably to that of St. John's College, Cambridge, in order that such of its resources as still remained might be devoted to the training and support of preachers and students who could be compelled to live in the district and supply its spiritual needs. Oliver Carter, one of the Fellows, also succeeded in attracting the attention of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, to the matter. Nowell was a Lancashire man who had taken great

interest in his own Grammar School at Middleton,¹ and had recently endowed it with thirteen scholarships at Brasenose College, Oxford. Though by no means a favourite with Queen Elizabeth, Nowell managed to get the affairs of the Manchester College investigated. As a consequence of the inquiry, Herle was dismissed, and the College resuscitated and reconstructed as the 'College of Christ,' 1578. It was to maintain a Warden and eight Fellows, who were under vow and penalty of a fine to be resident. After this reform and under pressure of State enforcement, the members of the collegiate body more thoroughly carried out their duties.

In spite of some indifference on the part of the feoffees, who allowed encroachments to be made upon the rights of the school to the monopoly of grinding corn at their mills, the school itself prospered because the next high master, James Bateson, was a conscientious, hard-working man. The date of his appointment to Manchester is unknown. He was admitted at Brasenose College, Oxon, 1554, and graduated B.A. 1558. He must have begun his high mastership before 1559, for in that year his name occurs in the records of the Court Leet. He was probably of local origin, for a Christopher Bateson was admitted Secular Chaplain of Manchester College 1552, Presbyter and B.A. 1557, and allowed to practise surgery 1558, while a Richard Bateson was appointed Chaplain of Prestwich 1585. He seems to have been of some influence and character, for more than fifty years after his death his name and his children are gratefully remembered by one of his old scholars—Henry Bury—who died at the age of eighty-nine in the year 1634, and who tells us that while at the school he had lodged with Mrs. Bradford, the mother of the martyr.² In 1579 Bury was appointed one of the special travelling lecturers or Moderators recently appointed to instruct the local clergy and others by giving lectures at the Collegiate Church and elsewhere, and who were called Queen's Preachers. He afterwards settled at Bury, where he founded and endowed the Bury Grammar School. In his will, wherein he made special mention of his early Manchester friends, he expressed his desire to help in forming a library for that town. His particular mention of his song-books,

¹ Six miles from Manchester and now included in the City.

² Cf. *Lanc. and Ches. Wills* (Chetham Society, N.S., vol. xxxvii.).

which he leaves to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, shows the prominent place music still took in centres of learning.

Two scholars of the Grammar School of the family of Rilston, which was well known in Manchester at this time, also proceeded to the University. Of these Edward Rilston became Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.

‘He was a pious man, much honoured by the whole University, whose preaching was of such life and power and in such evidences and demonstration of the Spirit that his hearers were ordinarily struck with fear and reverence, if not with terror.’

There was also John Smith, President of Magdalene College, Cambridge, ‘a provident man and a prudent governor, a lover of his countrymen, a bountiful benefactor to the College.’ He founded new scholarships and fellowships, with special reference to boys from his old school at Manchester.

Among other contemporary scholars may be mentioned Richard Crompton of Bedford Grange, Leigh, who entered Brasenose 1560, and was admitted to the Middle Temple 1573. He was appointed Reader in that year and again in 1578. It is recorded of him that ‘he might have been called to the Coif’ (*i.e.* have practised at the Bar or have been made a judge) ‘had he not preferred his private studies and repose before public employment and riches.’ Perhaps his greatest public service was the editing of ‘The Office and Authorities of Justice of the Peace,’ a well-known handbook of law, which became of increased importance and utility as the work of magistrates grew and the need for their proper training became more recognised.¹

That less wealthy as well as rich scholars were taking advantage of the school is shown by the fact that William Birch, who had received his education there, after proceeding to St. John’s College, Cambridge, and graduating M.A. 1551, had been appointed Warden of the Manchester College in 1559. He left by his will, dated 1575, among other local charities, 40s. apiece for twenty poor scholars in Latin of the

¹ This book possesses additional interest to Manchester scholars since its author, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, had been a friend of Hugh Oldham and one of the twelve original feoffees of the school.

Manchester School.¹ There were many such. William Massey of Sale, 'a poor scholar of Brodgate Hall,' Oxon, had entered from the Manchester School. He was admitted to Brasenose College 1567, and received 20s. of Robert Nowell's money in 1569.² He was expelled in 1588 from his fellowship at Oxford because he had married and so had broken regulations. He was appointed successively Chaplain to Sir Edward Trafford, Chaplain then Fellow of the Manchester Collegiate Church, finally Rector of Wilmslow, Cheshire. He preached 'a very plain and pointed sermon on the duties and blessings of Christian wedlock and very condemnatory of popery,' on the occasion of the marriage of Margaret Trafford to Urian, son of Thomas Legh of Adlington. He died July 28, 1610.

The reforms at the Collegiate Church soon began to influence the general outlook, particularly when William Chadderton, a Manchester scholar, became Warden in 1579. Under the new constitution, in addition to the four Fellows who were scholars and preachers, and compelled to reside locally for a certain length of time, there were singing men and choristers appointed with special duties. The small chapels in the parish were used as preaching stations,³ and local land-owners and residents gave them some support. These chapel-ries were situated at Stretford, Chorlton, Didsbury, Gorton, Newton Heath, Denton, and Ashton. Curates or incumbents were appointed (often, it must be confessed, with miserable pittances), willing, like their predecessors, the chantry priests, to eke out their incomes by teaching small children, and even by other less desirable occupations.⁴ As public intelligence increased, however, men of some learning and even of University training were appointed to these curacies, and voluntary subscriptions were given to provide better stipends.

The steady support given in the North of England to

¹ *Lanc. and Ches. Wills* (Chetham Society, N.S., vol. v. pp. 70-75).

² *Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell*; Croston's *County Families of Lancashire*, p. 200.

³ Cf. Simon Harwood: 'A godly and learned sermon containing a charge of instruction for all unlearned, negligent, and dissolute ministers, preached at Manchester before a great and worshipful audience by occasion of certain parsons there at the present appointed to be made ministers.'

⁴ The Chorlton curate even kept an alehouse. Baines' *Lancaster*, vol. i. p. 260.

Catholic conspiracies induced Queen Elizabeth in 1580 to appoint special commissioners for the North of England to root out papacy. They consisted of the Earl of Derby, the Archbishop of York, and, most active of all, William Chadderton (1540–1608), now Bishop of Chester.

William Chadderton was the son of Edward Chadderton of Nuthurst and Margery, niece of Warden Cliffe, the friend of Hugh Oldham, at whose school he had been trained. He passed from the school to Queens' College, Cambridge, and graduated M.A. 1557. In 1561 he was elected Lady Margaret Lecturer of Divinity, and in 1567 became Master of his College. He was also chaplain to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, then Chancellor of the University. On the Regius Professorship of Divinity falling vacant, he was recommended by a number of prominent University scholars in the following terms :

‘And forasmuch as it was very expedient in the behalf of their University and the students in that faculty to have a learned, godly and painful [*i.e.* painstaking] man to supply the place with great diligence, they thought good to recommend to his honour, Master Doctor Chadderton, who had, with commendation by the space of almost three years read the lectures, founded by the Lady Margaret, as one most fit in their judgment to succeed in his place. Most humbly desiring his honour to certify as well the said master Doctor Whitgift, as also others, the Master of Colleges there in Cambridge, of his pleasure and liking therein, that they might all frame themselves accordingly, and thus wishing his health, with the aid of God Almighty in all his affairs, took their leave.’¹

The presence of forceful and opposing currents of thought at the Universities which stirred the imagination of scholars at this time is shown by the fact that when Dr. Chadderton resigned the Lady Margaret lectureship he was succeeded by Cartwright, a very active opponent of episcopal discipline and teaching, who, for his Presbyterianism, was ultimately deprived of his position. William Chadderton, on the other hand, though also a Puritan and favouring travelling preachers and the holding of religious services in private homes, was a reformer of a different stamp. He desired a better discipline in the English Church as then established,

¹ Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 29.

and 'urged Lord Cecil, the Chancellor of the University, to reform the libels, seditions, rebellion, quarrels and strife of the University, which not only endangered the good government of the University, but also the safety of the realm.' It was probably on account of his efforts for the better government of the Anglican Church that in 1579 he was appointed Warden of Manchester. A few months later he was also made Bishop of Chester. In the following year, when he was appointed a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission for the North of England, he decided for the convenience of carrying on this work to live in Manchester rather than in Chester. His fellow-commissioner, the Earl of Derby (*ob.* 1593), at this time resided at Alport Park, also near Manchester. The two vigorously co-operated in advancing the Reformation in conjunction with the Queen and her Privy Council, consequently Puritan Anglicanism grew in strength. Recusant Catholics were apprehended, examined, fined, and imprisoned. Their children were removed from their homes and placed under the immediate care and instruction of Chadderton, and no doubt many were sent to the Manchester School for instruction, for it is unlikely that Chadderton would overlook the interests of his old school where the children could be under his immediate supervision. Many seem to have proceeded subsequently to Oriel College, Oxford. How far this process of attempting to convert Catholics was successful cannot easily be determined. During the first half of the reign—that is, previous to the appointment of the second and more searching Ecclesiastical Commission in 1580—about thirteen local names can be traced at Oxford and Cambridge. Of these about four subsequently appear at Douay, where the large proportion of English Catholic scholars congregated.¹ Between 1580 and 1603, some twenty-two local names can be traced at Oxford and Cambridge; of these nine are found subsequently at Douay. It is impossible to decide exactly how many of these received a preliminary training at the Manchester Grammar School, whose unostentatious buildings and whose influence in encouraging scholars were still so little regarded that William Camden, subsequently head master of

¹ Of the early training of Thomas Worthington, who passed from Oxford to Douay, and became head of that College, nothing definite is known, except that he was a Lancashire man and that many other members of his family who resided in Manchester became noteworthy scholars.

Westminster, while mentioning in his *Magna Britannia* (1580) the woollen manufactures and the Collegiated Church of Manchester, like his predecessor John Leland, made no mention whatever of the Grammar School.

The steady change of religious opinion that was taking place is certainly reflected in the public actions of the new feoffees who were appointed in 1581. They were members of the same families that had been represented before, but they possessed a different outlook. They sent their own sons and relatives to the Grammar School and thence to the English Universities or Inns of Court. On their estates were springing up the chapelries or preaching stations above mentioned which spread the Reformation, and owing to the growth of intelligence now required the regular services of chaplains or curates, still often ill-paid, but with some pretensions to learning.

New factors in social life appear when, towards the latter part of her reign, Queen Elizabeth began to view with disfavour the popularity of the public preaching by Puritans, which she had previously encouraged. The reason for this change of policy was that these preachers, in addition to attacking papists, had begun to attack episcopal government and to accuse the State of attempts to suppress individual liberty.¹ They advocated a form of Presbyterian government, in which lay elders had considerable share. The religious struggles which ensued now became political, for they involved questions of ecclesiastical government as well as questions of doctrine.

After the death of James Bateson, a new interest was introduced into Manchester life by the appointment in 1583 of a physician, Thomas Cogan, as high master.² Thomas Cogan had entered Oriel College, Oxford, 1559, and had graduated B.A. in 1562. He was elected Fellow and M.A. 1574. Like the famous Thomas Linacre he had also graduated in Medicine. He was esteemed a good Grecian, and his writings show familiarity with Erasmus and with the Greek, as well as Italian and Spanish medical writers. Soon

¹ Ames, quoted by Strype. The moveable printing-press of Robert Waldegrave of London was set up in Manchester, and some of the famous Martin Marprelate tracts were printed there. The printing-press and copies of the tracts were seized by the Earl of Derby.

² *Palatine Note Book*, vol. iii. p. 7.

after coming to Manchester, he married a wealthy widow, Ellen Trafford, one of five sisters of Sir Edmund Trafford, whose other sisters had been married to Edward Holland of Denton, Sir Urian Brerton of Handforth, Sir W. Radcliffe of Ordsall. Her previous husband, Thomas Willet,¹ was a man of considerable status. Dr. Cogan seems to have been allowed to practise as a physician coincidently with holding the high mastership, probably on account of the limited remuneration and the poor social status which still attached to the position of schoolmaster.

Dr. Cogan was the author of a work called 'The Haven of Health,' dedicated to Sir Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, of which the following is an extract :

'For a mind wearied with study, and for one that is melancholic, as the most part of learned men are, especially those that be excellent, there is nothing more comfortable, or that more reviveth the spirits than music . . . and because it is one of the liberal sciences, it ought to be esteemed of students, and that for good causes, for by the judgment of Aristotle music is one of those four things which ought to be learned in youth in all well-governed commonwealths . . . not only for solace and recreation but also because it moveth man to virtue and good manners and prevaieth greatly to wisdom, quietness of mind and contemplation. But what kind of music every student should use I refer to their own inclination.'

In 1595 Dr. Cogan, when about to resign his post at the school, presented some valuable works on medicine to his old College at Oxford, and the following entry occurs in the Oriel College register :

'All the works of Galen in five volumes, newly bound, embossed, and with chains attached. Also the Anatomy of Gemini (published at Windsor 1552) and Matthiolus' Commentaries on Dioscorides (pub. Venice 1568) with new bindings and bosses and fastened with chains as the gift of the distinguished Thomas Cogan, formerly Fellow of this College, were received and deposited in the Library, with the heartiest thanks of the Master and Fellows, and equally unanimous consent of all, the debt of 40s. which he owed to the College is remitted and condoned.'

¹ Died 1577. Cf. *Palatine Note Book*, April 1883.

And still further :

‘In testimony of their gratitude it was decreed that he should be presented with a pair of gloves, which was done on the day in the year above mentioned.’

In his will, Dr. Cogan left gifts of books to the Warden, Fellows, and other members of the Manchester College and to the apothecaries of the town, and 4d. for each scholar.¹

It would be interesting if we could trace any increased tendency to the study of Medicine among local scholars as a result of Dr. Cogan’s tenure of office, but it is to be feared that his professional duties and his social engagements outside the school diverted some of his interests from the future careers of his scholars. The only possible trace of his influence is the presence in the school library of a few volumes with the contemporary signature of Thomas Proudlove—a name well known in Manchester: Eustathius’ ‘Commentary on Homer,’ 1560; Livy’s ‘History,’ 1578; Pliny’s ‘Natural History,’ 1582; Delrio’s ‘Syntagma Tragoedii Latini,’ 1593.

The persistence of the devotional element which current learning had inherited from the time of the Chantry and Guild schools is illustrated in the life of Thomas Sorocold, son of a merchant of Manchester, and a friend of the Bradford family. On leaving the Manchester School in 1580 he entered Brasenose College, being assisted by Robert Nowell’s money. He took his B.A. degree in 1582, and M.A. 1585. He became one of the Queen’s Preachers, and was appointed rector of St. Mildred’s, Poultry, London, in 1590. He was the author of a well-known devotional book, ‘The Supplication of Saints,’ whose popularity is shown by the fact that while the first edition was published in 1608, the forty-fifth was published in 1754. The devotional aspect of learning is indicated in many of his prayers :

‘Cast down the beams of Thy heavenly light upon such public places as are appointed for the training up (of such as are) of younger years in sound knowledge and commendable qualities, namely, our Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, the Inns of Court, and all Grammar Schools, the seed plots of the Church. Sanctify their memories to treasure up good things . . . Let the judges be learned and uncorrupt

¹ *Court Leet Records*. His reputation for Greek is attested by Hollinworth.

and the lawyers men of conscience to deal sincerely and uprightly in their business without either fear of greater personages or doing of unlawful favours or desire of reward from any. Take away all unchristian practices out of the Church of Rome. Let it persuade not by the infection of youth or subversion of the State.'

About this time, from the more northerly parts of Europe, specially Louvain, came the study of Euclid, a translation of whose work by Sir Henry Billingsley, scholar, and subsequently Lord Mayor of London, appeared 1570. It has local interest, because it contains an introduction on the application of Euclid to other studies by Dr. John Dee, who introduced the study of astrology, astronomy, and mathematics to Manchester when he became Warden of the Collegiate Church in 1596. Besides being a great mathematical scholar, an astrologist and a traveller, he was a chemist, expert in crystal-gazing, and reputed summoner of spirits by White Magic, and was for some time the dupe of an evil-minded assistant, from whose clutches he only escaped with reputation damaged and intelligence obscured. He was already an old man, and his appointment was very unpopular, as he was distrusted alike by the learned Calvinists and by the ignorant general public.¹ There were, however, a few local scholars who could take an intelligent interest in his mathematical studies, and from this time onwards the study of geometry, both in the direction of astronomy and in its application to land surveying, received local support. Besides his studies in mathematics, Warden Dee had many other interests, for his library at one time consisted of four thousand books.

There is, in the Chetham Hospital, an ancient chair, known as the Founder's Chair, since it was purchased from the Derby family by Humphrey Chetham along with other ancient furniture belonging to the College. Tradition has long existed that, in this chair, placed in the recess or ladies' bower so as by a legal quibble to be outside the College precincts forbidden to visitors, Sir Walter Raleigh sat and smoked his pipe of recently introduced tobacco when he was visiting Warden Dee. Considerable doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of this tradition, but there is nothing impossible about it, for the famous courtier and adventurer was as impetuous in his

¹ See his *Apology to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1592.

search for knowledge as he was indifferent to the source from which it was obtained. He cultivated the acquaintance of men of all sorts and kinds, and is known to have invited Dee to dine with him in London. He was not the man to have neglected the opportunity presented by his passing through Chester on his way to Ireland to call on his quondam friend the astrologer, and persuade him to consult his famous crystal,¹ even if he did not actually desire to obtain his chemical knowledge in determining the character of the rocks and quartz he brought with him from America or to discuss problems of geography.

The last Elizabethan high master was Edward Chetham, son of Henry Chetham of Crumpsall, feoffee of the school and an elder brother of Humphrey Chetham, the merchant philanthropist.² The date of his appointment is uncertain. It was probably about 1597. He held office for a very short time, since he was buried in the Collegiate Church on January 21, 1602. His will, dated 1602, proved at Chester, mentions that Warden Dee was in his debt.

The frequent changes of school ushers was perhaps still due to repeated visitations of the plague. The following names are found among the local burials: 'Richard Hankinson, usher, bur. 6.12.1581. Roger Newhall, usher, bur. 21.1.1589. John Birch, usher, bur. 15.4.1598. W. Edwards, usher, bur. 6.9.1598.' It is not possible to trace any of these names at Oxford or Cambridge. This does not necessarily indicate that they had not received University training, for the University lists at this period are manifestly imperfect, but the absence of any names of Manchester scholars for several succeeding years leads to the impression that the ushers were not highly trained, and the teaching at the school at this time was very irregular.

It was part of Dr. Dee's duties as Warden to visit the Manchester School. This he did both in 1599 and in 1600 when his son Rowland was on the foundation. He noted 'great imperfections there,' though his opinions were probably intensified by disappointment at the progress of his son Rowland, who, though he was awarded a University Exhibition to Brasenose from the funds of the School, does not

¹ Now in the British Museum. It is described as a polished piece of cannon coal.—Granger's *Biographical History of England*.

² Cf. *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii. p. 137.

appear to have proceeded thither, perhaps on account of the inability of his father to find sufficient additional funds ; or perhaps because the son shared the mathematical inclinations of his father, and was not attracted by the linguistic studies which were still dominant at the English Universities. Rowland became a merchant in London, and his son Arthur must have inherited some of the family ability, for he ultimately became a scholar of some repute. An elder Arthur Dee, son of Warden Dee, was for some time in medical practice in Manchester. The Elizabethan chapter of the Manchester school, therefore, closes under a cloud of neglect, which is intensified by the fact that in order to obtain payment of their salaries, the high master and the usher had to sue the feoffees of the School at the Palatine Court held at Lancaster.

CHAPTER III

1603–1643

UNDER PURITAN INFLUENCE

‘Manchester College, that noble and useful foundation for learning and propagation of religion in these northern parts.’—*Strype’s Annals*.

Trade intercourse with Holland encourages English Puritans to consider problems of Church government with problems of civil government—Puritanism becomes a political force—Desire for further enlightenment shown by the Millenary Petition from the North of England—Francis Bacon discourses on the Advancement of Learning among the wealthy and professional classes, but opposes the devotion of Thomas Sutton’s money to the foundation of another Grammar School—The Charterhouse—Hampton Court Conference—Life in Puritan Manchester—Attempts to found a Town Library—Local astronomers, &c.—High mastership of Edward Clayton—Growth of Salford and building of Trinity Church—Thomas Harrison—Robert Symonds—Ralph Brideoak—Attempts to found a local University.

OF the attitude of the merchant classes towards learning and of their desire to support the public institutions for the higher education of those of their members who desired to become preachers of the new doctrines, or who wished to become professional advisers in law or in medicine, as well as for those who were desirous of following commerce, there could now be no doubt. Oxford and Cambridge were the natural goals for the majority, but there is considerable evidence of the use of other centres.¹ Leyden had established its University in 1575, Göttingen in 1584. The provost and Town Council of Edinburgh established the College, and subsequently the University in 1583. Trade intercourse carried ideas as well as goods, and although the recognition of the

¹ Cf. Lists of Graduates at Edinburgh and at Leyden.

independence of the Dutch by Spain did not actually take place till 1609, the successful resistance of the Dutch merchants to the interference with private judgment by ecclesiastics was powerfully reacting upon opinion in England. Current political questions were still closely mixed with religious ones, and civil questions with ecclesiastical ones. The Calvinist theology of predestination was openly challenged by the Arminians, who opposed the idea of fixed immutable decrees of Providence with that of the progressive improbability of each individual by the operation of human free will. Both theories of life involved the exercise of individual judgment in the study of the Scriptures, and therefore both were opposed by Catholic ecclesiastics, who demanded that the innermost thoughts as well as the outward actions of men should be governed and directed by hierarchical authority. The struggle between Calvinist and Arminian was so intense and the advocates of each so renowned that the Council of Dort or Dordrecht, at which the matter was argued out, was attended by representatives of all the Protestant States in Europe. Unfortunately the hate engendered by Spanish persecution had sown a habit of hate in the Dutch, and the violence of the majority was so unbridled that neither profound learning nor public service shielded those who held opposing opinions from violence. Though founded primarily for the study of theology, other matters were considered at the Dutch University, particularly Medicine and Law. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), son of a burgomaster at Delft, after practice as an advocate had been appointed to write the history of the war between the Netherlands and Spain. He had achieved great renown as a legalist as well as historian, and was called upon to settle an international dispute with England on the subject of fishery rights. He secured high praise from both parties. Unfortunately he became involved in the Arminian controversy and was imprisoned, but escaping to France¹ published his most famous work, 'On the Rights of Peace and War.' The subject-matter of his studies and the amount of learning displayed in the six folio volumes which contain his works, places Grotius

¹ His wife was accustomed to bring him books to study. On one occasion she brought a trunk of volumes, and packing her husband in their place succeeded in getting past the guards.

on a par with the great scholiasts of the Middle Ages.¹ His works were extensively read and discussed by scholars in all civilised countries, and greatly influenced the direction of learning.

Geometry² had hitherto been studied mainly in connection with astronomy. It was now studied with navigation and land surveying. Botany was being studied in connection with the efforts put forth to discover more efficacious means of curing disease than the general advice on dietary and regimen prescribed by Hippocrates and Galen, or the folklore embedded in the old wives' herbals which had become obsolete. Physic gardens were established in numerous university and other towns where special plants and herbs, noted for their healing powers, were grown and studied. Chemistry, too, was gradually emerging from the mystic alchemy inherited through Moorish sources. Van Helmont of Brabant (1577-1644) had succeeded his master Paracelsus, and had made valuable experiments on gases. It was, however, Francis Sylvius (1614-1672) who first placed medical therapeutics on a proper scientific basis.

Part of the prosperity of the Dutch towns was due to the liberality with which their citizens encouraged foreign merchants and others to settle, and thus in some way repay the debt for the hospitality they had themselves received in times of persecution; they thus retained, more completely than they would otherwise have done, intercourse with their fellow countrymen who did not return to their native land. So numerous were the English settlers that they formed little communities of their own and were accustomed to employ their own countrymen, many of whom had graduated at the University of Leyden, as their ministers. As the only possible language of commerce was the international one of Latin, both spoken and written, it was necessary for merchants who travelled to have been well educated in that language while at school. It was not unnatural that many who subsequently attained

¹ Copies of some of the works of Hugo Grotius have long existed in the school library. There is no evidence of the date of their acquisition.

² For its application to other subjects of learning see Introduction to the *Study of Euclid*, by John Dee, prefixed to the translation by Billingsley, 1560.

wealth desired to continue their early studies, and to make provision for others to enjoy similar opportunities.¹ Thus common trade interests as well as common religious principles tended to promote closer friendship and sympathy between merchants of different countries and to encourage each in any constitutional struggles for freedom of worship in their own country.

Unfortunately the close association between mercantile life and the congregational methods of Church government and determinative doctrines was not all good. The preachers were dependent for their living upon their wealthy and often autocratic employers, who did not always cultivate the sense of the obligation of riches, which had been a strong point in the government of the early English trade guilds. The preachers were thus discouraged from uttering those denunciations of the abuse of riches which had been so prominent in the sermons of the great Protestant reformers. Debased Jewish ideas of the rights of money began to be common with the entry of other Jewish ethical and moral standards, and replaced the earlier standards which the great preachers of the Christian Church had never ceased to proclaim. Moreover, the Calvinistic theology, with its claim for predestination, too easily lost touch with the humanising side of classical literature. Perhaps the doctrine of particular choice, characteristic of Calvinist and Jewish doctrines alike, explained the bitter antagonism towards the more generous teaching of the Arminians, as well as to the claims of the Brownists or Independents for each Church to be a self-supporting and a self-governing body—a principle not likely to be agreeable to those who demanded that the individual should give up his freedom for the benefit of the body or guild of which he was a member. Even the strict Sabbatarianism of the Puritan was not without intolerance, for it abolished the only holiday possessed by those occupying the lowlier positions in life without making any other provision for their relaxation and recreation. Lastly, the close association between commerce and theology was bad, in that it discouraged all creative

¹ One of the earliest illustrations of this is the provision of sums of money for scholars in Latin, by the wealthy clothier, Anthony Mosley, whose travels between Manchester and London, and probably abroad, would have particularly shown the need of such encouragement. Cf. *Lanc. and Ches. Wills* (Chetham Society).

forms of Art which expressed devotion and could not be applied to the pursuit of personal gain.

The great contribution of Puritan merchantry to human learning was that it aroused new thoughts among the middle classes immersed in trade, enabled free discussion to take place upon the meaning and significance of human existence, and set going useful controversies upon the real basis of authority in civil as well as ecclesiastical government.

England, like Holland, was making strenuous efforts to favour the spread of learning among its people. Although greatly influenced by Holland, its University-trained theologians had special aims as well as special needs of their own. The first outward expression of these aims was found in the Millenary Petition signed by 825 (not one thousand as the name was intended to signify) signatories of scholars in the north of England, and presented to King James on his passage from Scotland to take possession of the English crown. Although primarily concerned with a request for relief from the compulsory observances of the exact forms of ritual imposed by Edward VI, and now, owing to the spread of Puritan ideas, regarded as idolatrous and sacrilegious, it clearly indicates the rising desire for fuller knowledge and an appreciation of learning by appealing for ampler University training and for the increased financial support of the parochial clergy to enable them to extend their work of enlightenment. It suggested that the means necessary to support the increased number of clergy required might be obtained by the discontinuance of pluralities and by the taxation of lay impropriations of Church funds to the extent of one-sixth of their amount.

The violent antagonism of the two English Universities, who benefited greatly by these lay impropriations, was at once aroused by this last suggestion. It brought out the sharp contrast between episcopal government by favour of the Crown, already proclaimed by Bishop Bancroft as a government of divine appointment, and the Presbyterian form of Church government, in which there was considerable lay representation and consequent curtailment of State and clerical authority in Church matters. The suggested modification of Church ritual afforded opportunity for the bishops and other Court ecclesiastics to push forward their counter-claim

for increased recognition of their authority, which had little chance of growth under the masterful Tudors.

At the Hampton Court Conference, which was ostensibly held to deal with the grievances and the differences of opinion disclosed by the Millenary Petition, Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, petitioned for a new translation of the Bible for the use of ministers, and that copies should be placed in every parish church. To this request King James replied that he had consulted the bishops, who were willing and ready to help, but that the Universities did not provide sufficient numbers of clergy for the work of the parishes, since they already trained more learned men than the realm could maintain. Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor, a native of Cheshire, showed that this answer of the Universities was misleading. He claimed that more livings wanted learned men than learned men wanted livings, and stated that many scholars in the Universities were pining for want of place, owing to pluralities. 'I wish therefore some may have single coats' (one living only) 'before others have doublets' (pluralities), he said, but the reply of the University representative was significant—'It is better to have doublets in changing weather.'

The following year Francis Bacon wrote his famous appeal to the King for the Advancement of Learning. He did not regard learning as a desirable possession for every citizen, but held it to be a class privilege of the well-to-do and only to be extended to a very few who showed signs of exceptional ability and would be able to shine in public life. This exclusive spirit is expressed explicitly in a letter written to King James in 1611 about the munificent endowment left by Robert Sutton for the establishment of a school and college at the Charterhouse :

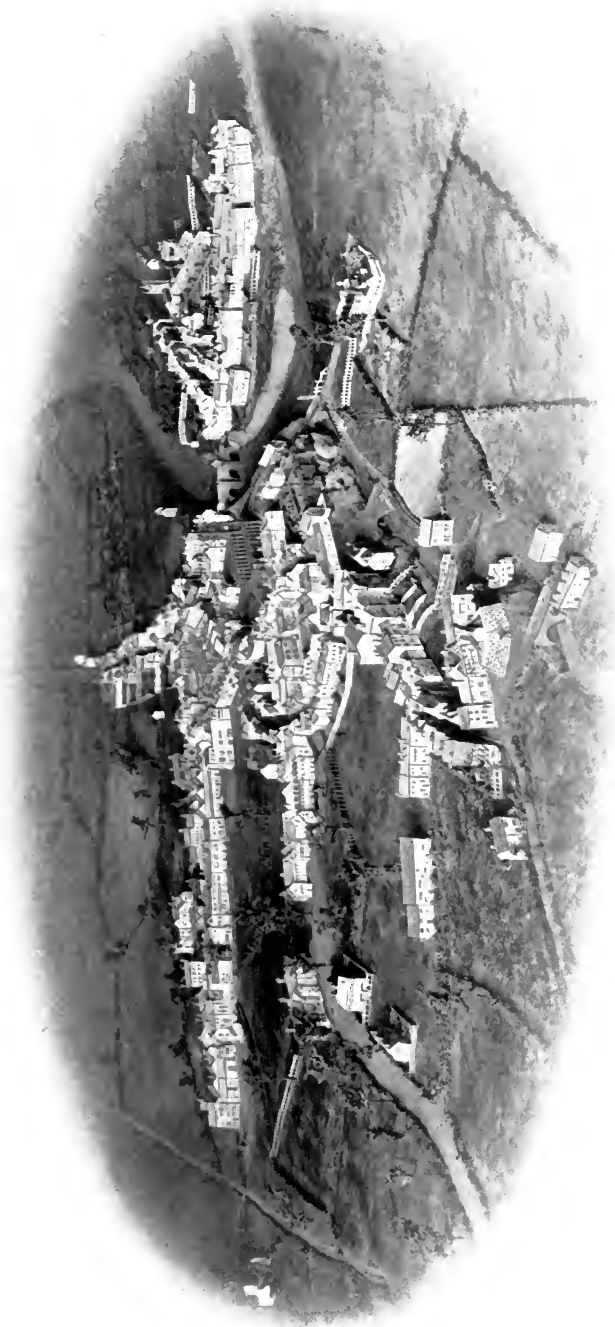
'I do subscribe to the opinion that for Grammar Schools there are already far too many and therefore it is no providence to add where there is excess, for the great number of schools that are in His Majesty's realm doth cause a want and likewise an overflow, for by means thereof they found want in the country and towns, both of servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade ; and on the other side there being more scholars bred than the State can prefer to employ, and the active part of that life not bearing a proportion to the preparative, it must needs fall out that many persons will be bred unfit for their vocations, and unprofitable for

that for which they are brought up, which fills the realm full of indigents, idle and wanton people, which are but *materia rerum novarum*. Therefore, on this point I wish Mr. Sutton's intentions were exalted a degree and that what he means for teachers of children, your majesty should make for teachers of men ;'

i.e. it should be given to the endowment of advanced scholars at the Universities, in the form of fellowships, &c., rather than to the further spread of secondary education among the common people. That Francis Bacon was no opponent of schools and colleges for the favoured few is shown by his observations 'On the Duties of the Chief Ministers of the King,' written about 1624 : 'Colleges and schools of learning are to be cherished and encouraged for breeding up a new supply to furnish the Church and commonwealth when the old stock are transplanted.'

The English Universities at this time were making special contributions to theology which were by no means identical with those of other Protestant countries. In the old public library of Manchester to be presently described (Chetham Library) there are portraits of four famous Lancashire preachers.¹ John Bradford (1510-1555) and Alexander Nowell (1537-1601), author of the English Church Catechism, have already been referred to. The two others are William Whitaker and Robert Bolton. William Whitaker of Holme (1548-1597) became Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and his learning and ability were such that he is credited with being the main instrument by which the teaching of the mediæval scholiasts and even of the early Christian Fathers was finally supplanted at Cambridge by the doctrines of Calvin and Beza. Robert Bolton (1572-1657) was made rector of Kimbolton by Edward Montague, then Lord Kimbolton, and subsequently impeached in the House of Lords with the five members of the House of Commons. All these were clear and voluminous writers, but Whitaker and Bolton are particularly interesting in that they describe the psychology of the English reformed faith, particularly the practical daily piety or the 'state of grace' in which they desired to live.

¹ These portraits were presented to the Manchester Library, 1684, by James Illingworth (*obit.* 1694), one of its scholars and citizens, who desired in this way to stimulate youths of a succeeding generation to follow knowledge.



MANCHESTER, 1650.

English grammar schools were at this time particularly flourishing in the eastern counties of England, whither French and Dutch refugees had brought their love of knowledge as well as their skill in manufacture. Landowners who mixed with the merchant classes in the market towns were desirous of providing as good an education for their sons as the merchant classes, and were looking out for proper opportunities. Many apprenticed their younger sons to better class merchants, and not a few of the more intellectual ones sought scope for their powers in the study of Medicine and Law, others sought advancement in the Church. Eager aspirants for fame and position, after leaving the grammar schools and Universities, sought further knowledge and experience at the Inns of Court, where they were among the most enthusiastic and enlightened supporters of the drama. Such attendance was by no means confined to those seeking professional knowledge, but was part of the social education for those of independent means, who brought their appreciation of study back to their homes when they settled down to duties of local administration in the Magistrates' Court, Court Leet, &c. The grammar schools being common to all, materially helped to prevent the undue growth of class prejudice, and their work in spreading knowledge grew so much as to arouse the opposition of those who continued to regard knowledge as a class privilege. Whether William Laud shared Francis Bacon's opinions about the extension of grammar schools is doubtful, but in his efforts to place the English Church on an insular basis and eliminate the influence of foreign Protestantism in English life, he became exceedingly jealous of the power of the merchant classes to support their private lecturers and preachers, to the neglect of their proper parochial clergy whose limitation of education had already been indicated in the Millenary Petition. Laud demanded that English merchants and officials when resident abroad should conform to the ritual of the Anglican Church, and at the same time withdrew from Huguenot and other foreign Protestant settlers in England the privilege they had been guaranteed of pursuing their own forms undisturbed. Laud and his supporters failed in their State policy largely because the landowning classes, who formed the bulk of members of Parliament, were in close relationship with, and shared the opinions of, the merchant classes, and had learnt clearness of thought, independence of

judgment, and moral earnestness at the grammar schools, Universities, and Inns of Court. The thoroughness of their intellectual training is amply illustrated in the language used in the Petition of Rights which embodied their demands in 1628, and the Great Remonstrance which was the bugle note of the Civil War.

Reflections of nearly all these general movements for the spread of learning are to be found in the civil and ecclesiastical history of Manchester and its neighbourhood, and must be considered in studying the part which the Manchester School played in local history. Evidence of the local study of Constitutional Law is found in 'Earwaker's Court Leet Proceedings, 1557-1830'; 'Proceedings of the Court Leet of Manchester'; and 'Proceedings of the Quarterly Sessions of the Magistrates' Court, 1616-1635.'¹ Moreover, Common Law (*i.e.* judge-interpreted law, or the collected expressions of many judges) had been accumulating, and was growing in such complexity as to lead to the necessity for its special study and organisation in the form of a system of jurisprudence, training in which therefore became included in the range of Puritan culture. Statute Law and Royal Charters also needed trained interpreters, who should command public confidence and plead the cause of their clients before the various Courts.

Vigorous and boisterous outdoor activity had always characterised the inhabitants of Lancashire. This had shown itself in the sports and holiday revels which in pre-Reformation times had too often been associated with drunkenness and gross immorality. From time to time the County Magistrates, the Baronial Court Leet of Manchester, and the Port Moot of Salford had made various attempts to control such excesses, and to enforce enactments passed by Queen Elizabeth and her predecessors. They attempted to control convivial excesses by appointing special 'overseers for dinners, weddings, &c.'²

¹ *Record Society*, vol. 42.

² The following resolution was passed by the Manchester Court Leet in October 1608: 'Whereas there hath been heretofore great disorder to our town of Manchester and the inhabitants thereof greatly wronged and charged with making and mending of their glass windows broken yearly and spoild by a company of lewd and disordered persons using that unlawful exercise of playing with football in the streets of the

Such revels continued, however, to be favoured and encouraged by politicians as an antidote for the rising tide of thoughtful Puritanism.

After his journey through Lancashire in 1617, James I claimed to strike the mean between control and indulgence in the Sunday revels by causing the 'Book of Sports' to be published. It was the ill-timed republication of this regulation by Charles I in 1633 that aroused such bitter animosity among the Puritans.

That many prominent Lancashire Puritans, whose Puritanism was political rather than religious, actively participated in boisterous outdoor life and violent sports is illustrated in the diary of Nicholas Assheton (1617-1618),¹ a member of one of the most prominent local Puritan families, while the increasing introspection and conscientiousness that also characterised Puritanism is illustrated in another diary written by William Langley, whose mother was a member of the same Assheton family. Langley had received his education at the Manchester School, and at Brasenose College, Oxford. Only a fragment of his diary remains, but this is sufficient to illustrate the distress of mind brought about in a sensitive nature by the warring of the ideals of the joyous and careless love of freedom of the typical English squire, and the self-denunciation which subsequently became the distinguishing mark of the Puritan scholar.

Such ecclesiastical affairs of Manchester as were likely to have any effect on local educational progress or to direct the thoughts of youth into fresh channels continued to centre round the collegiated body who were in charge of the parish church, though considerable local disappointment was felt when, on the death of John Dee, the Elizabethan Warden, in 1608, the office was not conferred on William Bourne, who was very popular and had distinguished himself by his zeal and ability. He had much family influence to support his claim, for he was well connected and related to the Cecil family, but as he was known to be a favourer of Puritan

said town, breaking many men's windows of glasse at their pleasure and other great inconvenience, therefore all of this jury order that no manner of person hereinafter shall play football in the streets in the said town of Manchester.'

¹ *Chetham Society Transactions*, vol. xiv. and 106.

reform in Church worship, both Court policy and Court favouritism were against him.¹

Among the numerous Scotch attendants about the Court looking out for good English appointments, was Richard Murray, D.D., already a pluralist with appointments in Cornwall. By family influence Murray obtained the Manchester appointment, but though he occasionally figures as a local magistrate and a lavish entertainer, he never resided in Manchester for any considerable length of time, but left William Bourne to do the preaching, paying him a portion of the emoluments. Under this influence local religious sentiment became increasingly Presbyterian. This had naturally affected the sentiments of the scholars of the Grammar School, particularly those who proceeded to Cambridge, until the election to a fellowship in 1625 of Richard Johnson (1602–1675), a Buckinghamshire scholar of Brasenose College, Oxford. Johnson ‘preferred the Church of England, her primitive order, her discipline and her prayer-book before Presbyterianism.’ He provided moderate Anglican churchmanship with an intellectual and attractive exponent, who was destined to exert an even greater and more permanent influence on the direction of local scholarship and study than William Bourne. The moderate liturgical party in the district began to rally. In 1634 Humphrey Booth, a wealthy merchant of Salford, now an important residential suburb, established and endowed Trinity Chapel, Salford, and the extant list of subscribers and supporters² shows the strength of the movement. It contains the name of Richard Johnson, who was a man of wide sympathies and of generous nature, a student of law as well as of Church government. He was the intimate personal friend and adviser of Humphrey

¹ The Archbishop of York complained to the King of the ill-discipline of the clergy of the Collegiate Church at Manchester, having been found altogether out of order, the Warden and the Fellows had upon consideration reformed themselves, all but one, Mr. Bourne, who was contented to read the prayers, but was ashamed to put on the surplice, which he had not done for thirty years. Whereupon he was suspended. The King remarked, ‘Let him be so still, except he conform.’—*Domestic State Papers*, March 1634. ‘They call the surplice the rags of Rome in Manchester and Preston, and will suffer no organs, no sign, no children with the cross when they are christened, and the altar was pulled down.’ *Ibid.* April 25, 1635. Bourne was buried August 20, 1643.’

² Cf. Whatton’s *Foundations* vol. i. p. 147.

Chetham, the philanthropic Manchester merchant, with whose financial assistance Richard Johnson set about restoring to proper order the again neglected affairs of the College.

The attention of Archbishop Laud, whose reforming zeal was little inclined to pass over any laxity of control and Church discipline, was however drawn to the prevailing scandals associated with the wardenship of Richard Murray, and a commission of inquiry was instituted, consisting of the Bishop of Chester, the Bishop of the Isle of Man, the Earl of Derby, and others, to inquire into the general management of the College. As a result Warden Murray was dismissed, and a new charter demanding of future wardens a high standard of University training, and making more stringent rules concerning the residence both of the Fellows and Warden, was drawn up.¹ It received royal assent in September 1635. The vacant wardenship would naturally have been given by the Crown to some nominee of Archbishop Laud, but as the king owed a sum of £7000 to Sir William Heyrick, he was willing to get rid of his debt by appointing his son, Richard Heyrick, who had been educated at Merchant Taylors' School, London, and All Souls College, Oxford. Conscientious that he held his position by purchase, Heyrick was able to concern himself little with ecclesiastical authority. He threw his influence on the Presbyterian side as regards Calvinistic doctrine, though he retained most of the Anglican ritual.

The way in which careers were opening up to boys who passed from the school to Oxford and Cambridge at this time may be illustrated by giving a few biographical notes. Among its foremost Oxford scholars was John Prestwich, third son of Edmund Prestwich of Hulme, a feoffee of the school. He was born in 1605, and left the school in 1622 to enter Brasenose College. He migrated to All Souls, where he graduated M.A. in 1631, and became B.D. and Senior Fellow in 1641. On the visitation of the Parliamentary Commissioners to Oxford University in 1648, on May 5 he was summoned to attend, and

¹ As the College house had long been taken away and was held by the Earl of Derby, houses in Deansgate specified by name were assigned to the Warden and Fellows respectively, July 25, 1635.—MS. copy of Foundation deed in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

asked if he submitted to the authority of Parliament in the visitation. He replied that he did, but with this limitation, 'No further than I may do with a safe conscience.' This answer was regarded as unsatisfactory. On May 15 he was again summoned, but as he would not unreservedly submit to the Commissioners, he was expelled with twelve others. Of the whole number so summoned, only five submitted unreservedly. In 1648 he had apparently made his peace, for, as a Fellow of the College in 1649-50, he was appointed Dean of Arts by the Visitors. His part in founding the 'English Library' at Manchester will be referred to in the next chapter.

Owing to its strongly marked Puritan tendencies and its close connection with the trading centres, a larger number of boys passed to Cambridge than to Oxford, the favourite College at this period being Magdalene, whither a long stream of local scholars proceeded. Thus, to take some members from one particular local family—John Hawarth, son of a Manchester merchant,¹ matriculated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1617; became Fellow 1640, Master of Magdalene College and Vice-Chancellor of the University. He was evicted by the sequestrators, but restored, and died in Cambridge, 1668.

Theophilus Hawarth was probably a near relative. He was the son of another Manchester merchant, matriculated at Magdalene College 1633, M.A. 1630, M.D. 1666. He settled as a physician in his native town, took a prominent part in civic life, and died 1671.

Richard Hawarth, son of Lawrence Hawarth of Thorncroft, entered Gray's Inn 1614, settled in Manchester as councillor-at-law, married a daughter of John Lightbourne, merchant, and, like his father-in-law, served as a feoffee of the Manchester School from 1647. He became Recorder of Chester in 1651, and died in Manchester in 1668. Besides these there were :

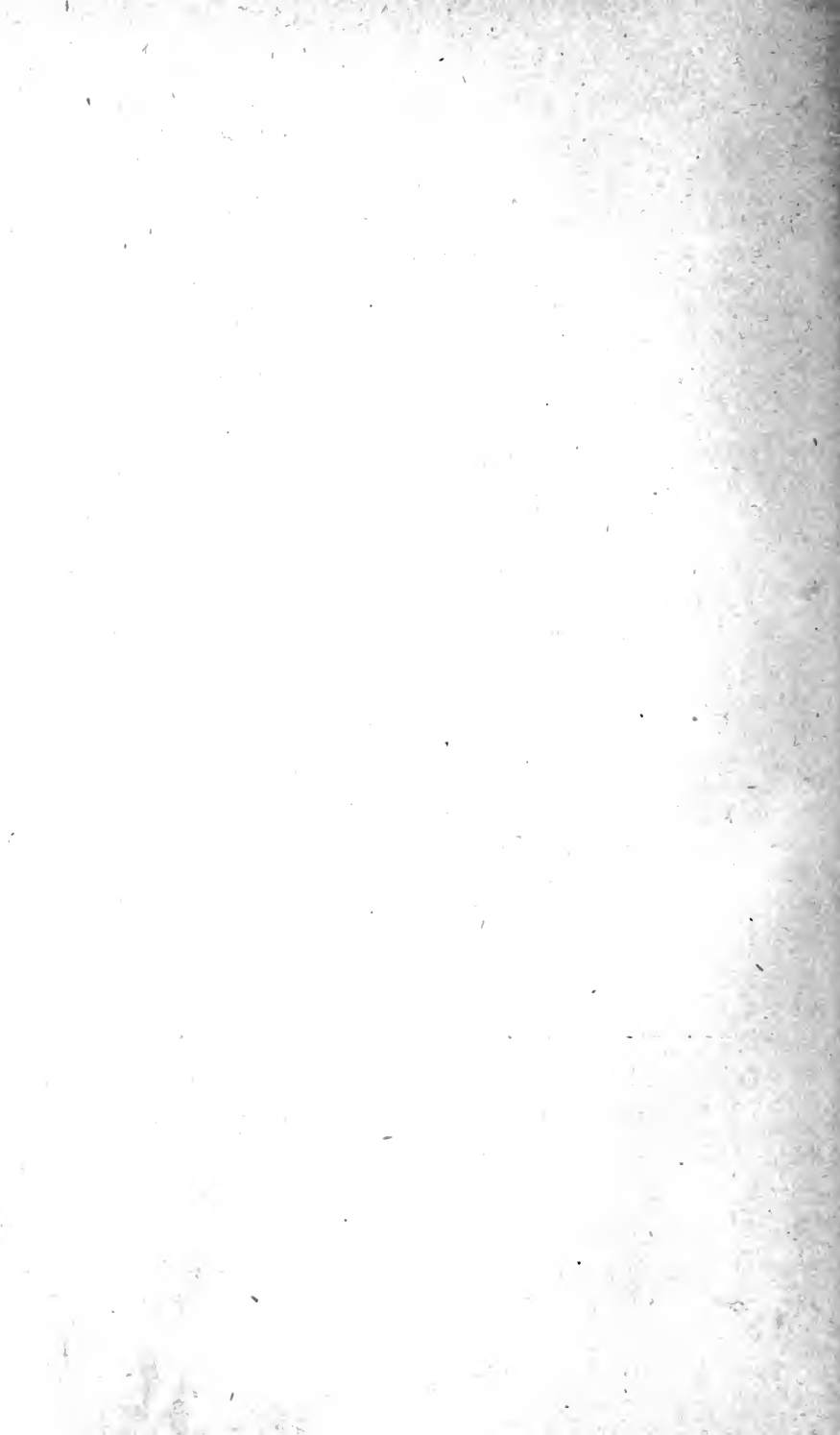
Richard Ashworth, who matriculated at Magdalene College 1612, B.A. 1615, M.A. 1619, settled in Manchester, and probably in the capacity of usher took part in the school recitations, 1640.

Richard Hollinworth, son of a Salford merchant, matriculated at Magdalene College 1623, B.A. 1626, M.A. 1630; served

¹ Charles Hawarth of Manchester was one of the original subscribers to the fund for building Trinity Chapel, Salford.



SIR NICHOLAS MOSLEY OF HOUGH END (1527-1612).
A MERCHANT ADVENTURER.



as minister at Trinity Church, Salford, and chaplain of the Collegiate Church. He died 1657, leaving MS. notes for a History of Manchester, which were subsequently in part published.

Nicholas Mosley (1611-1677), son of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1628, though he did not graduate. He was the author of a somewhat curious book on 'The Soul of Man.' The subject-matter is not of permanent interest. It consists of appeals to the philosophy of Aristotle in support of Christian teaching, illustrating the persistence of the old argumentative methods of inquiry destined soon to give place to the more naturalistic methods of the Neoplatonic School, which was arising at Emmanuel and Christ's Colleges, Cambridge, but the dedications to Manchester friends at the beginning of each of the three parts give the book a local colouring and interest.

Samuel Bolton, D.D. (1606-1654), proceeded from Manchester to Christ's College, Cambridge, and became University preacher and rector of St. Mark's, Ludgate. He dwelt in the same College and was contemporary with John Milton.

Robert Booth (born 1624), the son of another Robert Booth and grandson of Humphrey Booth, the founder of Trinity Chapel. At the age of nine years he was left heir to the estate of his grandfather. As a scholar of the Grammar School he took part in the school public performances, 1640. He was entered at Gray's Inn 1642, after he had studied two years at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was called to the Bar 1649, and subsequently became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

The Puritan traditions of many local families are also shown by the fact that many local students are found studying and graduating at Edinburgh, where they were under stricter control and less exposed to the temptations of a University where many wealthy and often idle scholars congregated. Other Puritan Manchester scholars studied at the University of Leyden, where congenial social and religious conditions were readily found by merchants engaged in foreign trade. Thus, Nathan Paget, the son of Thomas Paget, incumbent of Blackley chapelry, and a nephew of John Paget, previously of Nantwich, Cheshire, and subsequently preacher or

lecturer to the English colony at Amsterdam, after leaving Manchester, graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1631, and thence passed on to Leyden, where he no doubt lived with his uncle, while he prepared for his graduation as M.D. in 1639. He wrote a treatise on the Plague. On returning to England during the Commonwealth he settled in London, and became a prominent physician, helping the famous Francis Glisson to compile a treatise on Rickets, a disease then receiving so much attention as to be called 'the English disease.'

The first notice of an apothecary in the town occurs in connection with the death of a child of Samuel Cheetham, apothecary. There must have been several others according to the terms of the will of Dr. Cogan. By 1644 Thomas Mynshall, who had come from Cheshire to practise in Manchester, had acquired sufficient wealth to purchase Chorlton Hall.

Besides the special studies for professional careers, other studies—e.g. that of mathematics—were being introduced into local life.

John Booker (1603–1667), who received his early education at the Manchester School, had left Manchester to serve an apprenticeship to a haberdasher in London. He became first a writing-master and clerk, and subsequently an astrologer, and finally licenser of mathematical books and the author of several almanacs. He published *Telescopium Uranium*, 1631. He had the reputation of being 'the most complete astrologist in the world' (Lilly), having successfully predicted the death of Gustavus Adolphus and the Elector Palatine.

William Crabtree (1603–1644), of Broughton, was probably a schoolfellow of Booker. He also diligently cultivated the study of mathematics, and to such purpose that, with his friend Jeremiah Horrocks, curate of Hoole, near Preston, he was able to recalculate and correct the tables by which the date of an impending transit of Venus had been previously determined, and to make such preparation for observing it in detail that he was able to share with Horrocks the honour of being the first astronomer actually to watch and describe the progress of the transit. Jeremiah Horrocks had proceeded to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but had found the University atmosphere uncongenial to the study of astronomy. William Crabtree did not proceed

to a University, though, from 1638 to 1642, he was in constant correspondence with other men of science. He followed his mathematical studies at home in the leisure hours left him in the pursuit of his business, which included that of a land surveyor. William Crabtree's name also occurs in connection with the settlement of differences of taxation between Salford, Broughton, and Kersal in 1640, and again as the draftsman of a map of Humphrey Booth's estates in Salford.¹

A year before the granting of the new charter to the Collegiate Church in 1635, when the question of the better provision for the intellectual needs of the town was under general discussion, Henry Bury, an old pupil of the Manchester School and the founder of the Bury Grammar School, had left instructions in his will, dated October 31, 1634, for his trustees to pay £10 to the town of Manchester to

'buy books, when they shall have a convenient place of their own, furnished with books for the common use of the said parish to the worth of £100, a thing which may, in my opinion, be done in that great rich and religious town. If they provide not books for a library as aforesaid within seven years next after my death, my will is that they have no benefit in this my legacy.'

On December 10, 1636, Lord Strange,² the heir-apparent of the Derby family, whose ancestor had purchased the College buildings at the dissolution of the College in the time of Edward VI, wrote from Lathom House to Thomas Fox, whose brother, Richard Fox, became a feoffee of the Grammar School, 1647:

'Whereas some of my servants that have lately been in those parts have told me of the desire of the Warden and Fellows there wishing such a place for their library (referring to the Stanley Chapel in the Collegiate Church then in great disrepair) I am well contented and give you command to tell them (to place it in repair) and you shall deliver over the same unto them.'

¹ Cf. W. E. A. Axon, *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. xxiii. p. 30; and *Chetham Miscellanies*, N.S. vol. lxiii.

² Afterwards known as 'the martyr Earl of Derby,' on account of his execution by the Parliamentarians at Bolton in 1651.

There are still in the Grammar School Library a number of volumes, and there is authoritative record of the existence of other similar volumes, bearing the inscription 'Bibliotheca Mancestrensis, 1640,' together with the name of the several donors.¹ This date is anterior to that of the creation of the Chetham Library, 1657, which now goes under the title of the Manchester Library, and the inscription is also to be distinguished from that on some other books of a slightly later date in the School Library, which bear the inscription 'Bibliotheca Scholæ Mancestrensis.' The first inscription refers to an old Town Library, records of whose existence were brought into prominence by Mr. James Croston in 1878,² and reference to whose support occurs in the records of the Manchester Court Leet.

That the study of the law was becoming locally popular is also indicated by the presentation to the library by local merchants of works on statute law, such as Sir William Rastall's 'Statutes of England.' Although the appearance in increasing numbers of practitioners of law and medicine among the general inhabitants of the town in Stuart times is not to be regarded as an indication that entirely new intellectual occupations were arising, yet it does indicate that the members of these professions were beginning to occupy a new relation to the community, and that the guidance and direction of those who were specially trained was being called upon in the new conditions of society. Not only did new social rights and obligations need elucidation and statement, but astrology was discredited, and disease was no longer regarded as merely a divine visitation. The schoolmaster's duties were no longer confined to teaching infants reading and preparing more advanced pupils for the Universities, even though the latter demanded a rising standard of attainment. It was more fully realised that many boys who never intended to proceed to the University would continue their intellectual and scholarly interests after their school life, and that a liberal education would be of value to them. It was no uncommon thing for wealthy merchants like Humphrey Chetham to find leisure for the pursuit of literature—a

¹ Andrew Willet, whose bulky tome, *Synopsis Papisme*, was in this library, was probably related to the Thomas Willet of Manchester whose widow had married Dr. Cogan.

² *Manchester Literary Society*.



HUMPHREY CHETHAM.



pursuit which caused them to continue to take interest in the prosperity and general welfare of the schools and to encourage libraries. The public writing-master was no longer expected only to prepare boys in simple arithmetic and in the keeping of accounts, but had to teach the elements of surveying and the drawing of plans, nor was the apothecary concerned solely with the preparation of potions and drugs, which involved translation of prescriptions. He had begun to combine this with the routine visiting work of a general medical practitioner, and though in all serious cases he had the opportunity of deferring to the knowledge of the University-trained physician, he needed to be able to read and to understand the standard medical works; which were still generally written in Latin.

Soon after the death of Edward Chetham, the last Elizabethan high master, Manchester was visited by a severe epidemic of the Plague (1605), which is believed to have swept away about one-sixth of the inhabitants, then about some 20,000 in number. Among them was at least one of the masters of the school, George Stursaker (July 24, 1605). There seems to be a gap in the record of the feoffees of the School, for no fresh appointments are known between 1585 and 1628. Such appointments would almost certainly have been made about 1606, when John Reynolds, the famous Puritan leader at the Hampton Court Conference, in his capacity of President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, exercised for the third time his duty of nominating a high master. This time his choice fell on Edward Clayton of Little Harwood, whose father occupied Clayton Hall. Members of this family had already settled in Manchester and begun to take active part in its public life, and Robert Clayton of Clayton Hall was one of the School feoffees. Edward Clayton's tenure of office lasted twenty-six years, and, judged by the scholars he sent to the Universities after confidence had been restored on the cessation of the Plague, the school made continued progress.¹

We have already mentioned that there is a gap in the lists of new appointments of the School feoffees between

¹ By will dated May 10, 1628, and proved at Chester, Edward Clayton made bequests for several charitable purposes, giving 20 nobles per annum for two poor honest labourers or tradesmen out of the proceeds of his estate in Millgate (*Court Leet Records*, 1613).

1585 and 1628. Among the School documents is an undated petition addressed to the Duchy Court of Lancaster, signed by four trustees, all of whom were pronounced Royalists, praying that Thomas Prestwich, who was then tenant of the School mills, might be confirmed in a supposed ancient family privilege enjoyed by his ancestors of using the mills at Hulme in addition to the School mills on the Irk. The petition was signed by only four trustees: Sir John Byron, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Sir Cecil Trafford, and Edward Stanley of Broughton. It probably belongs to some period before 1628, for that was the date of the appointment of a new high master in the place of Edward Clayton.

Under the new administration of 1628 the income of the School again became settled and able to support the increasing number of scholars who were passing to Oxford and Cambridge (see Appendix). The feoffees also gave attention to the conduct of the School, which had been left by John Rowland,¹ the high master, in charge of his brother Richard, while he himself occupied the position of private chaplain to Henry Montague, died 1640, first Earl of Manchester. John Rowland claimed to have obtained the consent of one of the feoffees. As the brother proved unacceptable, the feoffees applied to the Master of Corpus Christi, who nominated Thomas Harrison of Prescott. After a time John Rowland appealed to the feoffees for reinstatement, threatening legal proceedings if kept out. The terms of settlement are unknown, but Rowland does not reappear in Manchester, and in 1634 was consoled by being appointed rector of Foot's Cray, Kent.² He was sequestered from that living in the time of the Commonwealth.

Rowland was succeeded by Thomas Harrison, son of Thomas Harrison of Prescott, already in possession. He was destined to pass a particularly adventurous life. He matriculated at All Souls, Oxford, July 1625, aged eighteen, and was admitted B.A. from Corpus Christi College, 1628.

¹ It is probable that he obtained the patronage of the Earl of Manchester through Samuel Boardman, Fellow of the Collegiate body, who had already served the Duke, and had been appointed by Laud to assist Johnson in setting the affairs of the College in order.

² Licensed August 8, 1634, to marry Ann, daughter of George Holt of Foot's Cray.

How long he remained at the School is doubtful, but he had left before 1637. In 1645 he was sequestered from the rectory of Crick, Northants, and from his canonry at Lichfield. His house was plundered, all his books burnt, his wife and children thrown out of doors, and he himself sent to jail. In 1646 he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State from Wood Street Compter, where he was then in prison for debt, praying him to remember a poor scholar in great want. He seems to have remained in reduced circumstances for a long time, since a collection was made for his benefit at the Stretford Chapelry, near Manchester, May 12, 1661, then under the care of his early companion at Manchester School, Francis Mosley. He is probably to be distinguished from Thomas Harrison, minister of the Gospel, who delivered an address to Christ Church, Dublin, 1658, on Spiritual Logic.

In 1637 Robert Symonds appears as the next high master. Unlike his predecessors, he was of Christ's College, Cambridge. He had been head master of Nantwich School from 1634. He seems to have been a moderate but attached churchman, and on July 24, 1638, was appointed Chaplain of the Manchester College, remaining in office till the affairs of the College were thrown into disorder in 1641.¹

The changes in the high mastership would have been far more serious for the future careers of the scholars, had not the school possessed some very staunch friends at both English Universities. Among them was John Smith, head of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who founded a number of scholarships for boys coming from his old school, and a number of fellowships at his College to induce its students to pursue their studies beyond their first graduation. The money for these scholarships was unfortunately not invested in any town land which subsequently became thickly populated. Consequently the endowments did not become famous,

¹ In 1652 he was appointed rector of Dalbury, Derby, after having been previously chosen by the people of Middleton, near Manchester, to be their minister. This choice the local Presbyterian Classis, whose proceedings will be more fully described in the next chapter, refused to confirm, because Robert Symonds had not received a Presbyterian ordination. By the irony of fate Robert Symonds was subsequently instituted rector of Middleton in November 1662, on the presentation of Sir Ralph Assheton. He died March 23, 1681, aged eighty-four (Croston and Baines, vol. ii. p. 404, and Chetham Society, N.S., vol. xxiv. p. 446).

owing to a rapid multiplication in value. Smith scholarships, however, served their purpose for a time, and assisted in directing a stream of Manchester boys to Magdalene College, Cambridge, then the resort of many of the most hard-working students in the University.

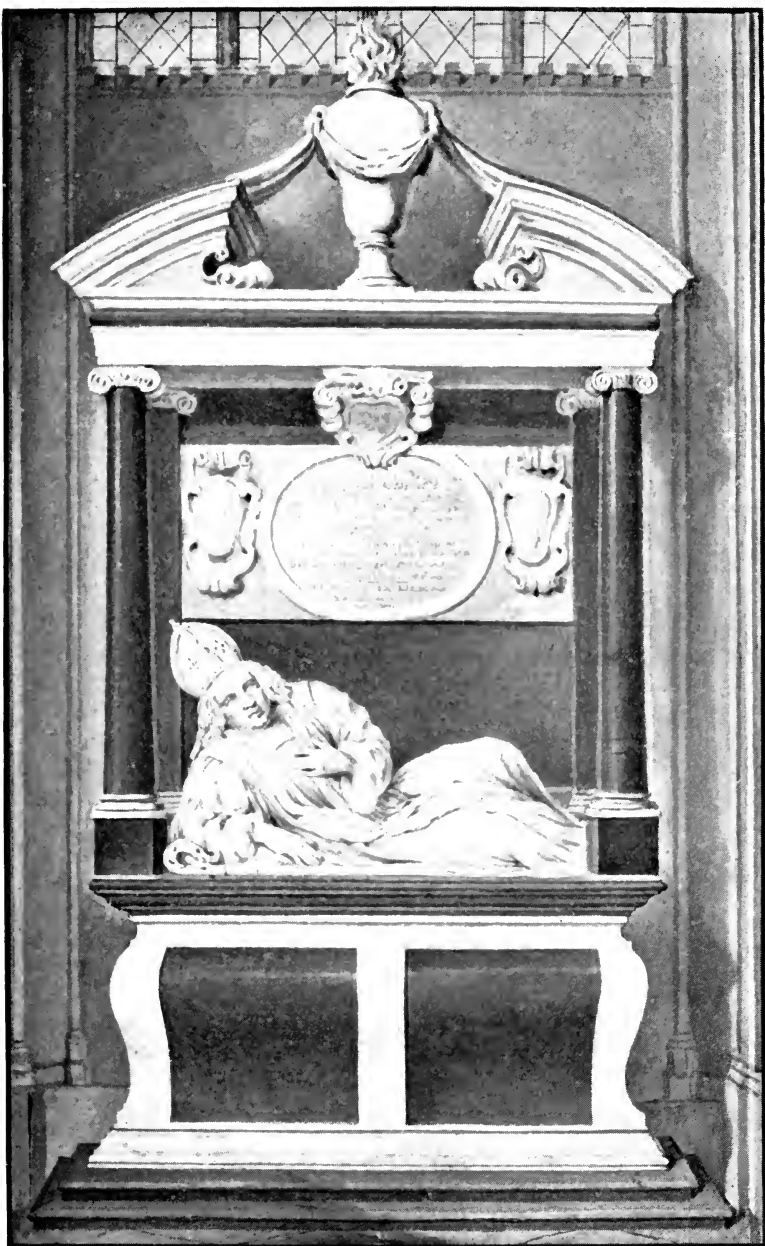
In 1638 Ralph Brideoak, an old pupil of the School, who had proceeded to Brasenose College, Oxford, appears as high master. He was a man of great energy and ambition, and considerable ability. Although he lived in constantly changing times and took a prominent part in public affairs, yet he always succeeded in attracting notice and securing reward. He is described as 'busy, bustling, fawning, elbowing, grasping.' He had early attracted the attention of John Jackson, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and President of Corpus Christi College, and so secured nomination to the high mastership of his old School. He probably shared fully in the welcome extended to the dramatists and playwrights at Oxford, for on the death of Ben Jonson in 1636 he was one of those who contributed commemorative verses.¹

In addition to his high mastership he served as private chaplain to the Earl and Countess of Derby. He showed his anti-Puritan sympathies in 1640 when he instituted social gatherings or commemorations at the School for the public reading of Latin poems written by scholars, ostensibly to congratulate the Queen on the birth of a son, but really, like the contemporary commemorations at Oxford and the encœnia at Cambridge, to act as a counterblast to the political proceedings agitating the House of Commons. A MS. copy of the speeches and the names of the speakers is in existence,² on the title-page 'Book given to George Chetham by his friend John Lightbourne, 1640.' He was also rector of Standish, Lancs, and Whitney, Oxon, but was not allowed to settle by the Parliament.³

¹ Cf. *Collected Works of Ben Jonson*.

² It was discovered among the papers collected by Rev. Jeremiah Smith, high master of the School 1807-1839, who at one time contemplated writing its history, but who ultimately placed much of his information at the disposal of Mr. Whatton and Dr. S. Hibbert Ware, who incorporated it in the third volume of *Foundations in Manchester*, p. 183. The pamphlet had at one time belonged to the antiquarian sadler, Thomas Barritt, who died in 1820, for on it is written in Mr. Barritt's writing, 'Found among some old papers on a bookstall in the market, 1780.'

³ *Domestic State Papers*, January 8, 1654.



TOMB OF RALPH BRIDEOAK, AT ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.



Efforts were being made on behalf of the middle classes to make better provision for higher education in many directions. Gustavus Adolphus had invited Amos Comenius (1590-1670), a Polish refugee and educationalist, to organise a national system in Sweden. Samuel Hartlieb, his fellow-countryman and friend, had settled in London in 1630 and had cultivated the acquaintance of many English scholars, among them Joseph Mede (1586-1638) and James Ussher, who left Ireland to become Bishop of Carlisle in 1638. Through Hartlieb's influence a committee was appointed by the Long Parliament to organise English education. They invited Comenius to England to undertake this. John Dury, sometime Puritan chaplain to the Company of Merchants of Elbourg, worked with Comenius and Hartlieb.¹

Nowhere was the need for fuller University education felt more strongly than in the North, where many parents who feared the dissipation common at Oxford and Cambridge, had to send their sons to Edinburgh² or abroad. A petition was drawn up by many local well-wishers for the Manchester College to be made the seat of a new University, and the Earl of Derby offered to give the buildings.³ By means of Henry Fairfax,⁴ rector of Ashton-upon-Mersey, the petition was forwarded to Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, the famous Parliamentary General. Rival claims were put forth by other trading centres, York⁵ and Ripon, and the matter was delayed till the struggle between King and Parliament overwhelmed all else.

The Grand Remonstrance, or Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, which was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, November 8, 1641, was the public expression of disapproval of the way in which the government of Church and State had been carried on by ministers whether civil or ecclesiastical. Bishop Ussher of Armagh had put forward a scheme by which some of the acknowledged evils of

¹ *Vide Masson's Life of Milton*, vol. iii.

² The intimacy between England and Scotland became closer after 1628, when Charles I tried to reinstate episcopacy there. The famous scene in St. Giles' was in 1637. A list of graduates at Edinburgh between 1587 and 1800 shows several Manchester scholars went there at this time.

³ Quick's *Educational Reformers*.

⁴ *Fairfax's Correspondence*.

⁵ Matthew Poole was of York; see also Appendix.

episcopacy could be limited by the setting up of provincial synods. Clarendon acknowledged that the first opponents of the Court party were moderate churchmen. Their aim was no repudiation of control and discipline, but a desire for better discipline, as is clearly indicated in the following clause (No. 186) :

‘ We have been maliciously charged with the intention to destroy and discourage learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it and to provide such competent maintenance for conscientious and preaching ministers throughout the realm as will be a great encouragement to scholars and a certain means whereby the want, meanness, and ignorance to which a great part of the clergy is now subject will be prevented. And we have intended likewise to reform and purge the fountains of Learning, the two Universities, that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and full, and an honour and comfort to the whole land.’

CHAPTER IV

1643-1660

PRESBYTERIAN DISCIPLINE AND LEARNING

'Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become sounding brass or a clanging cymbal.'

ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Puritan theological dogma and Puritan Church government set up in accordance with the Solemn League and Covenant—Demand for Puritan preachers causes a new class of scholar to seek higher and University training—The Neoplatonist philosophers at Cambridge—Presbyterian Discipline in Lancashire makes its headquarters in Manchester—It is successfully attacked by the Independents under Colonel Birch—Beginnings of the Town Library, 1640—The Prestwich Library, 1654, and the Great Scholars' or Chetham Library, 1657, placed under the government of a body of local merchants and professional men—The Grammar School again under the charge of an active and learned high master, John Wickens—Subjects studied at the School—Henry Newcome.

THE signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, September 1643, by members of the English Parliament involved a good deal more than the mere reversal of the rule of State-appointed bishops and a change of Church ritual. It replaced theology in the old position of supremacy among other branches of knowledge which it had occupied under the old scholastic system of learning in the Middle Ages. The testing of orthodoxy of opinion by Synod and Classis which now took place was far more systematic and quite as limiting as had been the inquiries and examination before papal courts and councils.

The examination of candidates for the ministry secured a high standard of preliminary training, though it restricted the subject-matter as well as the attitude towards knowledge. One ordinance of Parliament appointed committees to sequester the estates of Royalists in order to find money

to pay the Parliamentary soldiers. Another ordinance summoned an assembly of divines to meet at Westminster to advise on matters of Church government and to select proper preachers for orthodox teaching.

The number of distressed ministers who had been plundered during the war and who had sought refuge in London became so considerable that a special committee was appointed to make provision for their relief. Complaints of ill-behaviour, malignancy, and non-residence of other clergy, summarised under the heading of scandalous, poured in, and it became necessary to inquire into the foundation of such charges, for though some were well founded others were factitious and inspired by spite. The work was delegated to the committee already entrusted with the care of the distressed or 'plundered' ministers, whose work thus overlapped that of the Sequestration Committee.¹ Consequently the two committees worked together under the leadership of Edward Montague, who as Lord Kimbolton had been impeached in the House of Lords at the time of the attack on the five members in the House of Commons.² The General Committee, proving too large, broke up into special committees having jurisdiction over different counties. One under Lord Kimbolton himself, now Earl of Manchester, began its work of inquiry at Cambridge. Another committee, mainly occupied with the work of sequestering estates in Lancashire, was instituted April 1643, and its members, who were prominent Presbyterians, administered the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant to large numbers of the people of the county.

In order to expedite the work of the Westminster Assembly in reorganising the ministry and religious teaching on the new basis, a number of Lancashire ministers met together at Preston and presented a petition to Parliament to request the establishment of a Local County Provincial Assembly. This request was granted, but in order to keep the power in the hands of the civil authority, twice as many lay elders

¹ *Register Book of Committee for Relief of Plundered Ministers, 1644-7, 15669-15671, Add. MSS. British Museum.* The Lancashire Sequestration Committee, 1641, Sir Thomas Stanley, Mr. Ralph Assheton, Mr. Peter Egerton of Shaw, Mr. Robert Hyde of Denton, Mr. John Moore of Liverpool, Mr. Alexander Rigby, Mr. Richard Holland, all Presbyterians.—*Domestic State Papers*, p. 229; Rushworth, vol. v. p. 309; also *Record Society*, vols. 28, 34.

² January 3, 1642.

as preaching elders were appointed. The admission of the prominent local laity into the government of the Church soon, moreover, reacted on its fortunes. Partly owing to lack of adequate emoluments,¹ for there were no prizes of highly-paid dignity to anticipate, partly to a feeling of insecurity of tenure and status, also no doubt on account of the inquisitorial cross-examination by the Classis, many members of the families in whom traditions of learning had become ingrained failed to present themselves for Presbyterian as they had done for Episcopalian ordination.² Emoluments and salaries were lacking. There resulted a shortage of preachers, and it became necessary to attract a new class of candidates. Appeals were made to local Sequestration Committees.³ New Grammar Schools were founded in various towns, and other assistance from private sources was forthcoming to enable poor lads to get University training, especially at Edinburgh and Cambridge.⁴

The demand for preachers was met by the two English Universities in different measure, for not only were the studies which each encouraged different, but there was a difference in the kind of scholar each attracted. Cambridge, owing partly to its close relationship with the towns of the eastern counties, was strongly Puritan. Oxford, owing to its close relation with the Court, was loyal to the Old Establishment. Cambridge had been visited by Commissions of the Long Parliament in 1643, and had placed its intellectual resources at the disposal of the Presbyterians. Oxford put difficulties in the way. In 1647 seven of the principal Puritan preachers were sent thither to convert it. On their failure after six months to accomplish anything, a body of commissioners was appointed. Many of the most prominent Royalists were ejected from their positions, and a new régime instituted. The difference between the two Universities remained, and it was perhaps owing to a desire to escape Presbyterian influence, and to pursue their studies undisturbed, that those

¹ Heyrick was subsequently allowed £120 yearly, August 16, 1653.

² Richard Johnson left the town and refused to return. He was arrested, plundered, and submitted to gross indignity.—Halley.

³ E.g. *Calendar State Papers, Addenda*, December 5, 1644.

⁴ Matthew Poole, *A Model for the Maintaining of Choice Abilities at the University, principally in order for the Ministry* (1658). The most remarkable precursor of the modern scholarship system.

scholars¹ who had hitherto been pursuing in London the new philosophy advocated by Francis Bacon, transferred themselves to Oxford, the Alma Mater of many of them, and only returned to London on the accession of Charles II, when they were incorporated as the Royal Society.

The more pronounced Puritanism, as well as the lesser expense of living at Cambridge, made it the favourite resort of the young Puritan scholars, who now flocked from the country towns. Fortunately for them a new school of thought was springing up, which helped many to escape the narrow dogmatism of Calvinistic theology, without losing the spiritual fervour which gave Puritanism its force. In consequence of the title of the work of its founder, Henry More,² the leaders of this school were called the Cambridge Neoplatonists. Among these, Joseph Mede was less mystical and more devout than his predecessor, while Ralph Cudworth enriched the movement with studies in the working of the human mind, and John Worthington³—a Manchester scholar who as Fellow of Emmanuel for many years, and subsequently Master of Jesus College, was the means of attracting scores of Lancashire scholars to Cambridge—was one of its biographers and exponents.

The Cambridge Neoplatonists may be said to have found for their day and generation a means of providing a religious incentive to the study of natural philosophy and science, and to have provided theology with that basis in general knowledge, owing to the loss of which it became sterilised at a later date.

‘So this set of men at Cambridge studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds and in a philosophical method . . . all these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church and the Liturgy, and could well live under them, but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that all things might have been carried out with more moderation, and they continued to

¹ In 1645 they were called the Invisible College (Boyle).

² ‘The Song of the Soul,’ *Christiano-Platonical Display of Life*, 1642.

³ See *Life of John Worthington* (Chetham Society, vol. xiii. pp. 36, 114).

keep up a correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion.'¹

John Worthington remained at Emmanuel College eighteen years; and attracted thither a very considerable number of Manchester scholars. In 1650 he became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and the stream of Manchester scholars which had previously been directed to Emmanuel now became attracted to Jesus College. We read of Worthington's love of music and his diligent practice in the use of the viol, of the support he gave to the publication of the mathematical books by Samuel Hartlieb, whose interest in scientific husbandry would justify his claim to be called the father of modern English technical education. The organ of Jesus College had been removed and hidden in 1643. It was discovered in 1651, but as the time was not suitable for its replacement in the chapel it was again hidden. Its discovery at this time illustrates Worthington's care for music.² John Worthington encouraged the publication of the writings of Comenius on language teaching. He endeavoured to secure the republication of Warden Dee's 'Introduction to the Work of Euclid' to assist in extending the teaching of mathematics; he was also interested in the publication of Isaac Barrow's 'Lectiones Mathematica.' He was also in correspondence with Evelyn about a new translation of Plutarch's 'Lives.' He was interested in the writings of Borelli, the famous French physician and naturalist. He took great pains to collect all that he could of the MSS. of Horrocks and Crabtree, the astronomers. He also showed his knowledge and interest in the experiments with air-pumps &c., which were being made by Hon. Robert Boyle.

This liberality and expansiveness of view, though destined to influence profoundly the next generation of scholars and to prepare the way for the dissemination as well as for the advance in natural knowledge, was only very partially shared by contemporary preachers,³ who too often found narrow enthusiasms and violent partisanship more agreeable to their

¹ Bishop Burnet, *History of our Own Times*.

² Cf. *History of Jesus College*, Arthur Gray.

³ Cf. *The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 1648. A very bitter attack on Religious Toleration.

employers and supporters, or more in harmony with the character of the age. At least three main contending parties are to be distinguished :

1. The Presbyterians, who inherited from the times of the Marian persecution an undying hatred of Roman ritual, as well as of episcopal government. Many of them were loyal to the King and Constitution, until they found there was no other way of getting rid of prelacy than by taking the side of Parliament. Having got rid of the bishops, they were willing to restore the King under proper guarantees. After the execution of Charles I in 1649 their sympathies were divided, and they never regained their certitude or the predominance they had previously enjoyed.

2. The Independents, who had found their original home in Holland, and had been driven out by persecution at the triumph of the Calvinist party at the Council of Dort. They believed each body of worshippers should be self-governing, and should not be interfered with from outside, either in the exercise of its ritual or in its teaching. They, however, believed in voluntary consultations and conferences to discuss common purposes and to exchange spiritual experience.¹ Finding little encouragement in England, Scotland, or Holland, many had migrated to America, whither they had carried their love of learning and had organised grammar schools and colleges, of which Harvard stands to-day. They laid the foundations of the principles of the American Republic. On the outbreak of the Civil War many returned to England, but Independent principles had become debased and even caricatured by many extremists, and it was only in their original homes in the eastern counties of England that they were able to cultivate their learning. In the North, Independency took little hold.

3. The Anglican party, attached to the ritual and the tolerance of opinion traditional to English learning in the English Church, when not interfered with by aggressive ecclesiastics and statesmen. They had opposed the unconstitutional acts of the King, and had supported the Grand Remonstrance. At the beginning of the struggle, the more

¹ Savoy Conference, October 1658, and *Collectanea Hunteriana*, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 25463. ' Historical Biographies and Topographical Collections, with brief account of the Proceedings of Messengers of the Associated Churches in the adjacent parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire.' Third Meeting, June 8, 1658.

moderate ones were prepared to make considerable concessions in ritual and Church government to the Puritans, for they shared in the fear of any return to the old Catholic régime. They became repelled by the increasing violence of opinion and conduct of the victorious party, and quietly hoped and worked for the restoration of royalty as the only security for toleration and peace. Oxford University was their intellectual centre, and their theology received its inspiration from the study of the early Christian Fathers; and, perhaps to emphasise their differences from the Presbyterians, they adopted the milder theology of Arminius. There were also a few High Anglicans, closely attached to royalty, who continued to hold the High Church principles of complete supremacy of the bishops so strongly urged by Laud. Finally, there was a still larger body of Catholics among the county gentry constantly reinforced by the missionary priests sent among them to play upon the dissatisfaction of those who felt their social or religious security imperilled by the rapid changes which were taking place around them.

As Presbyterian learning became firmly established in South Lancashire, and profoundly influenced the course of local events, especially around Manchester, it is necessary to consider the exact nature of the discipline which Presbyterianism attempted to establish in the county.

The County Assembly they set up was divided into nine separate classes, each class being concerned with maintaining discipline in its own district, while the County Assembly was concerned with the examination and approbation of candidates for the ministry and the general policy of the whole religious body. This was no trivial matter of Church organisation. It was the beginning of a republic, for neither Crown nor bishops, nor their supporters, had understood the rising spirit of self-consciousness and the demand for self-expression which had grown up in the middle classes. Even the Presbyterians at first only partially understood it. It could now no longer be suppressed. If the theology they taught was often gloomy and censorious, it was placed in the hands of better-trained and cultivated men, who subsequently showed themselves capable of enlarging both their ideas and their sympathies as a consequence of free intercourse with their fellow-preachers and lay elders at the Classis.

The Classis not only desired control over the selection of

ministers, but also the right to inquire into the personal conduct of all the inhabitants of the town or district, and to summon before them any who were charged with 'scandalous conduct' or 'ignorance'; to reprimand, and if necessary, to punish them by excommunication and withdrawal of civil rights. The basis of the whole Presbyterian theory of government was that the community was a religious one, and that all citizens should prepare themselves to attend the Sacrament. Those who were considered unfit to receive the Sacrament were called 'scandalous,' and were to be outlawed from all social rights and from protection by civil law. Others who did not agree with the Presbyterian Classis in doctrine were regarded as 'ignorant,' and their education and conversion was regarded as the essential duty of the local Classis who, having found the person guilty, passed the delinquent to the civil magistrate for punishment. This amounted to a claim and assumption of judicial power by a rather arbitrary ecclesiastical assembly, and ultimately brought the government by Presbyterian Classis into discredit, for people were accustomed to look for the interpretation of delinquency as well as the local administration of justice at the hands of more or less experienced and educated Justices of the Peace. It was also particularly odious to the general body of regular Anglican worshippers who had been brought up under less inquisitorial and censorious discipline, where the sinner against moral law was left to the general reprobation of his fellows, and the criminal offender against the regulations of society was left to the civil judge, on the theory that he disturbed the 'King's Peace' by causing troubles between himself and his neighbour or by neglecting his duty towards the Crown.

In the constitutional struggle between King and Parliament, Lancashire at first took little interest. The collection of ship money from the land-owning classes had presented difficulties to the wealthy merchant, Humphrey Chetham, who as sheriff of the county had been appointed to collect it, and who it is believed had to pay a good deal out of his own pocket, but neither local landowners nor merchants found much cause for complaint. Indeed, they appreciated the efforts made by William Laud, who had been largely instrumental in saving the Manchester Collegiate body from the greedy courtier Richard Murray, and had obtained for it a new charter. Public feeling was however fully aroused at the receipt of the news of

the massacre of Protestant settlers in Ireland by the insurgent Catholics, for intimate trade relations had been growing up between the two countries, and the local Protestants became alarmed at the prospect of a Catholic rising at home. They applied for and obtained leave from Lord Derby—Lord-Lieutenant of the county—to collect and store up ammunition. On the actual outbreak of force between King and Parliament, the various Lord-Lieutenants of counties were ordered by the King to accumulate military stores and ammunition on behalf of the Crown. The local Protestants believed that this was a ruse to arm the Catholics and to deprive them of their means of defence. Consequently, when the Earl of Derby sought to obtain possession of the gunpowder and arms possessed by the citizens of Manchester, they first parleyed, and when the Earl tried to seize the stores they opposed the seizure, and what has been called the Siege of Manchester commenced. The struggle, however, was brief and not very severe, for party spirit had not yet become envenomed and local religious antagonisms had not been aroused.

Warden Heyrick was one of those summoned to attend the Westminster Assembly. The moderate Presbyterians who composed the local committee for sequestrations in Lancashire were favourable to existing conditions. They were little inclined to interfere with the Collegiate body; since it was so strongly Presbyterian in tone. Conflict was also delayed by the prevalence of plague in the town in 1645, which frightened away the wealthy merchants and prevented the collection of revenues. The church itself was closed, and no one was permitted to enter or leave the town. So severe was the distress among the inhabitants that public collections were made in London for them.

Even when the sequestrators were ordered to seize all church revenue, moderate opinion still prevailed, and the establishment of a local presbytery was generally acquiesced in, for the active Royalists had been so impoverished that they did not desire to attract further attention. So far from there being any general desire for the spoliation of church property, it is evident from a church survey of 1650, in which the nine Manchester chapelries of Salford, Stretford, Chorlton, Didsbury, Birch, Gorton, Denton, Newton, and Blackley are named; that the whole or a considerable part

of the salary of the incumbent must have been supplied locally from voluntary funds. The report to the Presbyterian synod of the neglected state of some of these chapelries and the lack of adequate ministry, served as an incentive to many local landowners to make better provision, and provided openings for the young scholars who had recently been trained for the ministry. This was all the more necessary on account of the large number of the Sectaries or irregular preachers who practised Independency, one section of whom now came into Manchester life.¹

George Fox the Quaker visited Dukinfield in 1647, where the scholarly preachers of Independency, Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor, had familiarised their audiences with the teachings of a learned ministry. George Fox had expected great support from the Independents, but enthusiasm was no substitute for learning, consequently his first visit to Manchester was evidently a failure, and his only other recorded visit, that in 1657, was still more unsatisfactory. It took place when the general populace had grown as tired of Independency as they had of Presbyterianism.

William Langley of Manchester, who left an unsigned diary and a volume entitled 'The Persecuted Minister,' thus bewails the embarrassments of a peaceable scholar when he visits his native town in the throes of conflicting opinion :

'Fain I would have kept communion with all those good and learned men, but it would not be. To be familiar with them of one party was to render me suspected of the other, and because I thought it was more for my benefit to argue with those of both persuasions as I respectively did with others concerning those things in the ways wherein I was unsatisfied than to discourse of such wherein I was of their mind, that had like to have lost me to them both.'²

Suspicious of the sentiments of the Presbyterians and anxious to regain their straying allegiance, the army leaders demanded that all ministers should make a solemn engagement to be true and faithful to the government established without King or House of Lords; the publication of this as the

¹ Heyrick preached before Parliament on May 27, 1646, and attacked the Independent and Cromwellian party with great vigour.—*Queen Esther's Resolves*.

² Chetham Society, vol. 106.

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'Agreement of the People,' in December 1648, virtually demanded obedience to military control. The execution of the King in the following January threw all Presbyterians and Churchmen into opposition against the Army and the Independents. The Presbyterian ministers of the district met together, and though, in the past, they had declared against the observance of all feast days, including Christmas and Easter, yet they unanimously agreed to appoint May 29, 1650, the birthday of Charles II, a day to be observed with religious solemnity. When Charles subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant, they could not contain their joy.

The conduct of affairs in Lancashire was completely changed. The Presbyterian officers were dismissed,¹ and power was placed in the hands of a governor—the Independent Colonel Birch, who claimed the deeds of the Manchester Collegiate body. Warden Heyrick refused to deliver, claiming that he held them by right of purchase as well as by royal mandate, and that the wardenship was his private property. He locked up the deeds in the church. Colonel Birch thereupon brought a body of his soldiery and forced open the door. The soldiers smashed the stained-glass windows and mutilated the carvings, seized the deed chest and carried it to London. Not content with their work in the church, the soldiers next forced their way into the school-house and destroyed the effigy of Hugh Oldham, which had been newly painted while Ralph Brideoak was in charge. When, however, Colonel Thomas Birch heard there was danger of the deeds being sold, and so alienated from Manchester, he wrote to General Harrison under date December 10, 1650, requesting his influence for their preservation,² but they are supposed to have been destroyed in the Great Fire.

Cromwell now decided to form a new army favourable to Independency to enable him to fight against the Scotch Presbyterians who had rallied round Charles Stuart. A muster for Pendleton bears the date May 21, 1650:

'The constables of Pendleton were enjoined to order all

¹ One of these was Captain Samuel Birch. In the list of officers and soldiers disbanded by him at this time, the names of many Grammar School boys occur.—*Portland MSS.*

² *Thirteenth Hist. MSS. Com. Reports* (Duke of Portland's Papers, vol. 1. p. 545).

men between the ages of 18 and 50 in the township to appear armed on the 22nd before the commission at Manchester, to oppose the Earl of Derby and other enemies of the commonwealth, and to furnish a list of all such men and all horses in the township.’¹

The first muster of Manchester took place at Chetham Hill, Manchester, July 19, 1650. A second was held on August 2. A fortnight later the troops marched North. They arrived too late to take part in the battle of Dunbar. Only the names of a few of the officers are known, but it is evident that members of many of the best Puritan families were taking active part. Major-General Worsley of Platt, who was in command, had been educated at the School. He was the officer who at the order of Cromwell removed the mace from the House of Commons, and so dissolved the Rump Parliament.

The Presbyterians became again distressed on the defeat of the Scotch Presbyterian army at Dunbar, September 1650, and the execution of the leaders by the English, for while they were attached to royalty they feared the policy which allowed Catholics to serve in the ranks of the army. It was expected that some 500 fully trained and armed Presbyterians would be forthcoming to suppress the rising of the Earl of Derby, but only a few of them actually took part.

A MS. compiled at this date, ascribed to William Crabtree, an old pupil of the School, is now in the Chetham Library. It is called ‘A true and perfect book’:

‘Of all rates and taxation which concern this County of Lancashire, very necessary and needful and profitable for all Justices of the Peace and gentlemen within the same, may serve for a perpetual precedent to them and theirs for the true and perfect easy mode, quick assessing and charging of the several and particular towns with what sums of money and food shall at any time be imposed upon the same county as herein may plainly appear.’²

We have already noticed the efforts of Henry Bury to encourage a town’s library, and the signs in 1640 that some

¹ *13th Hist. MSS. Com. Reports*, Pt. i, p. 615.

² *Palatine Note Book*, vol. ii. p. 265; and *Miscellanies*, Chetham Soc., N.S., vol. lxiii.

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progress had been made. In 1653 prospects became more hopeful. John Prestwich, the old scholar who had been evicted from his fellowship at Oxford, a brother of Edmund Prestwich the Royalist, who had been evicted from his tenancy of the School mills, made offer of some of his own books for the use of the town, and received a very flattering letter in acknowledgment. His second letter is dated April 19, 1653:

‘My fortunes are but slender, otherwise my intentions had been greater; however, if God shall please to continue these my fortunes to me I shall still be adding more or less to the small provision already made for you. Haply I may now and then bestow a book on a friend which, if I do, I shall not forget to recompense it with buying of two. Haply, I may exchange one book for another. If I do that, be confident it shall be your advantage. Many of those I have are small ones; not so fit for a public as for a private library. Many also not so useful to men living in the country as for those of the University. So now my purpose is, now that I have received this intelligence from you, to begin to exchange space and much to alter and transform my study, thereby to make it more acceptable. Meantime, I am not destitute of such as I hope may please you.’

A convenient room was finally provided, and on August 20, 1653, the roofless chantry of Jesus Chapel was handed over to the feoffees by Henry Pendleton. It was placed in repair at the town's expense, and the Prestwich Library, the immediate forerunner of much greater things, was thus established. On October 12, 1653, Humphrey Chetham, who was one of the trustees of the Prestwich Library, died.

Partly by steady adherence to trade, partly by advancing money to help distressed Royalists to meet fines, Chetham had accumulated a very large fortune. He had a natural inclination for scholarship. His elder brother had been high master of the Grammar School. He had very generously supported the efforts made by Richard Johnson to reconstitute the Manchester College in 1635, perhaps in return for material help and wise advice given to him when he was in the hands of greedy lawyers in London. The numerous wills he had made show that he had taken much thought about the proper bestowal of his gains. His final intention, as set forth in his will dated 1651, included the

foundation of a public [Blue Coat] school for the support, education, and apprenticing of poor boys; the foundation of four church or parochial libraries for ordinary readers, and one town library for scholars. Under the first bequest of £200, certain churches around Manchester received money for 'Godly English Libraries.' For the 'Town or Scholars' Library of Manchester a sum of £2000 was available. As the Jesus Chapel was too small for the latter, accommodation was found in the Old College buildings; which the trustees purchased from the Earl of Derby for the joint purpose of a residential school and a library. The library was opened with a public dedication on August 5, 1656. Richard Hollinworth gave the address to the assembled boys and the public.¹ After purchasing books, there still remained sufficient endowment to provide the salary of a librarian, and a surplus income for the periodical purchase of new books.

The Prestwich or Church Library consisted of volumes of English sermons and commentaries on the Scriptures, and was suitable for preachers and such members of the congregation as desired to study religious works. The remains of the old Town Library co-existed for a time side by side with the Church Library, but the ample provision for the purchase of books of special interest to scholars in the great library of Humphrey Chetham soon caused it to outshine the other two, and they naturally fell into neglect.² John Prestwich had recommended Edmund Lees, a local scholar from the Grammar School to All Souls College, Oxford, as librarian. The recommendation was accepted, and Lees was retained as librarian of the Prestwich and sub-librarian of the Chetham Library till 1666. In 1681 John Prestwich himself died, and when inquiry was made by the Chetham trustees about the Prestwich books, it was found that most of them had been dispersed.³

The establishment in the town of such considerable libraries, with such a diversity of learned works, naturally

¹ Cf. *Manchester Literary Club*, 1877, and *Local Gleanings*, July 5, 1878.

² Several volumes of the old Town Library of this period must have passed to the Grammar School by 1690, for volumes still exist there containing inscriptions of 1640, and subsequent scribbings of schoolboys of 1690-1700.

³ See *Palatine Note Book*, December 1882; Earwaker's *Local Gleanings*, vol. ii.; Christie's *Old Church and School Libraries* (Chetham Society, N.S.); W. Axon, *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, vol. vi. 1880; *Notes and Queries*, 1877, J. E. Bailey.

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encouraged scholars. John Ray (1628-1705), the famous naturalist, wrote under date August 1658:

'I proceeded as far as Disley on the way to Manchester, which is a large and very neat town. Here I took knowledge of the College and the new library, which they had furnished with useful and choice books. I saw the Free School and the Church, from the steeple of which I had a prospect of the town. Accompanied by Mr. [Samuel] Birch the school-master [usher], I went to see the place where of old had been, I think, a Roman fortification which they call the Castle.'¹

The Scriptural commentaries and the devotional works which were intended for the Chapel Libraries were chosen by Richard Hollinworth and John Tilsley, the latter especially taking care to exclude all works which favoured the Arminian teaching, to which the more orthodox Presbyterians and Independents were still bitterly opposed, but which was favoured by the Anglicans. The books for the Great Scholars' Library were chosen by Richard Johnson and included Arminian writers. Although the majority were works on Theology, yet Chronicles, works on Archæology and the History of Continental Europe were well represented, and there were numerous books of English Law. The newer subjects of constructive thought, such as Mathematics, which were being pursued to such effect by Descartes, were only sparsely represented, though we have seen that particular local scholars, such as William Crabtree, were already making advances in them. Nor was there any sign that the new experimental philosophy studied at Oxford had yet found local adherents.

We must now consider the events which were taking place at the Grammar School. Ralph Brideoak had probably left it before the outbreak of the plague. His restless, ambitious nature could find little to satisfy it in the county town with its trade interests and its Puritan theology. Tradition says he was turned out, but this is hardly likely. He was about this time presented to the living

¹ *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray*, published by George Scott, 1760, and quoted in 'Notes and Queries,' *City News*, Manchester, December 3, 1892.

of Standish. The name Ralph Brideoak occurs among the lay elders appointed by Parliament for the first Presbyterian county synod, November 17, 1646.

For a short time¹ Nehemiah Paynter of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, held office as high master. This is the second break in the record of Oxford high masters since the foundation, and was probably made at the suggestion of the Earl of Manchester, who was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and had interested himself in the fortunes of John Rowlands, the high master of 1630. Paynter was born in London, and was probably related to Stephen Paynter of Little Budworth, Cheshire. His tenure was very short, as his death is reported in 1648.

About the time of the appointment of Paynter, steps were taken to replace the business affairs of the School on a proper footing. On March 6, 1647, the inhabitants of the town petitioned the Council of State to appoint new trustees. Those surviving were (i) Sir John Byron of Newstead, now Baron Rochdale, who had fought on the Royalist side at Edgehill and Worcester and was in hiding; (ii) Sir Alexander Radcliffe, who as Commissioner of Array had raised forces for the King and had assisted in the defence of Lathom House, the residence of the Earl of Derby; (iii) Sir Cecil Trafford, who had become a Roman Catholic in 1632, and whose Royalist sympathies were equally unmistakable. Twelve entirely new feoffees or governors were therefore appointed by Parliament, chosen from the local gentry, leading merchants, and professional men in the town.²

Perhaps at the instigation of John Hartley himself, who desired to succeed John Prestwich as tenant of the mills, the feoffees were commanded by the Court of Sequestrators, viz. Richard Holland and Peter Egerton, to cancel the lease of the School mills held by Edmund Prestwich the Royalist,³ and to appoint John Hartley of Strangeways as the new tenant, charging a rental of £130 a year. To fill the vacancy caused by the death of Nehemiah Paynter, the new Presbyterian trustees, perhaps on the nomination of the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appointed John Wickens, a native of Berkshire, about thirty-two years of age, who had been educated

¹ Soon after 1645.

² See Appendix, p. 496.

³ See *State Papers*, October 30, 1640.

at Oriel College, Oxford, and had graduated M.A. 1636. John Wickens at the time was occupying the post of head master at Rochdale School, of which he had been chosen to take charge in 1638 by Archbishop Laud, at the same time as Laud chose his own nephew, Robert Bath, to be vicar of Rochdale. Laud had the reputation of being a good judge of character and ability, and in neither of these appointments was his judgment at fault, though the direction in which both men ultimately used their ability would doubtless have been a sore disappointment to him had he lived to see it. Rochdale, like the other Lancashire towns, was a centre of active Puritanism, and the two young Oxford scholars became at first interested in and then active supporters of Presbyterianism, and finally took the Covenant together.

Robert Bath was appointed a preaching elder and John Wickens one of the ruling or lay elders of the Bury Classis—the Classis in which Rochdale was included. It is probable that John Wickens was chosen elder owing to his scholarship and ability to assist in examining the candidates for preaching, and also that, being in charge of the local grammar school, he was in a position to select and prepare scholars suitable for undertaking the work of the ministry. There would naturally be a frequent exchange of opinion and experience between the Bury Classis and the Manchester one, which soon carried the reputation of John Wickens there. He was not only possessed of exceptional learning and piety, but his interests were wide and his views on education were liberal. He was perhaps related to William Wickens of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, and of Leyden University, a prominent London minister in charge of St. Andrew's, Hubbard, 1649, ejected from Poultry Chapel in 1662, who was a great student of Jewish antiquities and Oriental learning. In 1654, John Wickens was elected a ruling elder for Manchester, and seems to have lived in Salford, then a residential suburb of Manchester, for his name does not appear in the Manchester Court Leet records, neither does it occur in the records of the Salford Port Mote. If so, he would be brought in contact with William Meek, the first incumbent of the new Trinity Chapel, and with Richard Holbrook who succeeded him, both men of moderate views. His marriage with Penelope Chadwick, daughter of John Chadwick, M.A., rector of Standish, brought him into touch with some of the best Puritan families in the neigh-

bourhood. He also enjoyed the friendship of Richard Heyrick, the Warden of the College, who, during all the ecclesiastical changes at the Collegiate Church which took place at this period, remained the head of the ministry and clergy in Manchester, as is shown by his being chosen moderator or chairman of the Manchester Classis. Scions of the best Puritan families came to Wickens from all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire, and not a few of the prominent Puritan preachers placed their sons in lodgings in Manchester to be under his care.

The town again became prosperous as soon as it recovered from the severe visitation of the plague in 1645. The short war with Holland, 1652-3, due to trade jealousy, rather stimulated than curtailed its prosperity. Perhaps, too, the adventures which many of the townsmen had passed through in the Civil War had stirred their imagination and activities,¹ for there must have been many contributing causes to the marked success of the School during the Commonwealth. During the period between the presentation of the Grand Remonstrance (1641) and the restoration of the Stuart family (1660), which largely coincides with the setting up of Presbyterian discipline and the consequent specialisation of University education to the training of ministers, sixty-six scholars can be traced—eleven to Oxford, fifty-five to Cambridge. This number was greatly in excess of the number during any corresponding preceding period, particularly as regards scholars to Cambridge,² whose educational efficiency had been raised by the exertions of its Vice-Chancellor, the Earl of Manchester. There is a difference also in social class as well as in numbers, for these University scholars were no longer exclusively the sons of wealthy merchants or landowners, but included a number of sons of less well-to-do citizens, for whose studies at the University pecuniary assistance,³ either out of school funds or from the private purses of wealthy citizens, had to be found.

¹ In the list of soldiers who had served under Sir Ralph Assheton and who were disbanded on January 15, 1647, and July 1648 by Captain Samuel Birch, the Presbyterian commander who bought Ordsall Hall, the names of several scholars who had taken part in the School Speech of 1640 occur:—Cf. *Hist. Com. Reports, Portland Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 180-186; and *Henry Newcome's Diary*, April 4, 1664.

² This being at the rate of three a year, instead of one every two years.

³ See Matthew Poole, *op. cit.*

It is evident that a new social class was taking advantage of the means of higher education. It is true that the majority thus proceeding to the Universities were looking forward to ordination as preachers, and this fact might be regarded as showing a narrowing of the humanistic work of the School, were it not for the fact that not only are biographical notes of the candidates for ordination available for reference,¹ but that these notes include lists of the subjects in which the candidates were examined, the subjects being Divinity, Chronology, Ecclesiastical History, Logic, Philosophy, Ethics, Physics, and Metaphysics. As not a few of the candidates were referred back to their studies, it may be presumed that not only was the education provided a liberal one, but the attainment demanded of candidates was a reasonably high one.

In some respects it may be regarded as a revival of the old system which had been replaced by Humanism, though in other respects it materially differed from it. It was based on the belief that human life was governed and directed to some predetermined end rather than that it was capable under favourable conditions of developing ends of its own. It endeavoured to escape from a world of difficulty, struggles, and disappointed hopes, which it regarded as a world of sin, into a world within, where the mind dwelt in communion with an all-ruling providence. This it called a State of Grace. It was certainly more helpful than the permanent withdrawal into monastery or cloister practised in the past. Both systems involved a high capacity for unselfish devotion, and both produced men who by their learning and insight have been pioneers in human progress; but both failed when considered as a system of education, suitable for all members of the community, because they both failed to employ many natural social instincts and emotions, and consequently involved a truncation of so many of the possibilities of human life.

The training in logic and metaphysics which the candidates for the ministry received as part of their education, had results more far-reaching than the immediate controversies. The very thoroughness and heat with which matters of theological opinion and Church government were discussed, caused

¹ Shaw, *Manchester Classis* (Chetham Society, N.S., vols. xx.-xxiv.)

such discussion to be followed with interest by many who were not active participants. This led indirectly to the discovery and recognition of the general principles by which social order and government could be reconciled with individual development and freedom. Two contemporary books, both written by scholars who had been educated at the Grammar School, attracted considerable attention at the time, and serve to illustrate the indirect value of enlightened and open controversy: Edward Gee of Ecclestone, 'The Divine Right and Original of Civil Magistrates Illustrated and Vindicated'; Richard Hollinworth, 'An Exercitation concerning Usurped Powers.'

Of all the scholars who passed from the Manchester School to University life, it is doubtful if any, with the single exception of John Bradford, the famous martyr preacher, exerted a wider influence on the thought of their own time and in the direction and inspiration of others than John Worthington, son of a town's merchant, who passed the greater part of a lifetime not only in the study of the writings of great thinkers, but in presenting and furthering the best teaching of his contemporaries. His collection and anonymous editing of the 'Discourses of Joseph Mede,' to which he prefixed a short biography, shedding light upon current university education, is but one among many services he rendered. The long list of scholars he welcomed to Cambridge during his mastership of Jesus, and over whom he exercised a long supervision, affords perhaps a still better illustration of his public services.

It is probable that Worthington's contemporaries received the credit for much creative thought which should be given rightly to him, and which he would have received if he had published his studies under his own name instead of spending his life in the collection and interpretation of the studies of others. He might then have been called to occupy some episcopal chair, and receive such outward honour as would have secured the public recognition of his merits and established him among the leaders of the Church. Instead of that, he passed the latter part of his days in poverty in an obscure country parsonage. We shall meet with further instances of his kindness and thought for the School and town at a later date.

On October 6, 1654, six new feoffees were elected in the

place of six who were deceased. The feoffees' Michaelmas meeting was summoned to pass the School accounts and to grant the exhibitions to the boys passing to the University, as recommended by the high master and the Warden, whose place was at this time probably taken by Mr. Johnson or Mr. Hollinworth.

In 1656 the leading parishioners of the town sent an invitation to Henry Newcome (1627-1695), of St. John's College, Cambridge, minister at Gawsworth, and Master of Congleton Grammar School, to come to Manchester to succeed Richard Hollinworth as preacher at the Collegiate Church. John Wickens' name occurs amongst the requisitioners. For the next thirty years, though Heyrick remained the official head of the Church in Manchester, Newcome remained its most popular and most beloved minister.

At the time Newcome came to Manchester there was urgent need for combining moderation of opinion with earnestness of purpose.¹ Owing to straitened family circumstances, he had left the University before completing his training; his knowledge of current theology was therefore not very deep. This may even have been of some advantage to him as a popular preacher, for he made up for his deficiency by being ahead of his time in his attachment to the more humanising studies of History and Travel. Indeed, an early critic told him that he put too much history into his sermons, and that people brought their Bibles to church with them and expected quotations from Scripture instead of from History. His diary and autobiography² contain constant reference to the books he read, as well as to the local Grammar School, and to the poorer scholars who needed financial help. They give a pathetic description of the struggle which a contemplative nature experienced during trying and quarrelsome times in his daily work as preacher and parochial visitor. One such visit is to Luke Sutcliffe, schoolmaster in Salford, 'whom I found extremely weak and desirous to repent of his wicked life. The Lord pity him and help him in his sad estate!' Luke Sutcliffe died in June 1662. The reference, combined with

¹ The Savoy Conference of one hundred Independent ministers and laymen was held October 1658.

² Chetham Society, O.S., vols. xviii., xxvi., and xxvii.

references to other schoolmasters in the parochial registers of the time, show that local education was not entirely confined to the Grammar School, but of these teachers and schools all but the bare names are lost. The diary also reveals Henry Newcome's anxiety about subscribing to the Covenant imposed by Parliament in 1650; about the ensnaring influence of his conferences with 'high Independents,' whose learning he respected but feared; about the 'great boasting of the unsettled hankering party' when William Barratt, an Independent, was allowed to preach at Macclesfield; of Henry Newcome's relief when such preaching was 'nothing taking' . . . and 'never gained one member from us, nor ever after had any opportunity to disturb us, but the people were settled hereafter and kept close unto us.'

On one occasion only Newcome himself is moved to persecution. By means of an Act passed in 1659 against blasphemous tenets, he succeeded in getting Harrison, who was infusing among the people the tenets he regarded as so dangerous, committed to prison at Chester for six months ' . . . and it proved an utter riddance of him out of our part.' Such action was much opposed to the general tendency of Newcome's conduct towards others and was not repeated. His autobiography tells of his further anxieties in his work, and his efforts in assisting suitable candidates to obtain such posts as morning lecturer to the College, assistant librarian to Chetham's foundation, &c. His comment on his visit to the daughter of William Crabtree at the house of Broughton, which the astronomer had built, is illuminating, for it shows the disadvantage which Henry Newcome underlay on account of the limitation of his early training. He (William Crabtree) was a famous mathematician and had built the house; 'I hope a better mystery [*i.e.* religious devotion] resides in it now.'

No account of the effect of Puritan preaching and practice upon the spread of learning in Manchester would be complete which did not recognise the work of Henry Newcome.

Three of the new feoffees, who had been appointed in 1654, also served on the Chetham foundation, and, as two of those still remaining also held similar office, it is probable that the relationship between the School and the Library were well considered, particularly as John Wickens, the high master,

had been called upon to assist Newcome in the arrangement of the books which were being purchased. For his services Wickens received the thanks of the Chetham feoffees and a present of twenty nobles. John Wickens applied for permission for his advanced pupils to use the Chetham Library, and some of them were able to support themselves partially by taking temporary or subordinate charge under the duly appointed librarian.¹

¹ Nathaniel Baxter, when preparing for his final examination for degree B.A., Cambridge, 1657, came to live in Manchester in order that he might have the use of the Library, for the custody of which he was subsequently an unsuccessful candidate.

CHAPTER V

1660-1689

THE RISE OF NATURALISM

‘The animosities are mortal, but the Humanities live for ever.’—‘Professor Wilson’s Apology to Leigh Hunt.’

Latin ceases to be the language of Commerce, but the love of learning continues to be cultivated by the evicted Nonconformist ministers—Presbyterians of Manchester welcome the return of the Stuarts—Arrival of books purchased for the Chetham Library—Further local encouragement of learning by Nicholas Stratford, Warden of the College, 1667-1684—Richard Wroe, Fellow 1671, Warden 1684, who encourages the local study of Natural Philosophy—Catholics are welcomed at Oxford and favour the French critical study of the Classics—Occupations followed by the learned evicted ministers—Adam Martindale teaches mathematics—Influence of the Restoration on the Grammar School—Threatened departure of John Wickens, who is appointed head master of the Haberdashers’ School at Newport—Agitation in the town: Wickens is persuaded to stay in Manchester—His death—William Barrow appointed high master 1678—Almshouses erected in Manchester—A Nonconformist academy for girls flourishes in the town—The Romanist controversy.

THE changes which took place on the return of the Stuarts from France were naturally most marked in the metropolis, and in the circles about the Court. They were, however, far-reaching, though slower to manifest themselves throughout the country. The letter service by Royal Post had recently been organised and main services along the six great roads from London established, with post offices set up, which served not only for the delivery of letters but for the purveyance of intelligence.¹ Increased intercourse with foreign coun-

¹ Cf. *The Post Office: an Historical Survey*, published by H.M. Stationery Office. Some Interesting Correspondence on the Manchester Postmastership occurs in *Domestic State Papers*, 1686-7.

tries was leading to the disuse of Latin for commercial purposes and for travel : it was also ceasing to be spoken at the English Universities. Classical and Hebrew learning were no longer the condition and qualification for professional advancement, and dogmatic theology was displaced from its premier position, for new interests were attracting attention.

Yet though Puritan discipline had failed to provide a basis of government and its theology a system of knowledge, its habits of serious thought and contemplation remained deeply ingrained in English middle-class life. For merchants and country gentry, no other institutions had yet arisen to take the place of grammar schools, which consequently retained their Puritan tendencies. The study of the translated Hebrew Scriptures continued to stir their imagination, and gave citizens that self-reliance in moral judgment which has always been one of the most valued possessions of English family life. The very steps taken by Clarendon and the Church party who supported him, to set the English Church upon a secure foundation by rigidly excluding all who would not conform to the tests they imposed, and to subject all Nonconformists—as they were now called—to persecution, resulted in the maintenance of learning among them. It spread those qualities which made Nonconformity really dangerous to a State Church, for, under persecution, Puritanism lost the intolerance and self-sufficiency it had exhibited in its days of power, and learnt that the true source of its strength lay in the humble study of righteousness and wisdom, and in the necessarily slow cultivation of personal character. Daily intercourse with fellow creatures whose failings and strivings were a cementing rather than a dividing force, formed a better school than that which taught highly developed rhetoric.

Such a class of men was hardly likely to surrender the freedom of opinion they had already gained, and when they could no longer cultivate it at home, they continued to do so by intercourse with their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists abroad. The subsequent attempts of Ashley, Lord Shaftesbury, who succeeded Clarendon, to secure comprehension of the Nonconformists into a representative English Church, and their joint union with Protestant Churches abroad, failed, because Charles II, like Louis XIV, was striving to develop a selfish nationalism founded on class privilege.

The Nonconformists continued to use the grammar schools for the training of their children,¹ and sent many of them subsequently to private academies either to continue their studies at a university level,² or preparatory to going to the Scottish or foreign universities for special study. A considerable number, however, continued to go to Cambridge. At Oxford, Catholic emissaries, encouraged by the Stuarts, were imparting a new zest to the study of the Classics, owing to the better cultivation of these subjects in France, and at the same time were alienating the allegiance of scholars from their Protestant traditions. This once again emphasised the difference between the kind of scholars who attended the two English Universities.

Many Puritan scholars however retained their affection for their own Universities and for a time continued to send their sons thither, believing that though they themselves were debarred by their consciences from repudiating the oath they had taken in signing the Covenant, and in signing their approval of the Thirty-nine Articles, yet such scruples did not necessarily apply to their children. Philip Henry (1631-1694), once of Oxford University, a prominent Puritan teacher and scholar, who had been ejected from Malpas, in the Chester diocese, and who afterwards lived on his small estate at Broad Oak, near the place of his former ministry, spent his time training young pupils. Of him his biographer relates :

‘He had so great a kindness for the University and valued so much the mighty advantages of improvement there, that he advised all his friends who designed their children for scholars to send them thither for many years after the change, though he always counted upon their conformity. But long experience altered his mind thereupon and he chose rather to keep his own son at home with him, and to give him what help he could there in his education than venture him into the snares and temptation of the University. Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their course of University learning at private academies, and desired to

¹ Several London and other merchants founded new grammar schools, such [as the one governed by the Haberdashers’ Company at Whitney, Oxfordshire.—Abraham Cowley’s *Book of Proposals for Founding a Philosophical College out of the Gresham College, London*, was favoured by Worthington (letter to Hartlieb, 1661).

² Lectures were given in Latin in many of these academies after its use had been discontinued at Oxford.

spend some time in his family before their entrance on the ministry that they might have the benefit not only of his public and family instructions but of his learned and pious discourse in which as he was thoroughly furnished for every good work and word, so he was very free and communicative.' ¹

In an account of the Rev. Thomas Cotton, a native of Workley, County York (published in 1730), it is stated that when between six and seven years old, that is about 1660, he was placed at the Free School of Rotherham. After that he was brought home and more carefully instructed by John Spawford. . . . 'But the greater advantage he had from school learning was under the famous Mr. Wickens of Manchester.' From that school he went to Mr. Hickman's Academy, near Bromsgrove, co. Worcester. Mr. Hickman 'was so disabled by age that he made a very short stay there, and was removed from thence to Mr. Frankland's in Westmoreland, and from thence to Edinburgh. He finished his studies and trials in that University about the year 1677, and had the degree of M.A. conferred upon him.' ²

Peter and Andrew Birch, sons of Thomas Birch, of Birch Hall, entered at Oxford, where they sojourned in the house of an apothecary, became students in the public library, and had a tutor to instruct them in philosophic learning; but they did not matriculate, as, owing to their Nonconformity, they could not enter a College. The scruples of Peter were, however, ultimately overcome, for he took his M.A. 1674. About 1680 he must have been connected with the Prestwich Library, for he seems to have been in possession of the remaining funds and books which had become dispersed. He was created D.D. in 1688, became Prebendary of Westminster, and was then 'a great stickler for the High Church Party.'

The influences which enabled the Manchester School to adapt itself to the changed condition of affairs and to continue to supply a stream of scholars desirous of pursuing the higher branches of learning, in spite of the falling off in public support of a Presbyterian Ministry, were numerous and to some extent special to the town.

¹ *Life of Philip Henry*, p. 145.

² *Palatine Note Book*, March 1882, p. 58.

Both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, in Manchester as elsewhere, eagerly welcomed the return of the Stuarts. The Independents alone, with their fuller experience of the value of Stuart promises and their more uncompromising principles, held aloof. The celebrations in Manchester took place on April 22, 1661, and were organised by Major John Byrom and Captain Nicholas Mosley, who had both fought on the Royalist side. Schoolboys as well as their elders took part, the former no doubt with keener relish than in the previous public celebration of the opening of the Chetham Library. The scene is described by an eye-witness :

‘ Before Capt. Mosley’s Company marched, in honour of the day, forty young boys about the age of seven years, all clothed in white stuff, plumes of feathers in their hats, blue scarfs, armed with little swords hanging in black belts and short-pikes shouldered. And in the rear of the said Captain’s company another company of elder boys about twelve years of age with muskets and pikes, drums beating and colours flying, marched in order, all which being decently drawn up in the churchyard, laid down their arms and so passed into the church to hear the sermon prepared for the day. At which time there was such a concourse of people who civilly and soberly demeaned themselves the whole of the day, the like never seen in this nor the like place. The Rev. Richard Heyrick, Warden of the College, made an orthodox sermon . . . after the sermon, from the church marched in their order the boroughreeve, constables, and the rest of the burgesses of the town not then in arms accompanied by Sir Ralph Ashton, son of the general who had died in 1652. . . . After drinking the king’s health the Company as before with the young boys marched into the town.’¹

Richard Heyrick, the old Warden, who had from the first strong Presbyterian leanings, was anxious about his position, and hastened to London to make peace. He had already suffered much in his struggles against the Republican party, and had always been a strong Royalist. His claims to the retention of the wardenship rested on purchase as well as on past service. He was consequently re-established in his position, and, although he had previously signed the Covenant, his principles were so emphatically on the side

¹ *Manner and Solemnitie of the King’s Coronation at Manchester*, W. Heawood, 1661.

of order and discipline, that he found himself able to assent to the Act of Uniformity and to avoid eviction. Richard Johnson, the single surviving Fellow of the old régime, who had done so much for the College in securing its charter of 1636, was naturally restored to his old position.

Henry Newcome had during the last four years held the position of 'preacher' by public appointment. He had never been actually elected Fellow, owing to the government of the College according to its proper constitution having been abandoned. Much to his disappointment and that of his numerous friends, he did not receive an offer of one of the three vacant fellowships. These were filled up by the appointment of Francis Mosley, who had been educated at Manchester School under Brideoak, and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, under Dr. Worthington; Thomas Weston, of Oriel College, Oxford, who spent most of his time in London; and John Birch, son of George Birch, of Birch Hall, educated at Manchester School, and also of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, B.A. 1654, who died December 1670.

The local ecclesiastical conditions were favourable to the spread of liberal thought. During the time that the persecuting Acts should have been enforced, the Bishopric of Chester was repeatedly vacant. Brian Walton, appointed at the Restoration, held office only for eleven months. At his death his successor only held the post for five weeks. Bishop Hall held it from 1662 to 1668, when he was succeeded by Bishop Wilkins, who may have owed his appointment to his interest in the establishment of the Royal Society for the Advancement of Natural Knowledge. His work on the question of the Inhabitants of the Moon is still readable.

In 1667 the Wardenship of the Manchester College became vacant owing to the death of Richard Heyrick. There were several candidates for the post. John Worthington had renewed his connection with Manchester, while staying at Rostherne with his brother-in-law, and had introduced Adam Martindale to John Wickens as a teacher of mathematics. He now looked forward to settling in his native town, as appears in the following letter, in which he seeks the help of Archbishop Sheldon, dated August 12, 1667:

'That which commends this place to me is that Manchester is my native town where I was born and brought up. My

father was a grave, peaceful, honest man, one of chief note and esteem in the town, a diligent caller of me up to the early prayers in the church before I went to school. The town is become more acceptable to me by reason of the good library which I sometime mentioned to your Grace where I might have the advantage and pleasure of following my private studies. It is a cheap place to live in, otherwise the Wardenship would hardly be a competency to me that hath 4 children to take care for, and desires to live upon it without other additional dignities. I am now in the afternoon of my life and it hath been for some time my desire that I might end my days among my friends, leave my children among them and be gathered to the sepulchres of my fathers. My desire also is to do the Church some service there.

‘What service I did heretofore in the late times is known to some whom your Grace values.

‘Mr. Richard Johnson is my ancient acquaintance. Mr. Francis Mosley [another Fellow] was my pupil in Cambridge, one whom I caused to be perfect in Music, and if I should not know more what belongs to Church music than some that are dignified, I have ill bestowed my time and money.’

In a subsequent letter he wrote :

‘I had letters from Lancashire about it [the wardenship of the College], one a little before his [Mr. Heyrick’s] death, another after it, wishing me to look after the place, it being the desire of many and the chief there, to enjoy me. I suppose it was too late, and yet because I would not seem to neglect my friends I wrote two letters, one to the Archbishop, the other to the Bishop of Rochester, of whose good will towards me I had received proof formerly.’

The appointment was given to a younger man of considerable intellectual as well as of administrative skill and energy—Nicholas Stratford, who from the first exerted great influence on Manchester life. He possessed a benevolent nature and won the respect of Churchmen and Nonconformists alike. On the death of Richard Johnson, which occurred very soon after Stratford came to Manchester, he was elected a governor of the Chetham Foundation, and at once took an active interest in the choice of books for the library, about which he was accustomed to consult the most eminent scholars of the day. He reorganised the work of the Collegiate body

and improved its discipline. He obtained the appointment of learned and suitable persons as Fellows of the College. Richard Wroe,¹ a young scholar from the Prestwich district, perhaps educated at the Manchester Grammar School, who had won high praise at Jesus College for his devotion to Natural Philosophy, being appointed in succession to Francis Mosley.

There were other circumstances which favoured a widening of intellectual interests in Manchester at this time. The town was becoming wealthy, and the intercourse, not only with Holland, but with other foreign countries was increasing.² Great as was the commercial rivalry between England and Holland, the common interests which bound the two peoples together were still greater, though it was nearly a generation before the merchants of England fully realised the claims of the Dutch for their support against the aggressive designs of Louis XIV. An increasing number of English scholars were attending the Dutch Universities and profiting intellectually and morally by this continued intercourse, consequently the means taken by the Court persecuting party to revenge themselves on their Puritan opponents were also the means of spreading their real influence. Debarred from preaching, the more learned evicted ministers occupied themselves in the professions of medicine and law, subjects which they had studied in Holland, and on their return England continued greatly to benefit by Dutch learning. Other evicted ministers employed themselves in private teaching. Their pupils were amongst the most thoughtful and enterprising of the merchant and higher yeoman classes. Divinity had ceased to dominate their outlook, and studies were directed into humanistic and naturalistic channels.

The changed point of view in learning is well illustrated in the difference between the books that were purchased for the Great Scholars Library between 1653 and 1660 by Richard Johnson (Anglican), Richard Hollinworth (Puritan), and John Tilsley (Puritan), and those purchased after 1663, when the other governors of the Charity—merchants and professional men—had had time to realise and express

¹ An ingenious Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge (Flamstead to Collins, April 7, 1672).

² The office of postmaster became of considerable importance and much sought after.—Correspondence, *Domestic State Papers*, 1666-7.

their own needs and tastes. In the first set there were some 3900 volumes, many of which were portly folios, comprising the collected works of the Early Christian Fathers, the works of the great scholars of the Middle Ages. In the second set we can trace the influence of the wealthy apothecary, Thomas Mynshull, the councillors-at-law, Richard Howarth and James Lightbourne, and the foreign merchants, Edward Johnson, James Marler, &c., for we find Gerrard's 'Herbal,' 1633, Anatus' 'Seven Hundred Medical Remedies,' Rhenodus' 'Medical Dispensary,' Mylius' 'Medical Chemistry,' the works of the Cambridge Neoplatonists, Henry More and John Smith, numerous works and commentaries on English Law; while English literature is recognised in the presence of the works of Chaucer and Spenser.¹

Now the study of medicine was at this time increasingly regarded as a branch of general learning and not merely the preparation for a professional career. Interest in the new subject began to increase when Dr. Stratford resigned the Wardenship in 1684. On the recommendation of Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester, Richard Wroe was appointed Warden in his place. Although not officially appointed a governor of the Chetham Trust till 1692, he was present at many of the library meetings, and was evidently consulted by the other governors as to the choice of new books. It was probably owing to his influence that they purchased for the library 'a speaking trumpet, a microscope, a telescope, prisms, a pair of looking-glasses and a multiplying glass'—these purchases being evidently associated with the optical studies then carried on at Cambridge under Newton and the microscopic studies conducted by Lewenhoeck and Malpighi in Holland.²

¹ Cf. also MS. Note Book of Rev. John Hyde, dated 1674, in charge of Salford Chapel, which gives a list of books he studied.—*Palatine Note Book*, vol. vii. p. 39.

² Besides these instruments there were purchased about this time Willoughby's *History of English Birds*, 1678; Malpighi, *The Development of the Chick*, 1673; Kircher's *Physiology*, 1676; Borelli, *On the Movements of Animals*, 1680; Creulichian, *On Bile*, 1681; Grew's *Anatomy of Plants*, 1682; Baylis' *Natural History of the Blood*, 1684; Gibson's *Anatomy*, 1684; Morison and Bobart's *History of Plants*, 1680 (2 vols.); Ray's *Natural History of Plants* (3 vols.); Keil's *Physics*, 1705; Cooper's *Anatomy*, 1698; Rohault's *Physics*, 1702; E. Dickenson's *Physics*, 1702; Locke's *Essays on the Human Understanding*, 1694.

The philosophical studies which had been encouraged at Jesus College during the mastership of John Worthington were evidently still continued there, for a number of local scholars, particularly those intending to pursue a medical career, had studied at Jesus College, Cambridge, even when they had previously graduated in Arts at Oxford. This was Warden Richard Wroe's own College, and Nathaniel Banne, an evicted minister from Rutland, went there to study medicine before he settled in Manchester. It is interesting to note that, when the famous John Locke left an uncongenial atmosphere at Oxford to settle down to the quiet study of natural phenomena, he found opportunity in the home and under the stimulating and benevolent influence of Lady Masham, who inherited the interests and mental ability of her father, Ralph Cudworth—the most eminent of the Cambridge Neoplatonists, and the intimate friend of John Worthington. The two prominent Manchester physicians, Nathaniel Banne and Charles Leigh, had both graduated M.D. from Jesus College in 1680. Nathaniel Banne was appointed governor of Chetham's Hospital in 1681 and at once took an interest in the choice of books. His son was acting librarian during the ill-health of Thomas Pendleton from 1690, and was officially appointed in 1693.

In marked contrast to the influence exerted by the Dutch on English learning was that exerted by the French, whose study of the Classics was patronised by the Court as a social accomplishment. Some £15,000 was spent by the French Government in editing and publishing a series of eighty volumes, known, from its dedication to the Dauphin, as the *Delphin Edition*. The scarcely concealed Catholic mission to England stimulated classical study at Oxford. The earliest existing inscription 'Manchester School Library' is found in a copy of Cicero's 'Orations' published in 1577. It was at one time owned by Obadiah Dana, son of James Dana of Manchester, who left the school for Trinity College, Oxford, 1674, graduating B.A. in 1678. He proceeded thence to Douay, and became a Benedictine monk. The names of several other Manchester scholars are to be found in the Douay records and in Dodd's 'History of the English Church,' which suggests that, while those scholars, whether Catholic or Protestant, who desired further to pursue classical studies often left Oxford for Douay, those who were inclined towards natural

science or mathematics passed to Cambridge and perhaps to the Dutch Universities.

The encouragement of Roman Catholics and High Churchmen at Oxford also resulted in the increased study of the Early Christian Fathers. New works on these subjects continued to appear at Chetham Library. Owing to the spread of High Church principles, Oxford had now resumed its position as the most favoured entrance to the clerical profession, a position which Cambridge had occupied during the time of the Commonwealth. A study of the comparative numbers of Manchester scholars proceeding to the two Universities illustrates the growing favour of Oxford, particularly for those intending to take up a career in the Church. Many of those desiring to study medicine, after beginning at Oxford, continued their studies at the sister University.

Manchester provided a very convenient home for Non-conformists. In the first place several of the persecuting Acts did not apply. The Corporation Act which compelled all municipal officers to receive the communion according to Anglican use, to renounce the Covenant, and take the oath of non-resistance, had no force, for Manchester was still, politically speaking, only a village governed by its antiquated Court Leet and without any municipal officers. It is true that the county magistrates at their quarterly sessions were taking over many of the duties of the Court Leet, particularly those of imposing punishments for acts of violence, but they had been educated at the School and served on numerous bodies with the Nonconformists, consequently they avoided dealing with matters of Church discipline such as the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the public expression of assent and consent to its contents by all ministers and schoolmasters. For this reason many evicted ministers found Manchester a convenient asylum as well as a favourable place for professional employment. Richard Holbrook, ejected from Trinity Chapel, Salford, and Robert Birch, ejected from Birch Chapel, both became physicians; Edward Richardson, son of Thomas Richardson, born 1617, M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Chaplain of Manchester College, 'entered himself on the Physics line at Leyden.' He returned to preaching on the passing of the Act of Indulgence, 1671, 'a competent scholar, a pious man,

and very laborious in his Master's work' (H. Newcome); Richard Goodwin, M.A., also of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, ejected from Bolton on the passing of the Five Mile Act, took refuge in Manchester, 'lived, retired and studied Chemistry in which he was a great proficient' (Calamy), till the Act of Indulgence of 1672, when he returned to Bolton. He then took out a licence and continued preaching till his death, December 19, 1685.

The struggles to obtain a living for those without independent means were very severe. It is evident that Henry Newcome's wife did something towards supporting the family, for she undertook a good deal of private nursing and midwifery. She attended Mrs. Wickens in her last illness, February 1668.

The following is extracted from the diary of Adam Martindale¹ at the time of his eviction :

'I thought of Physic and was encouraged by an antiquated practitioner promising me books and other assistance; but I considered the time would be long, practice uncertain and above all that the lives of men were not to be jested with, and bethought me of a less dangerous study, viz. some useful parts of the Mathematics, and although I was now almost forty years of age, and knew little more than Arithmetic in the vulgar way and decimals in Jager's bungling method, I fell close to the study of decimals in a more artificial manner, logarithms, algebra and other arts, since by me professed, in which work I was encouraged and assisted by my noble Lord Delamere who gave me many excellent books and instruments, lent me his choicest MSS., imparted freely any knowledge he had, and, which was as useful as anything else, put me upon answering hard and tedious questions which the distemper of his own head some times prohibited him to beat out himself, and took very kindly any new rule that I could invent to make operations more short or plain than was to be found in books. While I was fitting myself for this work, following my studies early and late . . . the Act against Conventicles comes out . . . I was under a necessity to throw up my school; as I did, placing mine own sonne, at Sir Peter Brooke's instance, undertaking to pay the Master at Manchester School, under Mr. Wickens, a most excellent teacher. I was very well used by my brother and sister Hill for his diet and lodging, yet

¹ Chetham Society, vol. iv. pp. 175-6.

that together with many costly books and apparel suitable to ordinary men's sons in that proud town (he never having any faculty for taking care of his clothes) was pretty heavy to one of my small estate, so that something must be followed whereby I might honestly get somewhat and yet would give me leave to find time for lecturing among my own people, and God presently put me into the way. My Lord Delamere as His instrument, commending me to his town of Warrington, where, notwithstanding the backwardness of the schoolmaster and the energy of some Scholiasts, I had scholars enough which I thank God profited well and I got by them 20s. to 25s. per week to the best of my remembrance.'

On the passing of the Five Mile Act, by which Nonconformists were forbidden to teach within five miles of a corporate town, Adam Martindale removed his family from Warrington to share a house at Rostherne, his old home, with Mr. Joseph Allen, of Birkenhead, while he himself proceeded to Manchester to teach Mathematics. 'When I came to Manchester I had much encouragement from Mr. Wickens, Master of the Free School, who sent me a good number of his most ingenious boys and admired their great proficiency.'

In his 'Country Surveying Book,' Adam Martindale says :

'When I first began to instruct youths in Mathematical learning at Warrington, some of my boys' parents desired a sensible demonstration of their sons' proficiency, in somewhat that they themselves could understand, and particularly pitched upon measuring a piece of land.

'Whereupon I took four or five of my scholars to the Heath with me that had only been exercised within the walls of the School, and never saw, that I know of, so much as a chain laid on the ground, and to the admiration of the spectators, and especially of a skilful surveyor then living in the town, they went about their work as regularly and dispatched it with as much expedition and exactness as if they had been old Land Surveyors (p. 66).'¹

'In the latter of these years [viz. 1667], Mr. Wickens told me my son was fully ripe for the University and advised me to send him thither. I resolved that he should be no stranger to academical learning, but how this

¹ See also Leybourn *On Dialling*, Aaron Rathbone *On Surveying*, and *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, vol. vii. (4th edition).



1666. ADAM MARTINDALE TEACHES THE BOYS MATHEMATICS, PRACTICAL SURVEYING, AND THE USE OF THE THEODOLITE, IN THE OPEN AIR.

might be done needed consideration, for I was not free to have him engaged in such oaths, subscriptions or practices as I could not downe with myself; not that I would tie him to be of mine opinion, when he was once a man of competent years and abilities to choose for himself, but, if possible, I desired that he might be a good scholar without being involved in what he understood not. In order to do this I sent him up to Cambridge at the commencement, entered him at Trinity College and paid his detriments a good while there, though he came down immediately; and after he had learned some logic in the country, I sent him up to Oxford, tabled him in a private house, and my noble friend, Sir Peter Brook, prevailed with a gentleman of Brazenose College to give him his tuition in his chamber. He could not indeed be admitted to disputations in the Hall because no member of the College, but he might be present at those in the Schools. Here he profitted well, but was wearied out with his pragmatistical old school fellows that would be ever asking when he must be entered and why he lost his time, to which it was not convenient to give any account. When I understood his trouble, I went up to him, taking Mr. Hickman's house in my way (about five miles from Stourbridge in Worcestershire), whom I found ready and willing to receive him . . . He stayed with this learned tutor two years, who had a deare respect for him and brought him clearly through the whole body of philosophie. . . . I took a journey with my son to Glasgow in Scotland, April 1670, where, being examined by the Principal and Regent for that year's Laureation, he was admitted into the class of magistrands, that is such as were to commence Master of Arts about seventeen weeks after. In which time he ran through the whole written bodie of Philosophie, went with approbation through the smart examination on the Black-Stone and was laureated, that is admitted Master of Arts. . . . Among all that class there were three that were accounted eminently the most able: George Glen, a Scotch youth, my cousin Timothy Hill and my son. These three were closely linked together in friendship and kept up constant disputations, everyone in his turn being moderator, opponent, and respondent, whereby they much improved themselves and one another. For the carrying on of which work and acquainting himself with Professor Burnet [subsequently Bishop of Salisbury, Historian] in his way of teaching Divinity, and to give Edinburgh College also a visit on his way home to see the method there, he desired me to give him leave to stay longer, which I did.'

As the funds at the disposal of the Chetham feoffees increased, it became possible for them to make still further purchase of books. Warden Stratford used his influence with John Pearson, the famous Bishop of Chester (between 1667 and 1686), and with the almost equally famous scholar William Lloyd, Bishop of Bangor (1680–1692), who was a nephew of John Wickens, the late high master, to secure their interest in the selection of books. The following letter from the London bookseller employed is extant :

‘HONRD SIR,—I have now received from Dr. Stratford the names of such books as are made choice of for the library by the Bishops of Chester and St. Asaph, who being so great masters of learning and books that I believe there are scarce two more able in the kingdom. Nothing more remains for me to do but to take all possible care and to get carriage as reasonable as may be. Thus much I presume would not be amiss to let you understand, which my humble services presented is from

‘Your most obliged servant,
‘RD. LITTLEBURY.’

We must now retrace our steps to the study of the influence of the Restoration on the management of the Grammar School.

The status of the feoffees who had been appointed by the Commissioners in 1647 and who had filled vacancies in 1654 was naturally challenged by Sir Cecil Trafford, who, as a Catholic Royalist and a recusant, had been thrown out, though two of his Puritan co-trustees, Robert Hyde and Richard Holland, had been confirmed in their appointment. He now attempted to turn the tables and secure the appointment of nominees of his own choice. Considerable correspondence took place between the two parties and Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Chief Secretary of State, who, as a son of a previous Bishop of Chester, possessed local knowledge and influence. In the first list submitted,¹ the two parties were equally represented, the names of six Royalists being included with six Puritans, but later five Puritans were erased, one died, and six other Royalists were added.

With the exception of Sir George Booth, the substituted

¹ Letter from the Trustees of the Manchester School to Secretary Nicholas, 1660.—Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. E. 2537.283.

feoffees seemed less likely to attend to the interests of the school than those they displaced, who were prominent citizens of the town and were also actively engaged in securing the administration of the Trust of the Chetham Library and School, two of them being lawyers, two physicians, and two merchants. The substituted ones,¹ on the other hand, were members of large landowning families in the district who were less likely to secure the constant readaptation of school policy to changing needs. There were, however, some advantages in the change, at least to the feoffees themselves, for they received further training from the performance in public duties, while certain advantages ultimately accrued to the School, in the form of benefactions which some of the feoffees secured for its ablest scholars. The new feoffees also possessed the disposal of a considerable amount of Church patronage, and would look favourably on the claims of local scholars. The effect of the change is shown in the altered incidence of the scholars to the Universities.

The position of the high master was somewhat precarious. Mr. Wickens had been chosen by the Court of Triers and approved by the old trustees, who had been similarly appointed during the Commonwealth. He had not, as previous high masters, been appointed by the President of Corpus Christi, and he had signed the Covenant. Fortunately he had a good friend among the new governors who possessed influence at Court. William Butterworth, of Belfield, when preparing to study at Gray's Inn, had been his old pupil, and wrote the following letter to John Nicholas, one of the Secretaries of State : ²

‘HONOURED COUSIN,—The many favours I received from you and the great candor I found in you, during my small stay at London, hath embould'ned me to importune you in the behalf of this my worthy friend. The School at Manchester (for which he comes to solicit) being of an Episcopal and brave foundation, is likely now to be ruined, except upholden by the Secretaries, and your gracious assistance. If you please to lend him your ear he will acquaint you more fully with his requests. I doubt not but that your owne love of learning will be a great motive to your speedy and effectual dispatch hereof ; which I am the more urgent to move you to do, by reason of the honour that will accrue

¹ See Appendix.

² British Museum MSS. F. 283, E. 92537.

to you thereby, when it shall be known that by your means alone this ancient foundation is revived from its ashes, and restored to its pristine splendour. This trouble which I create you I hope will finde yr pardon when you consider, it is the only Schoole master I ever had, that wished me to do it, to whom I owe wt I am, and can deny nothing that lies in my power, hee is ould and infirm, if you therefore please to expedite his business it shall be accounted as done to him who subscribe himselfe

‘Yr obliged Kinsman & humble servant

‘WILL BUTTERWORTH.

‘*Belfield*: Sep. y^e 29, 1660.’

(Seal.)

Fortunately this application was successful, and Mr. Wickens was confirmed in his position at the School.

Of all the influences that kept alive a devotion to high aims and a love of learning in Manchester through the times which succeeded the Restoration, that of Henry Newcome stands foremost. He had fully earned a fellowship for his past services in preaching and in parochial visitation, and his appointment had certainly been the general expectation of the local inhabitants. It is doubtful if his conscience would have allowed him to retain the position after the passing of the Act of Uniformity. He remained in the town and continued a regular private worshipper at the Collegiate Church. He had always been in favour of moderation and, on the cessation of his public preaching, his influence in the town increased rather than diminished. He was the constant visitor, ready helper, and spiritual adviser of all who needed him in trouble and anxiety. In his journals we get a clear insight into the intellectual and moral strivings of contemporary Conformist as well as Nonconformist Manchester homes. They tell us of his playing billiards with the Warden, and bowls at the home of the wealthy apothecary Thomas Mynshull; of his curiosity in watching the dancers and conjurers, and of his subsequent regret that he had wasted his time in such frivolities; of his love of smoking, and his serious questioning with himself as to whether he was growing so fond of such diversions that he ought to give them up. Fortunately, perhaps, he never did. He tells of his constant perusal of works of History and Travel, as well as of his repeated efforts to settle family quarrels. Perhaps most interesting of all is his constant

care for the welfare of promising poorer boys of the Grammar School, for there are stories of several occasions on which he succeeded in collecting money from well-to-do friends to enable such boys to proceed to the University. This is all told with a delightful seriousness and simplicity which give a real dignity to the most common affairs of daily life. It is also very striking that in spite of his evident ministerial though unofficial activity, Newcome never seems to have aroused the jealousy of the rest of the clergy, but to have retained the acquaintance and even the intimate friendship of many who remained in the Anglican Church.

It is evident that Henry Newcome was on terms of friendship, if not of intimacy, with many of the School feoffees, for records of visits to them occur frequently in the pages of his diary, and also in the diary of Adam Martindale. From such references we gather that they all took active interest in the current affairs of the town, and thus the prosperity of the school was secured. One use that he made of this intimacy deserves narration. By 1663 the fame of John Wickens had spread so much that the Haberdashers' Company invited him to take charge of their recently established school at Newport, Shropshire,¹ and Wickens seems to have provisionally accepted. On July 13, 1663, Henry Newcome with Mr. Jollie set out to see Sir George Booth, now Lord Delamere, at Dunham, to secure his interest against such a removal. Lord Delamere promised to do what he could about it with his co-feoffees. The prospect of the removal of Wickens was considered to be so disastrous to the best interests of the town that a public meeting at which representatives of all parties attended was held at 'The Booths,' where the Manor Court was then held, to urge Mr. Wickens to remain in Manchester. Newcome had already succeeded in settling some outstanding difficulties with the usher, Samuel Birch,² who had some claims, if not actual rights of succession, but whose treatment of the boys under his

¹ Perhaps the proximity of this school had something to do with the settlement of the neighbouring Nonconformist academy at Sheriff Hales.

² Of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; private tutor to Humphrey Chetham; taught at Prestwich. He was rebuked by the Manchester Classis for preaching without license and making marriages according to the Prayer Book. Appointed head master of Nottingham School, February 1664.—*Henry Newcome's Diary*, June 1669.

charge had caused a good deal of local comment and disapproval.

Under these circumstances Henry Newcome drew up the letter to the Haberdashers' Company, asking them to withdraw their claim on the services of Mr. John Wickens.

'*July 11, 1663.*—Then I went to look for Mr. Wickens and at last found him and Dr. Haworth and Mr. Minshull and I had some discourse with him and we saw how the matter was, and so resolved to endeavour if it were possible to fix him, and if not, to use means to keep out an unfit man. To this end Mr. Minshull went to Sir Cecil Trafford this night, and I wrote to the Warden.

'*July 17, 1663.*—After noon I received money from Mr. Alexander £14 and went at five with the justices and townmen to speak to Mr. Wickens and to move his stay if we could, and had a civil answer from him.

'*Friday, Aug. 14.*—After dinner Dr. Haworth was advising about a townsmeeeting for the School. Mr. Har(rison) and I were at Mr. Green's with Mr. Tilsley and stayed two or three hours with them . . . I went to Mr. Warden's and told him of the meeting to-morrow and he consented to be at it.

'*Saturday, Aug. 15.*—Mr. Wickens sent for me to the College. Mr. Illingworth came to me and we went together to Mr. Booth's at four, and were till about seven and the matters to and fro were freely discussed. About nine, I thought myself in civility bound to give Mr. Wickens an account, and so I did.

'*Monday, Aug. 17.*—I rose at six to go to Dr. Haworth about Mr. Wickens' business where I was till toward eight. I then looked on my mill and Mr. Birch came in and was with me awhile. Then I went to Mr. Buxton's where I dined, being there an hour before dinner.'

Afterwards the diary ceased to note the School business, but it is evident the action taken by Newcome was successful. The salary was increased and perhaps a better house was provided in order that the master might take boarders and so increase his income.

On the death of Mr. Wickens in 1676, the affairs of the School again came under the serious consideration of the feoffees. Mr. Daniel Hill, M.A., of Corpus Christi, Oxford, was appointed high master, and seven new trustees co-opted

to take the place of seven who were deceased or had resigned. Like their predecessors, they were all members of county families and belonged to the Whig party which had been formed from the Moderate Church party, reinforced by descendants of many Presbyterian families who had favoured the idea of a comprehension within the establishment. Of them, Henry Booth, son of Sir George Booth, was destined to influence indirectly but very profoundly the subsequent fortunes of the school.

The others were William Hulton, of Hulton, 1625-1702, James Chetham of Smedley, 1640-1692, Sir Ralph Assheton of Middleton, all of whom had been students at Gray's Inn, Sir John Ardern of Ardern, near Stockport, Wm. Hulme of Davyhulme, and Henry Dickinson, feoffee of Chetham's Hospital in 1649. For some unknown reason the latter declined to serve, and was replaced the following month by Mr. Richard Fox, a merchant, who was also a governor of the Chetham foundation. From this time the three foundations—the Collegiate body, the Public Library, and the Grammar School—became closely, though unofficially, related.

Daniel Hill held the appointment for a very short time. Among the 'Kenyon Papers'¹ is a letter to Nicholas Stratford referring to his resignation and to the appointment, 25 March 1677, by Robert Newlyn, President, College of Corpus Christi, of William Barrow, son of Hugh Barrow of Lancaster, of St. Alban's Hall, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who, at the time of his appointment at the Manchester School, had been head master of the Preston Grammar School from September 1675. He seems to have been a man of similar type to John Wickens, one of whose daughters, Isobel, he had married earlier than 1687, for Hugh, son of William Barrow, was baptised February 14, 1687. The other daughter of John Wickens was married to Stephen Paynter, son of a previous Presbyterian high master. Mr. Barrow does not appear to have shared in the public life of Manchester. Perhaps he lived in Salford.² He was probably, like the governors

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports*, XIV. Appendix IX, Part iv., 1894.

² Will, dated 1721, proved at Chester, leaves competence for his stepson, his nephew George Barrow, and his nephew (executor), Thomas Patten of Warrington (ancestor of Lord Winmarley), who, after being educated at the school, became Fellow of Christ Church, Oxon, D.D., Rector of Childrey, Bucks.—*Dictionary of National Biography*.

of this School, a Whig in politics, as the School became the object of a popular outburst of Jacobitism soon after the accession of William III. It is certain that the School was well supported by the Whig party, and that many scholars passed from it to Oxford and Cambridge.¹ There is, however, a marked change in the relative use of the two Universities :

Period.	No. of Years.	Total to University.	Annual Average.	Total to Oxford.	Annual Average to Oxford.	Total to Cambridge.	Annual Average to Cambridge.
1647-60	13	67	5	12	1	55	4
1660-90	30	98	3	36	1.2	62	2

Mr. Barrow is styled Reverend in the obituary notice, but I cannot find that he held any benefice. He devoted himself seriously to the work of the School, which continued to prosper to such an extent that from 1680 the feoffees, having placed the business of the mills and of their other property in new hands, were able to make continuous the annual grants from school funds which assisted boys proceeding to the Universities. In 1685 they decided to provide additional accommodation, and erected a new and convenient school at the end of the original one,² apparently as a preparatory school, which was placed under the care of a special master, Mr. Seth Broxup.

No small part of the prosperity of the School was due to the rapid social changes which were raising the outlook as well as the status of the merchant classes.

The increase in trade was affording fresh opportunities for the benevolent to make provision for the less fortunate. In 1680 almshouses were erected in Millars Lane at the end of Long Millgate with the following inscription :

¹ The following books of this date are still to be found in the School Library: Athanasius Kircher's *Historical Remains and Geography of Italy*; Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677); Anthony à Wood's *History and Antiquities of Oxford* (1674); Thomas Gataker's *History of the Emperor Mark Anthony* (1652); Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicles of the Kings of England* (1670); Pliny's *Natural History* (printed 1572).

² Cf. Warden Wroe's description of the Grammar School in Camden's *Britannia*, 1690.

'In usum mancium pauperum erecta fuerant haec domicilia annuentibus Irenarchus fidei Commissionibus per curam praefectorum Anno Dom. 1680.

Oswald Mosley Armiger

Jacobo Marler generosus

Jacob Radcliffe gen:

Richard Fox gen:

Anno prefecto emanciporibus.'

Sam Dickenson gen:

Johann Alexander gen:

Edward Bootle gen:

Humphredo Marler gen:

On a small house adjoining is inscribed :

'The gift of John Green and Alexander his son to the poor.'

A further indication of the increased consideration for others is found in the attention paid to the higher education of girls. There is a letter extant from Richard Ducker to his friend Williamson, dated October 1676, which says :

'Your little niece is well in health, but now she loses some time for want of more conversation than her father's house affords. 'Tis good company rather than means that teaches manners. I do little as it is incompletely that I can oversee her. There are good boarding schools at York and Manchester, as good as any.'

Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) writes under date April 9, 1684 :

'Rode to Manchester. Placed sister Abigail (as the others did their daughters) with Madam Frankland. The Lord grant it may be as it is designed for the good both of soul and body. Afterwards viewing the library and the famous benefactions of Mr. Chetham, spent much of the afternoon in perusing the monuments of the Church and viewing Salford.

'1684. Having dispatched some cloth for Holland, I went with Mr. Ibbertson to Manchester, where I found my sister Abigail more indisposed at the boarding school than I expected, but satisfied with Madame Frankland's patience and care. I was pleased with the agreeable conversation of Mr. Newcome and Mr. Tilsley, from whom I received several remarks concerning Bishop Wilkins and Lord Keeper Bridgeman, their temper and moderation, &c. Took leave

¹ Cf. James Ogden's account of Manchester, 1784.

² *State Papers, Domestic Series.*

of sister. Her physician, the ingenious Dr. Carte, lent me his transcript of Hollinworth's MS. History of Manchester.'

In the Romanist controversy of the period one local scholar at least took active part, viz. William Assheton (1641-1711), son of the rector of Middleton, said to have been educated at a private school and at Brasenose College, Oxon, Chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, Rector of St. Antholin's, London, and of Beckenham, Kent. He was a bitter opponent not only of the Romanists but also of those who favoured the comprehension of Puritanism within the Church. Among his publications, 'Toleration disproved' and 'Admonitions against Popery' are the most noteworthy. Copies of these he presented to the Chetham Library. Of more permanent interest than his theology are his early proposals to enable clergymen to make provision for their widows by a system of jointures payable by the Mercers' Company. The particular system advocated broke down, however, owing to lack of statistical research, such as that given by Adam Martindale in his letter to the Royal Society, 'Problem in Compound Interest and Annuities resolved,'¹ but the attempt at benevolent forethought is interesting.

Intercourse with Holland was not only influencing the direction of the study of English scholars. The sturdy efforts made to retain individual liberty by means of its republican government provided an object lesson which was not lost upon Englishmen who had already taken part in a struggle against previous encroachments by the Crown on liberty, and who now found that jurisprudence was capable of enunciating principles of State government as well as principles of individual justice. It was probably the county party which aroused the merchant classes from their trade jealousy with Holland and taught them that the aggressive spirit of France was their true enemy, and that to secure their rights in England they would first have to check Louis XIV.

Henry Booth, Lord Delamere (1650-1693), had as a boy shared the imprisonment of his father, when the latter had been arrested for taking part in the premature Royalist rising of 1659. Before succeeding to the family estates in

¹ *Abstracts of Papers and Communications*, vol. ii. p. 482.

1683 he had served as member of Parliament for Cheshire. Owing to the advanced age of his father, he was the natural leader of the Whig party which was gathering strength to resist the encroachment of Charles II. By supporting the Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the English throne, he had incurred the enmity, not only of James II but of Judge Jeffreys, who tried to implicate him in the ill-fated plot of the Duke of Monmouth to displace James II. Lord Delamere appealed to his fellow-members of the House of Lords, who formed a jury, and to the chagrin of Judge Jeffreys returned a verdict of 'Not guilty.' A volume of his writings, published after his death, shows both his love of justice and his interest in education. He subsequently returned to private life at Dunham. Among his many other public duties he acted as feoffee of the Manchester School, to what effect we shall presently see.

CHAPTER VI

1689-1720

WHIG BENEFACTIONS

‘Men in great places are thrice servants : servants of the Sovereign and State, servants of Fame, and servants of Business.’—*Advancement of Learning*.

Co-operation and mutual confidence between Whig county families and the merchant classes lead to the continued support of grammar schools and the provision of scholarships and exhibitions at the English Universities—The Duchess of Somerset and the Delamere family—William Hulme founds post-graduate exhibitions at Brasenose—Increase of charity schools and benefactions for apprenticing poor children—Nonconformist academies flourish and excite the jealousy of Archbishop Sharpe—Debate in the House of Lords—Natural Philosophy and Medicine further encouraged at the Chetham Library—Harley endeavours to promote trade intercourse with France, and sends Daniel Defoe to gain political information in England—Defoe in Manchester—The High Church revival in Manchester—The Cyprianites—Steady growth of the Grammar School—Death of Warden Wroe and appointment of Warden Peploe.

No policy could have more effectively alienated the goodwill of the slow-thinking, self-satisfied, landowning classes from their unquestioning support of the Crown and induced them to unite with the merchant classes than the attacks made on the Anglican Church by James II, which culminated in the arrest of the seven bishops. However little the landowners observed its ritual, cared for its formula and creeds, or even regarded its moral restraints in their own lives, there was no doubt that they believed the Church was in no small measure their own property. They held the advowson of many of the benefices, and were accustomed to regard as their dependents those whom they had presented. They also considered they had a right to exercise influence in the appointment to many dignities, such as the fellowship

and wardenship of the collegiate church, which they regarded as the prerogative of the more intellectual members of their own order. Their privileges and prerogatives in the material possessions of the Church were as sacred as their more secular possessions. Macaulay depicts the deficiencies and the virtues of this class in no halting terms, and if his picture should be lightened for Lancashire, it is because not a few of the local landowners had acquired a broader outlook by sharing in the government of a busy town and in the administration of its local charities—the Grammar School and Chetham Library. The business meetings of these institutions brought them into touch with many alert and enlightened merchants, lawyers and physicians, from whom they had much to learn. The unsophisticated instincts of boys, particularly when living in their own homes, and free from the weight of tradition which too often clings to a boarding school, offer little encouragement to social snobbery. While at school, sons of local country squires had rubbed shoulders with sons of merchants and had learned permanently to respect their talents if not to recognise their social claims. A successful school was then, as now, dependent on the presence, in considerable numbers, of earnest energetic boys urged to the acquirement of knowledge by the spur of necessity or by the activity of innate intellectual power. Even the dullest squire could appreciate the educational opportunities afforded by attending the Grammar School before settling down to the performance of his public duties and the enjoyment of his estates. It is therefore not surprising that the period of Whig supremacy was one of educational activity among the landowners and well-to-do farmers as well as among the merchant classes.

During the period 1660–1730, there were 172 new Grammar Schools established in England, while 51 of the old ones received fresh endowments.¹ Nowhere was the progress more marked than in the North of England. In Lancashire there were 79 Grammar Schools dating back before 1660, while, during the period 1660–1730, 21 new ones were established and 9 old ones re-endowed, making up a total of 100 for that county. In Yorkshire there were 100 schools of an earlier date than 1660. In the same succeeding seventy years, 28 new ones were set up and 6 were re-endowed, making

¹ Cf. J. E. De Montmorency, *The Progress of Education in England*.

a total of 128. In Westmorland there were 40 schools in 1660. During the above-mentioned period, 15 new ones were built and one was re-endowed. In Cumberland there were 27 in existence in 1660, and by 1730 several new ones had been created. In these four northern counties there was therefore a total of 315 schools out of a total of 823 in the whole of England. This appreciation of education was not confined to boys. The education of girls was receiving a good deal of attention, for we have seen that both at Manchester and at York there were high-class Nonconformist academies for girls.¹

In 1690 the Manchester Boarding School for girls must have been in full activity, since at this time a rate book shows that Mrs. Frankland, who occupied the house in Long Millgate, which subsequently became the residence of Mr. Lawson, paid rates for twenty-one girls of the age of fifteen years and upwards: the boarders under the age of fifteen are not included. In 1698 Ralph Thoresby writes:

‘At Manchester I was much concerned for the death of all my old friends, Mr. Newcome, Mr. Tilsley, Mr. Martindale, and Mr. Illingworth (all now entered upon the joy of their Lord). I enquired for his valuable MSS. but fear they are all lost. There was not a face that I knew but good old Mrs. Frankland, with whom I had boarded my sister Abigail [subsequently wife of Rev. Richard] Idle.’

The general interest manifested in education by the land-owning as well as the merchant classes was increased by distrust of the activities of the numerous Catholic agents, whose presence at Oxford had been favoured by the Court and who, owing to their high training and agreeable manners, had succeeded in alienating the allegiance of many scholars of Whig families from the Church of England. Several prominent Whigs, viz. Lord Delamere, who had married Mary Langham, niece and only surviving relative of Sarah Alston, Duchess of Somerset; George Grimston, her brother-in-law; and Sir William Gregory, Judge of the Queen’s Bench, induced the Duchess of Somerset to dispose of some of her ample fortune in providing exhibitions for poor scholars from the great Whig

¹ See also Mary Astell, 1666–1733, *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex*, 1497; Ballard’s *Memoirs of British Ladies*, 1775.

Grammar Schools to pursue their University training under proper Whig supervision.¹

The facts known about the Duchess are few in number. She had been born about 1630 and was the co-heiress with her sister, Lady Langham, of Edward Alston (1596-1669), a wealthy London physician. She had been married at a very early age to George Grimston of Brasenose College, Oxon (1650), and Lincoln's Inn (1652), the eldest son of Sir Harbottle Grimston (1603-1685) of Bradfield Hall, Essex, and Gorhambury, Hertford, Member of the Long Parliament, Master of the Rolls, Speaker of the House of Commons at the 'Healing Parliament,' elected just before the Restoration and a prominent member of the Whig party. Her husband, George Grimston, had died in June 1655, aged twenty-three, and the young widow soon after married the Hon. John Seymour, M.P. for Marlborough, a prominent Whig, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Wilts and Somerset, and subsequently fourth Duke of Somerset. She was again left a widow in 1674. Her second husband's liberality is shown by his gifts to Brasenose College, Oxon, and his setting apart £3000 to be vested in land to provide income for apprenticing poor children in the city of Salisbury. As Dowager Duchess of Somerset, she soon began to make arrangements for the settlement of her property. By deed dated February 17, 1679, she set apart the Manor of Ivor in Buckinghamshire for the maintenance during a period of seven years of four scholars to be elected from the Free School of Manchester, particularly those scholars coming from the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Hereford, who desired to proceed to Brasenose College, Oxford, where her first husband had been educated. On July 17, 1682, she married her third husband, Henry Hare, Lord Coleraine, best known as an antiquary. Unlike her previous ones, this marriage was not a happy one. She did not share her husband's tastes; and Le Neve, who liked neither her politics nor the method in which she disposed of her money, described her as being 'of a covetous humour, and left nothing to her husband, but most of her property to charities.' He does not mention the provision she made for members of the Somerset family nor her attachment to the Grimstons, for those were all Whigs.

¹ According to ancient rumour, it was the success of the exhibitions given to Shrewsbury School that induced the Duchess to take this action.

Soon after her marriage with Lord Coleraine, she ceased to reside with him, and began to make provision for the still further disposal of her estates. Under a will dated May 17, 1686, she devoted the Thornhill and Wootton Rivers Estates to the foundation of scholarships at Brasenose College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge,¹ to support scholars of restricted means from the three principal Whig schools, Hereford, Marlborough, and Manchester; and appointed her brother-in-law, Sir Samuel Grimston, Henry Lord Delamere of Dunham Massey (1652-1693), who had just been created Earl of Warrington, and Sir William Gregory (1624-1696), of Howcapel, Hereford, Judge of Queen's Bench, as the trustees of her will and benefactions.²

The following is a translation of the inscription on the Duchess of Somerset's tomb in Westminster Abbey :

Here lies the illustrious
SARAH, late DUCHESS OF SOMERSET
celebrated for her never failing generosity to the poor
who for the sake of boys
Founded the Grammar School of Tottenham in the County of Middlesex
Largely increased the revenues of the Green Coat Hospital of Westminster
In order to promote the welfare of youths of excellent promise piety and learning
She richly endowed for all time
The colleges of Brasenose, Oxford and St. John in Cambridge
and also enabled other youths to be fitted for mechanical pursuits
In her affection for old age
She caused a Hospital to be built and endowed
For the support of thirty Poor Widows at Trotsfield in the County of Wilts
She established perpetual endowment for the better nourishment
of the poor of the Parish of St. Margaret Westminster
and splendidly decorated many other Churches
with magnificent ornaments.
She died 25th Oct. 1692.³

The claims of the Manchester Grammar School to be included in these benefactions would no doubt have been fully

¹ Her father was of St. John's, Cambridge, and her brother-in-law, Charles, fifth Duke of Somerset, was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1688.

² She left most of her estates, jewels, &c., to Lord Delamere and his children, value about £50,000.—*Luttrell's Diary*, October 27, 1692.

³ Portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the library at St. John's College. Inscription on tomb and notes of her sister Lady Langham in Granger's *Biographical History*.



SARAH, DUCHESS OF SOMERSET, IS INDUCED BY WARDEN WROE TO ADMIT THE BOYS OF THE
MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL TO THE BENEFIT OF HER SCHOLARSHIPS AT OXFORD
AND CAMBRIDGE.



and eloquently urged by Richard Wroe, recently appointed Fellow of the Manchester Collegiate Church and Vicar of Bowden, the parish in which the Delamere family was living. He was a favourite pupil of the learned John Pearson, Bishop of Chester, who had introduced him to the Delamere family at Dunham Massey. The record of Wroe's early life is too scanty to determine whether he had been actually trained at the Manchester School, but he had come from Prestwich, in its immediate neighbourhood, and was of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he had met many of its scholars and must have known of the work of John Worthington.

Nor was the association of the Delamere family with the school a mere formal one. Sir George Booth, father of Sir Henry, second Lord Delamere, had been a prominent and active feoffee from 1660, and had been appealed to when the town desired to exert influence on Wickens to remain in Manchester. On his death in 1683 his son, Henry Booth, second Lord Delamere,¹ had been appointed feoffee in his place. Both father and son were active politicians, for the father had been imprisoned for taking active part in the Royalist rising in 1658, and the son was charged with being implicated in the plot to place the Duke of Monmouth on the throne. While in prison he was constantly attended and cheered by his talented wife, Mary Langham, and after his acquittal he had retired to the quiet enjoyment of family life, entertaining numerous parties of friends in his beautiful home at Dunham Massey. Among the honoured visitors would certainly be the Dowager Duchess of Somerset and many notables, such as Bishop Pearson of Chester and Richard Wroe, the vicar of the parish. The character of Lady Delamere is depicted in the sermon preached at her death by Richard Wroe, and a sketch of her mother, Lady Langham, the only other member of the Alston family, was given in another funeral sermon preached on the occasion of her death in 1660 by Dr. G. Reynolds. It gives some insight into the religious habits of thought common among the wealthy Whig families of Puritan ancestry. After alluding to her library of works on divinity, the preacher dwelt upon the thoroughness of her studies.

She had, in the early part of her life, a tendency to atheism, but as she advanced in years and understanding she became

¹ Cf. Horace Walpole, *Royal and Noble Authors*, edited by Park, vol. iii. pp. 315, 324.

a Christian, on sound principles and rational convictions, and experimentally sound.

‘I might reckon also as a part of her daily task the reading over of one sermon a day most days out of her note books, for she constantly penned the sermons she heard. I could wish that other great sermon writers would herein follow her example and not turn their notes to waste paper as soon as they had filled their books.’

Perhaps the generous and well-considered provision for needy but deserving scholars made by the Duchess of Somerset had something to do with the action of William Hulme of Kersley (1630–1691), who was at the time a feoffee of the Manchester School. He had been a scholar under Nehemiah Paynter, and had passed to Brasenose College, Oxon, and was admitted at Gray’s Inn, London. He also was possessed of a considerable fortune. His only child, Bannister Hulme, whilst a boy at the Manchester School, had succumbed under distressing circumstances (September 1673) to an injury to the head received in a schoolboy tussle. He was just seventeen years of age and ready to proceed to the University.¹ Oliver Heywood, the Puritan minister, seems to have borne a grudge against William Hulme for his attachment to the Anglican Church, and for his administration of the laws against Nonconformity, for he wrote thus about him :

‘The first work he did after he was Justice of the Peace was sending good Mr. Wood to Lancaster jail for preaching ; he hath said of my brother Hulton’s house (where Bannister Hulme was lodging while at school), which is his, that he had rather set it on fire than have it hold a conventicle.’²

Heywood adds, in the censorious way too common among Puritan preachers of that age :

‘He hath been somewhat debauched, though of late much reformed, yet exceeding devoted to Conformity. . . . Who knows what this dreadful blow may do upon my old companion ?’

‘The dreadful blow,’ of the loss of his only child, was

¹ *Henry Newcome’s Diary.*

² *Oliver Heywood’s Diary.*

destined to do a great deal for higher education, for, by will dated October 24, 1691, William Hulme devised a trust estate consisting of property situate at Heaton Norris, Denton, Ashton-under-Lyne, Reddish, Manchester, and Heywood, whose rents and profits should be enjoyed by his wife during her lifetime and subsequently be distributed 'to four of the poorest sort of Bachelors of Arts of Brasenose College, Oxford, who should resolve to continue and reside there by the space of four years next after such degree taken.' The exhibitioners were to be nominated and appointed by the Warden of the Collegiate Church (at that time Richard Wroe), and the rectors of the parish churches of Prestwich (Wm. Assheton) and Bury (Rev. Thomas Gipps) for the time being and their successors for ever. The absence of the name of the high master, or of a University authority who might be supposed to be intimately acquainted with the character of the candidates, is remarkable, but it is possibly accidental and due to the fact that the will was hastily drawn up some five days before the decease of the testator.

The trustees of the will were James Chetham of Turton (1641-1697), William Hulme of Davy Hulme, Gray's Inn, nephew of testator, High Sheriff of Lancs. 1701, and William Baguley: while the rector of Prestwich, Rev. Wm. Assheton (1649-1731), the rector of Bury, Rev. Thomas Gipps, and the Warden of the College, Dr. Wroe, and their several successors, were to nominate the exhibitioners.

Disputes soon arose as to whether the benefits should be limited to boys from the Manchester School, or even to boys from the county of Lancaster, though there was no doubt as to their limitation to scholars at Brasenose College, Oxon. It is due to these disputes that we have depositions from several of William Hulme's intimate friends which describe his reflections on the state of learning current among the clergy.

'James Grundy of Bolton le Moors, Bachelor of Physic, and Governor of Chetham's Library, 1687, died 1712, deposed that he had often visited Wm. Hulme for two or three years before his death, and that Wm. Hulme had spoken freely of his designs. He had noticed that the county of Lancaster, especially about Manchester, had sent more scholars to the University than any like county or place, but that many who sent their sons were not able to maintain them

in the University any longer than to make them Bachelors of Arts, and consequently such young scholars were necessitated to turn preachers before they were qualified for that work, which is the occasion that we are not so well provided with orthodox and able ministers as other counties, therefore he designed a considerable part of his estate towards the maintenance of four such Bachelors of Arts, that were Lancashire scholars especially of this part of the county where he lived, and had not wherewith to maintain themselves any longer in the University.’¹

Thomas Sergeant of Pilkington, a near neighbour; Joshua Dixon, clerk and curate of Ringley Chapel, Prestwich, where William Hulme attended on Sundays and holidays for divine service; and Robert Seddon of Kersley, another neighbour, all confirmed the statements of James Grundy, and added similar testimony from their own experience.

The spirit of benevolence and the desire to favour the spread of knowledge continued to seek new outlets of expression. The benevolent designs of wealthy Whig families and merchants were not limited to the providing of better University training for preachers at home, but extended to the support of preachers in the American colonies, now growing rapidly in size and importance. Dr. Bray began to put forward his schemes to provide missionary preachers for America with Catechisms and other books in 1693. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, instituted in 1701, placed on a permanent basis many previous efforts. This was followed by a movement for building new churches in London, a movement which spread to the rest of the country. Queen Anne devoted the first-fruits of ecclesiastical preferment—a royal prerogative—for establishing a fund, Queen Anne’s Bounty, for improving the stipends of poor clergy. In 1708, an Act of Parliament was passed to make provision for the establishment and care of parochial libraries. Charity schools, almshouses, and various charitable trusts for helping the poor by apprenticing children, &c., became increasingly common.

The efforts to secure a higher standard of living were at first shared by those who sought to combine a greater personal devoutness with a stricter observance of Church ritual, and

¹ Whatton’s *Foundations in Manchester*.

were therefore to be found in the ranks of the High Church party. Consequently many of the public efforts put forth at this time were supported by men of widely different political as well as ecclesiastical views, but in a short time there appeared a steadily increasing discrimination in favour of objects supporting particular classes or parties. Thus John Sharpe, who as Archbishop of York had interested himself in the degraded condition of so many unendowed Grammar Schools kept by ignorant masters, began to view the prosperity and the excellent training of the private Nonconformist academies with anxiety and perhaps jealousy. He had written to Dr. Tillotson in 1694 upon the matter, but failing to find support, subsequently brought the matter up in the House of Lords, when a debate took place on the 'State of the Nation and the Dangers to the Established Church caused by increased numbers of dissenters and their academies.' Appeal was made to Sir John Holt, Lord Chief Justice, to see what remedies were provided by law to deal with the matter.

In spite of all that was being done, English education was in danger of falling between two stools. There was the education at Grammar School and University for men of established positions or even leisure, or of family connection, which would secure social advancement. This was open to a few poor scholars who were fortunate enough to obtain exhibitions or scholarships to help support them till they could find patrons willing to present them to livings, too often only very poorly paid. There was also a 'Training for active life' provided at the academies suitable for those not possessing family influence, and preparing for professional careers such as Medicine, Law, Science or the Army, and for Commerce, but also used by many of private means intending to enter political life or who wished to cultivate intellectual interests in country life, and finally for those who desired to enter the Nonconformist ministry, often a position of great reputation and influence and demanding considerable intellectual attainments. Strictly professional studies were generally continued at foreign Universities.

We have already mentioned that the most prominent and successful academy in the North of England had been that of Richard Frankland who, between 1672 and 1698, had prepared some 303 students for various careers. On Frankland's death in 1698, several fruitless attempts were

made to find a successor to take charge of his academy. Henry Newcome of Manchester, the natural head of the Nonconformists in the North-West of England, had died a few years before. His place in Manchester had been taken by Mr. Chorlton, a native of Salford, who had graduated at Edinburgh, and who was strongly urged to undertake the care of the academy at Rathmel. This Chorlton declined to do, as he preferred to remain in Manchester, which, owing to its library and the liberality of view of Warden Wroe, continued to be the resort of many learned Nonconformist ministers and others of similar interests and attainments. Chorlton, however, consented to supervise the study of some six or eight of Frankland's pupils, who were willing to come to Manchester, and thus formed the nucleus of a Manchester Nonconformist Academy. Mr. Chorlton died in 1705. Mr. Conyngham, who had also been educated at Edinburgh, and had subsequently been in charge of an Academy at Penrith, had come as assistant minister to Mr. Chorlton in 1700, and succeeded him both in his pastoral and teaching work. The academy was continued in Manchester till the High Church chaplains who had imbibed the principles current at the English Universities caused legal proceedings to be taken against him in 1712 under the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711, when the growing party bitterness shown towards the dissenting body caused Mr. Conyngham to leave Manchester and accept a pastorate at Haberdashers' Hall in London, where he died, September 1716. The first Manchester Academy was closed when Conyngham left. An interesting sidelight upon it occurs in the diary of the Rev. James Clegg, who ultimately settled as minister, and also practised medicine, in Chinley, Derbyshire.¹

‘When I left Rathmel (Frankland's Academy) I placed myself in Manchester for the benefit of the library and the conversation of other young scholars that lived there, and boarded with Dr. Wild in Fennel St., where Mr. Richard of Miln Row, near Rochdale Road, also boarded. I had been very intimately acquainted with him at Rathmel, and his conversation was of use to me at Manchester. But in a little time he was called to be minister at Stockport, and I removed from Dr. Wild to Mr. Chorlton. Several young

¹ Cf. *Oliver Heywood's Diary*, vol. iii. Ed. J. H. Turner.

men who had been under Mr. Frankland's tuition at Rathmel also came about that time and placed themselves under Mr. Chorlton, who was admirably qualified for a tutor as well as a preacher. He read lectures to us in the forenoon on Philosophy and Divinity, and in the afternoons some of us read in the Public Library. It was there I first met with the works of Episcopius, Socinus, Crellius, and the writings of Socinus and his followers. They made little impression on me, only I could never after be entirely reconciled to the common doctrine of the Trinity . . . But after I had spent little more than a year there I left the town and boarded with Jos. Dawson, the pious, serious, dissenting minister at Rochdale. . . .'¹

The important place which the Chetham Library was filling in Manchester life is indicated by the following summary of books purchased. It appears that from 1654-1662, £1000 was spent, and the total number of books purchased was 1450 ; from 1662-1693, £1469 was spent, and the total number of books purchased was 2093 ; from 1693-1712 the total number of books purchased was 910. A study of their subject-matter reveals the general interest of the readers. Books on gardening, the metamorphosis of insects, Leuwenhoek's 'Secrets of Nature' (microscopic studies in Nat. Hist.), Flamstead's 'History of the Heavens' were purchased for those who desired to use the scientific instruments, and other works on Natural Philosophy for those who wished to follow the progress of that branch of knowledge in relation to Natural Theology or ancillary to the study of medicine.

English education was influenced by the Political Union with Scotland in 1707, which was very popular among the Whig party, though opposed by the Tories. Nonconformist ministers were in close touch with the Scotch Universities, and attempts were made to found a college for English divinity students at Edinburgh by Dr. Calamy and Dr. Daniel Williams. Legacies were left for the purpose, but a theological controversy caused the interest and support of English Nonconformists to be withdrawn.²

¹ Extract from the *Diary of James Clegg*; also Geo. E. Evans, *Antiquarian Notes*, vol. iii. p. 109.

² Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 44 ; also W. D. Jeremy, 'The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Williams' Trust,' and an account of 'Dr. John Ward's Life and Trust,' in *Trans. Baptist Historical Society*, April 1914.

At this time many English scholars were attracted to Holland to study medicine. It is hardly too much to say that Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), who, after studying divinity, had been appointed Professor of Medicine at Leyden in 1700, made such extensive contributions to the healing art by bringing it into relation with Natural Philosophy as to have earned the title of its second founder. Boerhaave pays high tribute to the work already accomplished by English physicians such as Harvey, Glisson, Wharton, and Sydenham, who had preceded him in his task. Early editions of Boerhaave's works were purchased for the Chetham Library, and among them 'What a physician ought to know in relation to the nature of bodies, the laws of Motion, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Properties of Fluids, Chemistry, Pharmacy, Study of Physics, Physiology, Pathology, Surgery and Diet.' The continued election of physicians on the Chetham trust explains the presence of contemporary anatomical and medical books. Even the study of Practical Anatomy is mentioned in the following letter from Francis Hooper,¹ dated Chetham College, April 20, 1719, which indicates that the library was a centre of medical study though not of medical training:

'The library before now had not been opened for some time, that it has become a novelty and frequented by a great many, I believe only on that account. I have pretty good opportunity of reading here and hope I shall now be master of a great deal of time, so that I shall endeavor to qualify myself as well as I can against the great, the important day. Our audit here is upon the 14th May, when we shall have a full meeting of the governors for the making up of the College accounts and it is thought an order for the buying of books into the library. Mr. Leicester's long illness obliged him to omit that part of his office, so that we have £300 in bank for the purpose. John Clayton² sends his service to you. When we are all together he intends to *cut up a body for us and present the skeleton to the library*. Your brother (Edward Byrom) is very curious that way.'

¹ Chaplain to Lady Ann Bland, incumbent at Didsbury.—*Palatine Note Book*, August 1883, and Byrom's *Journal and Correspondence*.

² John Clayton of Fulwood (1693-1773) who, after studying medicine, collected plants in Virginia and became Secretary of Gloucester Co., America, and contributed to the Royal Society remarks on coal gas, on plants in America, &c.

At this time, there were several local physicians of considerable repute, one of the most diligent searchers for new knowledge, whether medical or scientific, being Charles Leigh.

Charles Leigh (1662-1712) was the son of William Leigh of Singleton in the Fylde, Lancashire, and a member of a family in whom traditions of scholarship were deeply ingrained. Of his boyhood and school training, nothing is known. He entered Brasenose College, 1679, and after taking a degree M.A. at Oxford graduated M.D. in 1685 from Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1684 he communicated 'A Discourse concerning Digestion' to the Royal Society, in which he showed that digestion could be conducted outside the body by the digestive juices obtained from a dog, thus continuing and enlarging upon the experiments made by Dr. Mayhew. Dr. Leigh also contributed to the Royal Society some notes on R. Bolton's 'Observations on the Heat of the Blood.' In 1685 he was elected a Fellow of that Society. In 1694 he published his experiences as a physician in his works, *Phthisiologia Lancastrensis*, 1694, descriptive of the acute distempers, particularly the pestilential fevers raging in Lancashire in the years 1693-96. He also wrote *De Mineralibus aquis* and 'A Natural History of Lancashire.' His historical statements were somewhat violently attacked by another local scholar and historian, Dr. John Whitaker, in his account of Whalley, but Leigh's work was regarded of sufficient merit to be republished at Geneva in 1727. He was evidently a physician of considerable note, and as such was visited by Dr. Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, in 1704. 'Dr. Leigh showed me the remainder of his rarities, the rest being given to Dr. Sloane.' He probably died about 1712, for about that time Dr. William Stukeley records that he was invited to come to Manchester as there was need of physicians.

Even before the death of William III, ideas were being introduced from France, which took root on the accession of Queen Anne. They moderated some of the Whig prejudices of the English merchant classes, and gave to the more eager and masterful members of the English Church new strength to their aspirations for a High Church revival.

Robert Harley (1661-1724), after beginning life as a Whig, had gradually become opposed to the policy of Marlborough and favoured a better understanding with France,

a country which was constantly visited by interested and disinterested sympathisers with the exiled Stuart family. These travellers could not fail to benefit by its atmosphere of intellectual keenness, both theological and commercial. Although war between England and France had again broken out in 1702, many merchants were desirous of developing trade relations with the French. In order to obtain first-hand information about the possibilities of enlisting the interests of English merchants in his foreign policy, Robert Harley employed Daniel Defoe to travel first in France and subsequently throughout England, and furnish reports and descriptions of the places he visited and the prevailing opinions of the people. These reports were written under the pseudonym of Alexander Goldsmith.¹ From these we learn that Daniel Defoe visited Manchester on behalf of Robert Harley several times in 1705-6, and that his letters were left in charge of Conyngham, the Nonconformist minister. Defoe's fuller description of contemporary Manchester was not published till the second (completed) edition of a 'Tour through Great Britain' appeared in 1738. It is as follows :

'Manchester is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, mere village in England. It is neither a town, city, nor corporation, nor sends members to Parliament, but it is a manor with courts, leet and baron. The highest magistrate is a constable or head borough reeve ; and yet it has a collegiate church, takes up a large space of ground, and, including the suburbs of that part of the town on the other side of the bridge, it is said to contain about 50,000 people.'

Trade questions were very seriously considered by politicians desirous of gaining the support of the merchant classes, and many useful treatises setting forth the quantity and character of trade were published at this period. Among them was 'State of Great Britain,' first published by Edward Chamberlain and later editions by John Chamberlain. Of Lancashire Chamberlain says :

'The chief commodities are oats, cattle and oxen, especially those of this county and Somersetshire are the stateliest in England ; fowl, fish, pit coal (which serves not only for fuel but

¹ A considerable number of them have been published in the 'Portland Papers' (Hist. MSS. Commission).

to make curious utensils little inferior to jet). The chief manufactures are woollen cloths, cottons, and ticken . . . Manchester is a town of very great Trade for Woollen and Linen manufactures.'

Dr. W. Stukeley, author of *Itinerarium Curiosum*, also visited Manchester in 1713, and described it as 'the largest, most rich, populous and busy village in England.' He computed the inhabitants to be about 2400 families.

'Their trade, which is incredibly large, consists much in fustians, girth webb, tickings, tapes, &c., which is dispersed all over the Kingdom, and to foreign parts. They have looms which work twenty-four laces at a time, which were stolen from the Dutch. The College has a good library for public use endowed with £116 per annum to buy more books. Dr. Yarburgh, son to him late of Newark, showed me a great collection of old Greek, Persian, Tartarian, Punic coins brought from Asia.'

The busy mercantile town would seem to offer little scope for the religious idealists who created the Methodist revival, or the ecclesiastical precisionists, who saw that the only hope of destroying the toleration of Nonconformity lay in a return of the Stuart dynasty. Yet both parties had a strong following in Manchester, and were the cause of considerable local agitation. Their leaders were men of intellectual attainment, and found much inspiration and support for their opinions in the writings of an early martyr bishop of the Christian Church, St. Cyprian, whose writings had been collected and translated by John Sage, the most learned of the Nonjurors, and published in 1694. A copy of these writings was purchased for the Chetham Library in 1708, when High Church principles were becoming noticeable among the junior clergy, who called themselves Cyprianites, and copied their model in his zeal. They demanded a recognition of the special unction, which they believed was attached to the priestly office, a strict observance of priestly baptism and the discipline of the English Church. As their opponents both within and without the Anglican Church were also men of learning, the two schools of thought found ample ground for controversy, while the existence of a well-furnished town library, containing works of different schools of thought, provided opportunity for their full discussion.

Many of the more peace-loving inhabitants of the town sought opportunity to escape these recriminations by absenting themselves from the old church. The leader of the Whig party in Manchester was Lady Ann Bland. She had inherited the lordship of the manor of Manchester with its estates at the death of her father, Sir Edward Mosley of Ancoats, who had built Cross Street Nonconformist Chapel for Henry Newcome. She remained the supporter and friend of Henry Newcome till his death in 1692, but subsequently, like many other Presbyterians, returned to the Established Church. The collegiate mother church was inconveniently crowded, and Lady Ann very naturally felt out of sympathy with the Jacobite element. Possessing ample means, she decided to build a new church. The foundation-stone was laid in 1709. Partly in honour of the reigning sovereign, who was encouraging the movement for erecting new churches in London, and partly in honour of the local foundress, the new church was called St. Ann's.

The zeal with which the High Church clergy sought converts among the Nonconformists is shown by the following local incident, which brought the Manchester Girls' Boarding School, still prominently Whig and Nonconformist, again under public observation. On August 1714, John Byrom wrote from Trinity College, Cambridge, to his friend John Stansfield in Manchester, 'I met with a pamphlet to-day entitled "Donatus Redivivus" about Mr. Leicester and Mr. Malyn of Manchester, re-baptizing two young women at the Boarding School. Is there anything in it?' The pamphlet in question was written by the Rev. Charles Owen, a virulent, loquacious, but learned Presbyterian minister at Warrington, under the pseudonym of Augustus Optatus, protesting against the action of two young High Church Cambridge clergymen recently settled in Manchester, Rev. Massey Malyn, B.A., M.B., of Queens' College, and Rev. James Leicester, M.A., librarian at Chetham's and chaplain of the Collegiate Church, who had re-baptized two Nonconformists attached to the girls' boarding school. 'Jane Chorlton,' one of the neophytes, and perhaps a teacher in the school, made a spirited reply, in the composition of which she was no doubt helped by the High Churchmen, and the heat evoked by the conflict is further illustrated in the reply by Charles Owen.

The Rev. James Leicester had succeeded Nathaniel Banne,

as librarian of Chetham's, when the latter was appointed by Lady Ann Bland rector of the new church of St. Ann's. He was the son of George Leicester, goldsmith, of Hale, near Bowdon, and after a preliminary education at Madeley Grammar School, Staffordshire, had entered St. John's College, Cambridge, 1704, and graduated B.A. in 1708, M.A. 1711. He had been engaged as travelling companion to Mr. Edward Wright, M.B., of Offerton, near Stockport, whose travels in France, Italy, &c., were published in 1724. He seems to have been a delicate man¹ and quite unable to influence the trustees in the selection of new books, about which there seems to have been some difference of opinion, for on a visit to Manchester in 1715 the famous antiquary and geographical impostor, George Psalmanazar, thus writes :

'At Manchester I had moreover the opportunity of frequently visiting a noble library belonging to Chetham College and well furnished with all manner of books that could be purchased for money, for it is endowed with £100 per annum to supply it with new ones as they come out, and yet when I was there they had about £400 in Bank and scarce knew how to lay it out, insomuch that they were thinking of purchasing some of the most curious MSS. This I could not but observe to them as ill-judged, considering the situation of it among tradesmen who have neither taste nor knowledge for such valuable pieces, and rather advised them to lay out that income in purchasing such valuable modern books as are yearly published both in England and out of it, and which I thought could better answer the intention of the noble donor. They seemed to acquiesce in what I said, but whether they followed my advice or not I never enquired.'

The High Anglican party in the district was also materially strengthened when Francis Gastrell was appointed in April 1714 as Bishop of Chester. Gastrell had already, like other High Churchmen, interested himself in educational provision. He at once began a systematic examination of the educational provision in his diocese. He was indebted for the information concerning the schools of Lancashire to Warden Wroe, who also provided some interesting details about the work of the Manchester Grammar School, with which as Visitor, he was closely connected, to the edition of Camden's *Magna Britannia*,

¹ He was buried at Didsbury, December 5, 1718.

which was being prepared by Dr. Gibson of London, and published in 1730.

For a very large part of this period there were vigorous conflicts between latitudinarian Broad and the precisionist High Churchmen, between Hanoverian Whig and Jacobite Tory. During all the time that Richard Wroe remained at the head of local church affairs and for a considerable time after, ebullitions were short-lived. His continued interest in experimental science is shown in the choice of books for the Chetham Library, whose committee meetings he regularly attended. The way in which he performed his duties as Visitor at the Grammar School was equally painstaking. The earliest extant list of holders of exhibitions from school funds dates from 1684. The business affairs of the school received regular attention, for the fresh appointments of feoffees are dated 1686, 1696, 1706, 1716, and show that the vacancies in the governing body were filled more regularly than in the past, and that the number of feoffees was never allowed to fall to the minimum number of four, when appeal would have had to be made to the Crown for fresh nominations, as had happened on previous occasions.

Of the personality of William Barrow, the high master between 1671 and 1721, we know very little. He would not have been recommended to the President of Corpus Christi by Dr. Stratford without very good reason, and the wide area from which boys were attracted to the School could not have been due solely to the advantages of holding school exhibitions and post-graduate scholarships at Brasenose, for there were many boarders who did not go to the Universities, and of those who did go, many did not hold these exhibitions.

A good deal of the high reputation of the school was no doubt also due to Richard Thompson, the second master. He was one of four trustees in 1704 for the management of estates and the distribution of a valuable collection of Roman antiquities, intaglios, coins, &c., collected by George Ogden, Fellow of Manchester College, and was also employed in the conveyance of lands.¹

The school library at this time contained a number of volumes of the best-known classics; edited by contemporary Dutch and French scholars, also of foreign works on polemical

¹ Cf. Raines' *Fellows of the Manchester Collegiate Church*.

theology, Christian apologetics, ethics, international law and jurisprudence, by such writers as John Gerrard Vossius (1577-1643) and his son Isaac Vossius (1618-1688); Nicholas Caussin, the Jesuit writer on Rhetoric and Eloquence; Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), and by no means least, Vegetus, the presence of whose book, *De re militari*, in the library of St. Paul's School is believed to have directed John Churchill, subsequently Duke of Marlborough, to enter upon a military career. Many of these school volumes bear marks of contemporary use in the form of schoolboy signatures and scribblings. We gain information thereby, not only as to the subjects which the boys studied, or at least their elders expected them to study, and into which they dipped if only to gain a superficial knowledge of their contents, but also many of the names of actual scholars of whose presence at the School there is no other record. So numerous are the scribblings and so characteristically are the names grouped, as 'condiscipuli,' often corresponding to the years in which some of them proceeded to the Universities, that they suggest actual class groupings. To some of the lists dates are assigned—1699, 1703, 1713—which in general are accurate, but occasionally manifestly so intentionally inaccurate as to constitute schoolboy jokes. Thus Radley Aynscough gives his date 1638 instead of 1698; and James Heywood, who left the school about 1696, writes against his signature, 'de Churchyard side 1641.' Perhaps the numerous scribblings also indicate some laxity in the management of the school. From these books we also gain a little insight into the interests of William Barrow. His own signature occurs in Camden's 'Britannia' and in Sir Thomas Baker's 'Chronicles of England.' Side by side with these books are to be found—Anthony à Wood's 'History of the Antiquities of Oxford,' Plot's 'Natural History of Oxford,' Favin's 'Theatre of Honor and Knighthood,' together with works of classical and Dutch writers.

Although the only early specifically medical work still remaining in the School library is a volume of Sydenham, yet there are other works, such as Pliny's 'Natural History,' which were regarded as useful preparations for the study of physic, which show considerable marks of contemporary use. The obituary notice of Richard Thompson,¹ who for

¹ In the *Post Boy*, 1721.

twenty-six years was second master of the School (1696-1721), specially draws attention to his skill in the study of botany. This may be connected with the prominent position and the number of local practitioners of medicine, both physicians and apothecaries, resident in the town.

At this time an incident occurred at the School which may have been due to defective discipline, or may have been the reflection of party spirit or of lawlessness in the town. In 1690, while Rev. William Barrow was high master, there occurred one of the school riots which frequently sprang up between boys and masters on such questions as the length of Christmas vacations. This particular one assumed graver proportions than usual. The boys locked themselves in the school and defied the masters. The townsfolk as usual took the side of the boys, and supplied them both with food and with firearms, with which the boys shot at the legs of their opponents.¹ The siege lasted a whole fortnight, and neither origin nor conclusion is very intelligible. It is however probable that the rabble were Jacobites, while Mr. Barrow, the high master, certainly shared the Whig propensities of the feoffees. Party spirit probably intensified, if it did not actually cause the outbreak.

The Somerset and the Hulme benefactions to local learning were achieving their purpose in raising the level of professional attainments, the self-respect and the reputation and consequently the social utility of those scholars who were willing, for the sake of following learning, to put up with a career offering poor worldly prospects. Their influence in determining the University careers of the scholars is shown by the fact that from this time forward a change began in the relative proportion of scholars proceeding to the two Universities. Previously, as we have seen, owing to Puritan traditions, the majority of scholars, and particularly those destined to be preachers, proceeded to Cambridge; hereafter the majority of those destined for clerical careers proceeded to Oxford, as is illustrated in the following estimate of the numbers proceeding from the School:

	Oxford.	Cambridge.
1660-1690 . . .	30 (1 a year)	60 (2 a year)
1690-1727 . . .	91 (2-3 a year)	33 (1 a year)

¹ Aikin's *Twenty Miles round Manchester*.

Although these Exhibitions had early been thrown open to scholars from other counties, a perusal of the lists of Somerset scholars and of Hulme exhibitors shows how largely the Manchester School benefited by these foundations, and why the School continued to flourish at a time when many other schools were falling into disuse.

The position of librarian to the Chetham Trust was generally held by promising alumni from the School and University, and was compatible with a chaplaincy at the Collegiate Church or one of the various chapelries of the widely scattered parish of Manchester. It offered considerable attraction to anyone of scholarly habits. Still Pope expressed a view only too common when he wrote, 'The parson knows enough who knows a lord,' and it was very important for those seeking advancement to belong to the political party possessing patronage. This is shown in a letter which Roger Kenyon wrote to his sister-in-law, October 27, 1711, about a Manchester scholar at Brasenose College, Oxford, the head of which had replied to Mr. Kenyon, promising he would favour what he could Mr. Entwistle's pretensions, but he added that the young man he finds was a Whig, 'which was against the present humour of the College.' 'In truth, unless the young man's learning distinguish him a good deal, I doubt not the party he is of will be some prejudice to him, for our Colleges, like all other places, get into parties.'¹ Perhaps Mr. Entwistle, like many other aspirants to position and emoluments, found a change of opinion would conduce to success, for in 1717² we find him rector of Budsworth, Yorks.

One of the quaintest figures in this busy mercantile town is that of Edmund Harrold,³ a wig-maker, who was born in 1679. He was evidently a scholar under Mr. Barrow. He has left us a diary of his thoughts and doings between 1711 and 1714. His account of the books he purchased, read, and resold, of the sermons he heard and discussed, are interspersed with the relation of his frequent backslidings into drunkenness, and his frequent but evanescent repentance. He tells of his domestic troubles, his bereavements, his rebuffs in searching for a new wife, and his successful courtings. He was married three times, and both second

¹ Kenyon MSS. 447.

² Foster's *Alumni*.

³ 'Manchester Collectanea' (*Chetham Society*, vol. lxviii.).

and third wives belonged to the Nonconformist communion, while Edmund Harrold was a Churchman. The sermons preached by the young High Church clergy with their strictures on dissent were a great source of mental perturbation to him, and it was at times difficult for him to reconcile worldly inclinations and religious duty. The enumeration of the titles of the books he purchased and his discussions upon them with his friends shed no little light on current conversational interests of the time. His garrulous narration is so ingenuous and his repentances so numerous that our reprobation of the sinner is obliterated in our sympathy for the hapless scholar.

James Heywood (1687-1776) was another local scholar who maintained his literary interests during a mercantile career. He left Manchester to carry on the business of a wholesale linen-draper in Fish Street, London. He acted as London agent for James Chetham, one of the governors of the school and of the Chetham foundation. In his leisure he contributed essays to *The Free Thinker*, *The Bee*, *The Plain Dealer*, and one or two to *The Spectator*.¹ Richard Steele describes him as a brisk little fellow, who had the habit of twisting off the buttons of persons he conversed with. He amassed a very considerable fortune, and served as governor of Christ's and of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, also of Bridewell and of Bedlam Hospital. His Whig propensities are shown by the fact that when he was elected alderman of the city² he preferred to pay the £500 fine imposed on those who would not take the Sacrament, according to the Corporation Act, rather than serve.² In a letter to James Chetham he advises 'a father not to make his son a dull plodding curate, but to send him to the city, and put him in the way of becoming a sheriff or an Alderman of London.'³

Perhaps still more interesting and typical of the kind of man the school produced was James Chetham of Castleton,

¹ His little book of poems, collects, and essays was published 1726. In it he refers to his old schoolmasters: to Peter Molineux, who taught him to keep accounts, to Richard Wroe, the Warden, and to the beauties of Manchester.

² In 1748, the City Council of London passed a by-law imposing a fine of £500 on anyone declining office, even if in ill-health. They collected £15,000 from this source.

³ Papers read at the Manchester Literary Club, vol. xxx. p. 161; *Lanc. and Cheshire Local Gleanings*, vol. ii. p. 22.

who passed to Cambridge and to Gray's Inn. He became Recorder of Macclesfield, but surrendered the position when he entered into possession of the estates of his cousin, Humphrey Chetham of Castleton. His book, 'The Angler's Vade Mecum,' was published 1689, at first anonymously. It passed through several editions. (See also list of feoffees of the school, Appendix.)

Discord broke out at the Manchester College on the death, in 1718, of Richard Wroe, who had served for nearly thirty years as Warden of the College. From the persuasiveness of his preaching he had earned the nickname of the 'Silver-tongued Wroe.' Owing to his persistent refusal to attack the Nonconformists, he had aroused the antagonism of the younger clergy at the Collegiate Church, who were now beginning to openly manifest strong High Church and Jacobite leanings. Warden Wroe had found it increasingly difficult to restrain them. The Whig party had regained the reins of government and naturally sought to bestow the position on someone favourable to the Hanoverian succession. At this time Samuel Peploe, vicar of Preston, was the most outspoken champion of Whig principles available. It happened that he had been taking the services in his church in 1715 when the followers of the Pretender entered Preston. Undismayed by the sight of the military force in the church, he continued to read prayers for the reigning monarch, George I. A soldier sprang up and threatened to shoot him if he persisted. The only reply was, 'Soldier, you do your duty and I will do mine,' and the undaunted clergyman continued the service. This incident was brought before the notice of George I, who is reported to have said in his broken English, 'Peeplow, Peeplow; he shall Peep High.' Samuel Peploe was remembered when the wardenship of the College of Manchester fell vacant. His appointment was extremely galling to his Tory superior, Bishop Gastrell of Chester, who found cause for a refusal to induct, by claiming that the collegiate charter required the Warden to have pursued his university training as far as that of a Bachelor of Divinity or of Law. The degree in divinity possessed by Samuel Peploe had not been conferred by a university, but by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, from papal times, possessed the right to confer divinity degrees as well as the university. The dispute led to considerable debate on the exclusive

prerogative of the Universities to confer degrees. It was perhaps for political reasons ultimately decided in favour of Dr. Peploe.¹

Although there was a very sordid side to these party quarrels, yet they served to bring to the front men of energy and ideas. They indicated vigour of growth, and were preferable to the torpor which came after a lengthened period of the Whig ascendancy—a period which, though of enormous value in settling and confirming a stable constitution, permitted the growth of a laziness in belief and practice and was associated with abuse of patronage, incompetence, and sloth. The work which the Jacobite and Nonjuring party in Manchester now set before themselves was the re-creation of a sincere religious life and a fervour in learning. The magnitude of the task and the extent of their accomplishment will appear in the course of the next chapter.

¹ 1721, the Bishop of Chester's case; also *Portland MSS.*, vol. vii.

CHAPTER VII

1720-1749

THREATENED COLLAPSE

‘Negligence is the rust of the soul, that corrodes through all her best resolves.’—FELTHAM.

Rapid extension of trade and accumulation of wealth caused members of the landowning classes to become merchants—Education tends to become a class prerogative—Preoccupation in the pursuit of personal gain among the trading classes associated with the decay of moral and religious earnestness—The Grammar School neglected and almost derelict, but saved by the devotion of William Purnell—The Holiday Library and the Christmas plays—A rival to the Petit School—Henry Brooke appointed high master—Arrangements for boarders—The first Manchester Exchange—Efforts to establish a town’s workhouse—Further study of Natural Philosophy and Natural History—High Church and Jacobite idealism—Manchester and the ’45 Rebellion.

THE benefactions which had been provided to enable poor scholars to receive that ample school and university training which they needed, if they in turn were to lead and train others adequately, were only too readily diverted into means of self-advancement and their real purpose forgotten, while the distribution of these benefactions was itself another form of patronage too often abused by the landowning classes as a means of protecting and maintaining their power and privileges. Some of this patronage¹ was no doubt used wisely in regard to needs and deserts, but for the most part the men selected for advancement were those most likely to support the views of particular patrons or to satisfy particular interests. Politicians ceased to study English constitutional principles

¹ See also the benefactions to schools in the north by Lady Elizabeth Hastings (1682-1739).—*Female Biography*, by Miss Heys.

by attending the Inns of Court, but sought knowledge and experience by travelling abroad, especially in France, where they gained ideas of class government hitherto unrecognised in English political life. In order to adapt their ideas to English conditions of parliamentary representation they often made study of such questions as State regulation of commerce and matters of local government, so that when they entered Parliament they were able to support or oppose the numerous private Bills which special interests were promoting in the House of Commons.

In order to keep in touch with local interests and so gratify the voters who sent them from the boroughs to Parliament, it was necessary for them to acquaint themselves with matters of local administration, and if possible take some share in it. The degree and constancy with which they interested themselves varied greatly, and though Manchester had no direct representation, yet it was sufficiently important for its interests to be considered by those representing neighbouring boroughs.

Trade with America caused the seaport towns of Bristol and Liverpool to rise rapidly in wealth and importance, and owing to the growth of sea-borne traffic it became necessary to provide better means of transit.

An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1720, by which riparian owners were empowered to make the River Mersey navigable for boats between Manchester, Warrington, and Liverpool.¹ The early attempts were expensive, costing £14,000, and disappointing, for the river currents, always strong and rapid, were subject periodically to heavy floods and the works were repeatedly destroyed.² In spite of diffi-

¹ A special meeting of the feoffees of the Manchester Grammar School was called February 1720, after which Charles Bestwick, the receiver, called on George Kenyon, lawyer, with orders from six of the feoffees to say that they would not oppose the Navigation Bill, but expected a clause to be inserted to prevent the undertakers constructing any works which might obstruct the free working of the School mills.—*Raines' MSS., Chetham Library*, vol. xxii. pp. 145–6; *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 464.

² The Sankey Brook from St. Helens to the River Mersey was made navigable in 1755, but the first actual canal to be cut through new ground was that begun by the Duke of Bridgewater in 1758 and in use in 1761. It was designed to bring coals from a mine from Worsley to Manchester. It was seven miles in length, and was designed by James Brindley, a self-taught millwright of Derbyshire.

culties, permanently secure works were finally laid down, and large quantities of goods—particularly pit coal for smelting and also for warming houses—were conveyed between Liverpool and the inland towns. This increased use of coal soon began to affect the atmosphere, for the lack of space between the houses in the towns, and the narrowness of the streets, prevented any proper clarification of the already moist air, which now began on calm days to be clouded and dark with the smoke from domestic fires.

This prosperity reacted on the inland towns. The rise of a new merchant class with broad outlook and wide interests was rendered possible by the entry into business of many younger sons of the landowning and professional classes, who, in consequence of the Peace with France, no longer found careers in the army. Many of these naturally retained family traditions of loyalty to the earlier form of organised government and supported the High Church party against the disintegrating influence of latitudinarians. Others maintained a liberal outlook on natural science, but for the majority of tradesmen there was a lack of outside interests, and vulgar pettiness became common. Money accumulated without knowledge to use it for material or mental betterment; dissipation, indifference, and wastefulness became common. Religion had lost its moral certitudes, and divines vainly endeavoured to attract the interests of their hearers by complacent and rationalist discourses on the wisdom and power of the Creator who had made the world for man's enjoyment, but did not apparently expect that man should put forth constant efforts to distribute its blessings. A narrow individualism grew up which forgot that the degradation of some was the degradation of all, and that dissipation of power soon involved destruction of the source of power. Society was based on a crude struggle for existence; robbery and corruption prevailed everywhere. Money or servile subservience became too often the price of advancement in Church, State, or Society.

The stratification of the population according to wealth and other attainments and possessions had now become so marked that, not only did the several classes manifest quite different social interests, but their educational needs were manifestly different, and the future career of each child had become the determining factor in the subject-matter and

method of training. In order to understand the place which Grammar Schools were filling in the preparation of its scholars for active life in the town as well as for the learned professions, it is necessary to consider the changes which inevitably followed in the subject-matter of education.

The ostensible basis of English school education, both elementary and advanced, continued, as it had always been, a training in the principles and practices of the Christian religion, in order that the child might perform his duties to God and to his neighbours. By good teachers this was still regarded as fundamental; but a period had arrived when it was realised that this purpose could no longer be accomplished by training the lower classes in the Church Catechism and Bible and the upper classes in the Classics. The mercantile and industrial population had increased so enormously that their children needed ampler training than they had previously enjoyed to equip them properly for their future duties. Public writing-masters, arithmeticians, and mathematicians had long been employed, with no official relation to the School, to make up the deficiency of the School curriculum. At this time music and dancing masters were also employed. These special classes soon began to be grouped together in commercial academies which offered an education alternative rather than supplementary to that of the Grammar Schools.

The effects of trade prosperity became evident in many ways. The wealthier manufacturers and merchants built spacious mansions and their ladies began to drive about in private coaches. In the *Gazetteer* on September 5, 1739, it was stated that over £30,000 a year had been spent for the last twenty years on additional buildings in Manchester, and some 2000 new houses had been set up in that time.¹

As trade prosperity and general luxury increased, members of the well-to-do middle classes soon found the exacting demands of fashionable life incompatible with the domestic cares of a family. Consequently the custom of sending even young children to fashionable boarding schools became common. Small boys were frequently sent with their sisters to girls' boarding schools, but it is doubtful if they were admitted after about ten years of age. The keeping of a

¹ *Gresswell MSS.*, quoted by Hibbert Ware; *Foundations in Manchester*; Aikin's *Twenty Miles round Manchester*; and Caston and Berry's *Illustrated Map of Manchester*, 1741.

boarding school for older boys became the acknowledged source of income for schoolmasters at Grammar Schools, and those schools which possessed endowments to enable special boys to study at Universities and so gain social advancement, were naturally the most popular, and, if conducted by good masters, soon grew in repute.

With the changing opinions and occupations of the townsmen new traditions in learning grew up and influenced the kind of training at the schools. The old formal Grammar School training persisted, but attempts to lighten the path of the scholar and render it more attractive were made by the use of translations, extracts, stories, biographies, and so-called Introductions to the Classics. In most cases elementary instruction in Latin grammar and literature was free, but extra fees were charged for out-of-school tuition, and arrangements made for special tutors in French, Italian, mathematics, &c.

The general intelligence among townspeople was kept alive by the perusal of the periodical newspapers, and the gossip of the news-rooms, which were frequently furnished with maps on topography and with handbills. Concerts were given by travelling musicians and dramatic performances by travelling companies or by local effort.¹ To satisfy the spreading influence of Humanitarianism, Acts of Parliament were sought to make better provision for the poor by erecting workhouses, while attempts were made to repeal the Test Acts which still pressed on the Nonconformists.

Attempts at adapting higher education in English Universities to the new conditions were made by the establishment of the Regius Professorships in Modern History and Modern Languages. These professorships were intended to encourage the training of the upper classes in the subjects needed for foreign travel, particularly for diplomatic and political service. In effect, they were mainly utilised by those scholars who wished to act as tutors for young English noblemen on their foreign travels, positions hitherto filled almost entirely by French Huguenots and graduates of the Scottish Universities. Other changes in study were also taking place. Hitherto, mathematics had been cultivated largely as a method for making calculations in optics, geometry, and

¹ In Jebb's Assembly Rooms. Cf. *Byrom's Journal*, 1725.

astronomy. It had now grown vigorous enough to be cultivated for its own sake, and to be admitted as a separate subject of liberal education. The opening of the new Senate House at Cambridge in 1730 was the occasion of holding public mathematical examinations at the University and introducing the grading of candidates. Mathematics thus became a definite educational objective, though it probably did not appear as such in Manchester till the time of Charles Lawson.

In spite of the Hulme post-graduate exhibitions, which after all were limited in number, the training of the minor clergy, particularly at Oxford, continued for various reasons to be less liberal than that of the academies provided for the education of Nonconformist ministers, which were closely in touch with the mercantile interests, and included the study of Natural Philosophy. A knowledge of the Classics was regarded as a suitable but by no means necessary accomplishment for clergy and for schoolmasters, but of no practical value for the trading classes. The private commercial academies which claimed to prepare boys in a more modern way than Grammar School and University were paying concerns. The education of girls continued to be somewhat better than that of boys,¹ though social accomplishments were regarded as proper substitutes for thoughtfulness. Dancing and deportment may have been well taught, but the level of training in music could hardly have been high.

On the death of Mr. Barrow, which followed the death of his chief assistant, Mr. Richard Thompson, in 1721, the School was placed in charge of Thomas Colburn,² apparently an entire stranger to the town. Failing to retain ushers or gain the support of the townsmen, he soon accepted a living in Lincolnshire and resigned the Manchester School. He was succeeded by a still younger master, John Richards, who, perhaps in consequence of irregularity of payment of salary, neglected the School and lost the confidence of the feoffees. Anxieties about the failure to attract older

¹ Cf. Mary Astell, *op. cit.*

² It is difficult to identify this man, if the spelling adopted by Hibbert Ware is correct. There was a Thomas Goole or Gool, subsequently headmaster at the Grocers' School, Whitney, Oxford, who in 1725 contributed to the Manchester School library and of whose connection with Manchester there is no other evidence.

scholars were increased by the neglected state of the Petit or Lower Infant School, where Mr. John Wall, curate at Ros-therne, whose son had held a School exhibition in 1707-9, was endeavouring in spite of feeble health to hold things together. John Wall died May 1722, and pending a new appointment, Mr. Bennet Gray, son of Andrew Gray of Mottram, who had also held a School exhibition at Brasenose in 1710, undertook temporary duties while serving as curate of Denton. He 'deserted the school' February 2, 1721. Then we meet with the name of Edward Hulton, who, after holding a School exhibition at Brasenose, 1710-4, had come to assist his father as curate of Blackley. On his father's death, November 23, 1716, he had been nominated to succeed to that incumbency. He had been supported by Warden Wroe and two of the Fellows of the College, Roger Bolton and Robert Assheton. Perhaps owing to party spirit, perhaps to an arbitrary abuse of power, Warden Peploe placed obstacles in the way of Edward Hulton's succession, for he did not secure ordination and admission to his charge at Blackley till 1727. During the ill-health of Mr. Barrow, previous to the appointment of Mr. Richards, and in his period of waiting, Edward Hulton, at the request of John Kay,¹ the School solicitor and of the School steward, had taken charge of the Upper School. He had also had charge of the Middle School managed by Mr. Thompson. The total number of scholars must have been few when a young man of twenty-two was left in charge of three departments. The ineffectiveness of management at the Grammar School induced Mr. Thomas Ryder, who, from 1717, had been in charge of the Bury Grammar School and kept private boarders, to give up his school in Bury and come to Manchester to open a private boarding school. He had already got into trouble at Bury for his zeal in baptising children of Presbyterian parentage and otherwise indulging in High Church practices. Manchester offered great possibilities, especially as the High Church reaction against latitudinarianism had already set in, and there were numerous wealthy merchants who did not want their children to mix with the children of the ordinary townspeople at the now ill-managed Grammar School.

¹ Of Furnival's Inn, legal adviser to the Chetham estate. He enrolled the Hospital Charter in 1743.

Four of the feoffees, Sir Ralph Assheton, Sir Holland Egerton, William Assheton, and Samuel Chetham, decided to take strong measures to put the affairs of the Grammar School in better order. Perhaps this was on the advice of Rev. William Assheton, who, in the absence of any recognition of the appointment of Samuel Peploe, during the dispute about his qualifications for the wardenship, would, as senior Fellow of the College and Vice-Warden, naturally be regarded as official visitor to the School; or perhaps it was on the advice of Bishop Francis Gastrell himself, whose interest in educational foundations has already been noticed, and who would realise the futility of Dr. Peploe making any application to a University while he was engaged in flouting the value of University degrees. The four feoffees made formal appeal to Francis Gastrell to use his influence with the president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to secure the dismissal of Mr. Richards and the appointment of a suitable successor. This was not an easy matter, for Richards had not resigned, and the Governors had at this time no confidence in the power of Mr. Purnell, the usher, to hold and manage the School.¹ Mr. Purnell was only twenty-three years of age, and up to now had had no opportunity of manifesting those qualities of leadership which he was subsequently to exert to such good effect in the management of the School. At this distance of time it is difficult to realise fully the services which Purnell rendered to the School at its darkest hour. He was connected with the School in various capacities for forty-one years, during the last seventeen of which he filled the post of high master. His work was long overshadowed by the more assertive personalities of his colleagues, firstly that of his senior, Henry Brookes, and secondly his junior, Charles Lawson. It was always thorough and far-reaching, and it is only after a process of exclusion that we can guess the real person who, at this time, was doing so much to build up the reputation of the School for efficiency of training and liberality of outlook. One of the agencies by which this was accomplished was the formation of a School holiday library.

During the years 1725-1739, various sums of money amounting to an aggregate of £30 were collected as a holiday fund for the boys—to be used in the afternoons and other

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm., Kenyon MSS.*, p. 467.

occasions.¹ The money was expended partly in the provision of 'scenes' for the plays performed by the boys at Christmas festivities, 1739-40-41, which took place either in Jebb's Assembly Rooms or in the Long Room of the new Exchange, and partly in the provision of works of modern literature for the entertainment as well as the instruction of the boys. The list of books purchased includes 'Robinson Crusoe,' first published 1719, 'Don Quixote,' a French Dictionary, a French Grammar, and several French authors.² There were about fifty-five subscribers, eleven of whom served at various times as feoffees of Chetham Hospital, though only two were feoffees of the School itself. The other subscribers were public officials or professional men in the town. The money must therefore have been collected by someone of wide interest and kindly nature, who was as intimate with the Jacobites as with the Whigs. The handwriting suggests that the collector of the money was William Purnell, the junior master, whose intimacy with Francis Hooper, the Chetham Librarian, is elsewhere indicated. The use of £5 5s. to provide 'scenes' for the Christmas performances of the boys may be considered to foreshadow their public performance at the Manchester theatre in 1759. Finally the absence of the names of the School feoffees emphasises the fact indicated above that Mr. Purnell was not yet in favour with them.

The first minutes of meetings of feoffees to be recorded in the earliest extant minute book are those dated June 15, 1724. The meetings were held at the Angel Inn. After granting £10 each to the three scholars already at the University, viz. Thomas Chadwick, William Shrigley, and John Arrowsmith, the feoffees proceeded to grant gratuities of £25 to Mr. Richards, £13 to Purnell, and £3 to Mr. Broxup, and continued :

'Ordered : That Mr. Broxup by reason of his insufficiency, to forthwith quit the School, and that in consideration of his quitting he have paid to him five pounds at Michaelmas next, five pounds more at Christmas then following, and five pounds more at Lady Day then following, the whole

¹ The following facts are taken from some loose sheets found in the feoffees' book of 1724-1758.

² Cf. Appendix for list of books purchased.

besides his last year's gratuity. That Mr. Gore (writing master) have his usual salary.

'Ordered : That the High Master, after the accounts are settled and signed, do withdraw while the other business of the School is in consideration by the feoffees.

'Ordered : That the salary of Charles Bestwick, as Receiver of the School rents, be withdrawn, he not attending to make his accounts as by duty of his place he ought, and further that the growing rents and rents behind be paid for the future into the hands of Mr. Wm. Shrigley till the feoffees make further orders therein, and he to pay the moneys as received into the hands of Sir Ralph Assheton, Baronet, and Holland Egerton Esq. or one of them.'

On June 30, 1724, Mr. Seth Broxup wrote a letter 'to the Worshipful Feoffees of the Free School of Manchester,' as follows :

'Most worthy patrons and my noble benefactors. Upon the 17th of this instant, which was the first time I heard you had a design of displacing me, it was surprising and amazing to me and I was almost sunk down with horror and dispendency, but my sorrow was soon alleviated when Mr. Richards informed me you would continue me in my place until the 25th March next ensuing, which comfortable news brought great security to my mind and filled me with transports of joy ; moreover a worthy friend of mine told me that you would allow me a handsome maintenance for my life. . . . I have taught at the School in Manchester ever since the year of our Lord 1688 and am now 68 years of age and begin to feel myself to decline. I hope you will be kind unto me for my father's sake who lived in the town many years in good credit and esteem. He suffered very much in the times of the late usurpation and was a true Royalist. I myself was born in this town and had my education in it.'

At a slightly later date when in some doubt as to the pension, Seth Broxup wrote :

'Your humble petitioner having been master of the Lower School ever since it was builded, and your honours knowing my being superannuated and incapable either to serve your honours or myself, humbly begs leave to inform your honours that my circumstance is very deplorable, and unless your honours will please not only to consider my condition but grant me something yearly I shall certainly want common

necessaries of life. My thanks and gratitude for your kindnesses received since I have left the school are sincerely acknowledged.'

On June 23, 1724, Mr. Joseph Hobson, who does not appear to have had any University training, was appointed to take the place of Seth Broxup and take charge of the Infant or Petit School. On entering upon his work, Hobson drew up a list of his scholars who amounted to eighty-six. This list was found among the Kenyon MSS.,¹ and should be compared with another list of even date to be found in the cover of a MS. volume of 'Notes on Hebrew Grammar and Texts of Bishop Beveridge's Sermons.'² The book formerly belonged to Joseph Allen, who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, 1705, graduated B.A. 1707 and M.A. Oxford 1709, and who seems to have obtained it from the Rev. Thomas Ryder. The book is to be found among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The list in it is entitled 'List of Children admitted at Manchester, 1724-5.' For convenience of comparison with that of Joseph Hobson it may be called Ryder's list. There are fifty-two names in it, and of these at least sixteen are those of girls. The ages of the children vary from five to twelve. All the sixteen girls have brothers already in the same school, and this seems to have been a condition of their admission. In most cases the names can be identified as those of children in the town or immediate neighbourhood, and belong to the better-class families, but a few cannot be so identified, and may have been those of boarders. In association with Ryder's MS. list of 'Admissions to Manchester School' are found several names connected with the Grammar School, such as Mr. Richards (high master), Mr. Purnell (assistant master), also Rev. Francis Hooper, Chetham's Librarian and subsequently Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and several lady teachers, including Miss Arrowsmith, perhaps a sister of John Arrowsmith, who obtained an exhibition to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1724, and in 1731 became a master of the Charlbury School near Oxford. The MS. notes also record that 'Jared Leigh' paid Mr. Byrom for rent of rooms occupied by Mr. Thomas Ryder, Clerk. Mr. Bell of Liverpool, probably

¹ Historical MSS. Com. Reports, Kenyon, p. 467.

² Cf. an account with names of children and masters and some expenses given in *Lanc. and Ches. Gleanings*, January 14, 1876, note 257.

the father of John Bell, a scholar of Mr. Hobson ; Mr. Jebb ; Miss Johnson, sister of Mr. Johnson, teacher of dancing in 1737 ;¹ Miss Jenny Lengard and Richard Ramsbottom are also mentioned. A certain Lengard had held a University exhibition from the school in 1705, and the name Joseph Lengard occurs as music master and portrait painter in 1772. There is a note that a volume of plays was lent to Miss Lengard by Mr. Ryder, and that W. Purnell borrowed books of W. Ryder.²

When the two lists are compared, there are several differences as well as numerous similarities. All the boys are very young, between five and ten, and correspond to a Petit School. There are no girls mentioned in Hobson's list. Ryder's list includes the names of lady teachers, and the average age of the children is about one year higher. This is due to the fact that the girls were considerably older than the boys. Moreover, the dates of admission are given in weeks, as if there were some weekly payment exacted. A possible explanation of Ryder's list is that during a period of irregularity of control and delayed payment of salary, the undermasters had been allowed to make their own financial arrangements, and to eke out their small and very precarious official salary by assisting at a private English school near by. This may have succeeded the old Whig Boarding School for girls kept by Mrs. Frankland and have been held in connection with the Petit School of the Grammar School. By June 1725 the feoffees of the Grammar School found themselves in possession of sufficient funds to pay the salaries of masters who could thereafter confine their attention to the original purposes of the School.

At a meeting of the feoffees, July 28, 1726, there occurs under the heading 'An act concerning the High Master of the Free School of Manchester,' the following note :

'Whereas the feoffees of the said School have had many complaints against Mr. Richards the High Master, as to his

¹ 'Opera Johnson,' *Byrom's Journal*, vol. i. p. 60.

² The volume in which the MS. note occurs may have passed to Oxford with Joseph Allen, whose associations with the Jacobite and Nonjuring cause would bring him into relation with Rawlinson, or it may have come into possession of Henry Brooke, the succeeding high master of the Manchester Grammar School, for he corresponded with Rawlinson.

gross negligence and absence from the said School, so that the inhabitants of the town and parish of Manchester and the neighbourhood thereof are afraid to send their children to him and several persons have withdrawn their children from the said School and put them to distant schools, and whereas the said Mr. Richards hath been admonished of such his neglect and absenting himself, therefore the said feoffees have thought fit and do hereby reduce (1) his allowance to the sum of £10 per annum until he approve himself in his constant attendance, diligence and care in the said School to the satisfaction of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester and Warden of Manchester who is desired in case he approves his future conduct to notify the same to the feoffees in such manner as he shall think fit, and the Receiver of the said School is hereby ordered to pay the said sum of ten pounds per annum to him in the meantime and no more aid to be paid at the usual times.

'I vote for the wages not to exceed £10 per annum.

H. HULTON.

SAMUEL CHETHAM.

ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE.

RALPH ASSHETON.

HOLLAND EGERTON.

PETER LEGH.

JOHN WARREN.'

This action was effective.

The name of John Richards appears for the last time attached to the minutes of the meeting on June 9, 1727, when it is associated with the recommendation that John Arrow-smith, David Sandiforth, John Clayton, and Robert Thyer should receive exhibitions from School funds while at the University.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that the mills which provided the school with its income were also neglected and had become inadequate for their work. They had fallen into such disrepair that they were unable to grind more than a small proportion of the corn sent to them, and this they ground badly; consequently the prospective lord of the manor, Oswald Mosley, while he was still tenant of the mills, set up supplementary mills of his own in Hanging Ditch, which he refused to close on the termination of his tenancy.¹ The feoffees had left the collection of the School rents to an untrustworthy steward. When Oswald Mosley surrendered his lease the feoffees were more concerned in maintaining their

¹ *Foundations in Manchester.*

monopolies of grinding corn and malt, than in inquiring into the adequacy of the provision they made for meeting public needs or into the satisfactoriness of the methods of milling they were adopting. The monopoly had become oppressive. The inhabitants constantly made fresh efforts to escape it. Mills were erected in Salford, and flour which had been ground there was sold in Manchester. In 1701, the feoffees had once succeeded in stopping this by obtaining a decree in Duchy Court of Lancaster. During his tenancy Oswald Mosley had expressly repudiated all right or title to use his subsidiary mills in Hanging Ditch to the prejudice of the School mills. On his death in 1727, his son, Sir Oswald Mosley, who had been created a baronet in 1720 by George I, continued to work these subsidiary mills. In 1728 Yates and Dawson who were now the School tenants, brought actions against certain brewers in Salford for selling beer made from malt which had not been ground at the School mills. They were supported in their action by the feoffees of the School, who were now engaged in two lawsuits. Public and private meetings took place to seek measures of relief, and the discussions naturally became very acrimonious. To cause a diversion at one of these meetings, John Byrom, who had settled in his native town in 1725, composed the following quib, the point of which depends upon the fact that the two partners who rented the School mills were tall and gaunt :

‘Here’s Bone and Skin, two millers thin
 Would starve the town or near it,
 But be it known to Skin and Bone,
 That flesh and blood can’t bear it.’

These legal actions absorbed most of the School income, and in order to meet their difficulties the School feoffees decided to offer the high master a house large enough to enable him to take boarders and so secure both his local residence and the closer attention to school duties, which would be necessary if he was to increase his income. The house chosen was probably the house which had so long been occupied as the girls’ boarding school by Mrs. Frankland and her successors. From their previous experience of placing young men in charge, the feoffees were anxious that the appointment should not be given to William Purnell, who was only twenty-five years of age. He had

probably received his early training at Wotton-under-Edge Grammar School a few miles from his own home in Dursley, co. Gloucester, whence he had passed to Oriel College, Oxford. He was a cousin of Rev. John Purnell who was elected Warden of New College, Oxford, in 1740. Finding his chances of succeeding to the headship at this time very small, Purnell applied on September 15, 1727, to the feoffees for arrears of his salary for three years, and a refunding of the money he had already spent in the repairs of the house which he occupied, together with an undertaking that the house itself should be properly repaired or rebuilt. They probably refunded the money, though they discontinued the provision of a house for the second master and made instead a special grant of £10 per annum for him to provide a house himself.

On September 27, 1727, after a good deal of correspondence, the claims of Mr. Purnell, the Usher, to the high-mastership, were commuted. Mr. Purnell was given the incumbency at Unsworth to eke out his salary as second master; and another stranger to the town, Mr. Henry Brooke, son of Anthony Brooke of Heddington, Wilts, and of Oriel College, Oxford, during the years 1713-1720, who had succeeded in ingratiating himself with both political parties, was appointed high master.¹ He was reputed to be a good scholar, for he had recently published an edition of the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, and he renewed the old tradition of declamation by the scholars in public speeches and in his own sermons.

There is a minute in the feoffees' book of this date to the following effect :

‘Ordered that a convenient part of Walker’s Croft be taken in and added to the garden of Mr. Brooke for enlargement thereof as shall be thought fit and appointed by Holland Egerton, Esq., and the Rev. Wm. Assheton who are desired to meet and view the same for the purpose on Monday next the 4th March following :

‘Whereas Wm. Hunter, gent., hath paid to Mr. Brooke, high master of the Free School of Manchester, the sum of sixty pounds out of the moneys due from him to the feoffees of the School, it is hereby further ordered that the said Mr. Hunter do pay to Mr. Brooke the further sum of sixty pounds which is to be accounted by the said Mr. Brooke as

¹ *Manchester Notes and Queries*, May 1, 1886.

his salary, he having had great and several occasions for money in furnishing his house for the better accommodation and boarding of young scholars in the said School, and that the payment made by the said William Hunter shall be allowed on his account to the feoffees :—H. Egerton, John Warren, Wm. Assheton.'

Thanks to the interest of the Whig Warden and Bishop—Samuel Peploe—and by mandate from the Crown, which constantly intervened in the election of Fellows of the Collegiate Church and ignored the undoubted right of the other Fellows to elect, Mr. Brooke was appointed on June 8, 1728, to a fellowship in opposition to two local and more properly selected candidates—Mr. Francis Hooper, the Chetham Librarian, and Mr. Heber, an old Grammar School boy.

Other vacancies among the collegiate body were also filled up by marked High Churchmen—Radley Aynscough (1681–1728) of Jesus College, Cambridge; Adam Banks, possibly a relative of James Banks, Rector of Bury; Richard Ashton—all being elected to Fellowships. Thomas Cattell and Thomas Moss were appointed chaplains. Probably all of them had been educated at the School.

The properties of the School also received more consideration. On the death in 1731 of William Assheton, the Rector of Prestwich, the feoffees chose Rev. Jas. Banks, who had succeeded Rev. Thomas Gipps as Rector of Bury, and was in consequence one of the committee of three, to award the Hulme exhibitions. They also chose James Chetham of Castleton (1683–1752); Robert Radcliffe of Foxdenton; and Robert Booth, merchant and boroughreeve of Salford, who had recently succeeded to his father's extensive estates.

The Somerset scholarships, the School exhibitions, and the chance of Hulme post-graduate exhibitions for those entering holy orders, were beginning to attract to the School boys from long distances, and prudent parents were willing to pay for their sons' residence in the boarding house of the masters when this secured their advancement in life.

For the first ten years during which Mr. Brooke held office, he seems to have worked steadily. The School rose in prosperity and a full staff of masters was appointed. Mr. Robert Lowe succeeded Mr. Hobson in the Lower School and a third assistant was added. Numerically, if not qualitatively, the School was as prosperous as when William Barrow

held office. Then Mr. Brooke, who had begun to tire of his school duties, took occasion to leave the School in charge of his brother, William Brooke, and followed the absentee habits of his predecessor. That the upper part of the School did not decline seriously was owing to the work of the second master, Rev. William Purnell, the value of whose work was at length becoming appreciated.

Pending the payment of the £500 damages awarded to the School feoffees in their action against Sir Oswald Mosley, the School finances remained in a bad condition. Henry Brooke, with the consent of some of his trustees, was making long visits to Tortworth, Gloucester, a living to which he had been appointed in 1730, leaving Mr. Purnell in charge. He subsequently stated that he intended at this time to resign from the School. In all probability during some part of the years 1739–40 the School was actually closed.

Subsequently, when the School feoffees had been recouped of their losses and the income of the School had been placed in a more flourishing condition, the feoffees demanded of the high master a closer observance of his duties. Rev. William Purnell was paid an extra thirty guineas for the thirty weeks he had taken the high master's duties as well as his own, and Mr. Brooke was deprived of the use of the boarding house which had been provided for him. His salary was also reduced to the £10 decreed by the School statutes. These measures were effective. Mr. Brooke returned to his work, and in 1744, in an address¹ on the importance of classical studies delivered to a public audience which included the Visitor of the School—Warden Peploe—he refers to the fact that for the past three years he had attended at the School diligently. The forceful language in which he claimed the superiority of classical over English and French writers suggests that he felt impelled to attack the modernising tendencies of his assistant, Mr. Purnell. Mr. Brooke was successful in satisfying the not too inquiring Warden Peploe and readily obtained a certificate of attention to duty.

The rising purpose and sense of responsibility which caused the feoffees to second the efforts of Mr. Purnell to restore the School to its old position of usefulness were also shared by several of the prominent merchants and lawyers in the

¹ The address occurs in Whatton's *Foundations*.

town, who took part in various public movements. These sometimes failed to achieve their immediate purpose owing to party spirit, yet they had the effect of arousing the community to the recognition of its duties. Some of these movements were initiated by the Whigs, others by the High Church party.

We must now return to the consideration of the public affairs of the town which influenced the aims and the number of scholars seeking their education at the Grammar School. Oswald Mosley had built an exchange for the use of chapmen and small drapers in 1727.¹ It was never much used by them, and finally was appropriated by stall-keepers, &c. On the first storey there was a large room, often called the Long Reading Room, in which books, maps, globes, and current newspapers were to be consulted. In this room Court Leet business was conducted. It soon became used for concerts, dances, public assemblies, and public performances of all kinds, and became the centre of the social life of the town. Social enjoyment of other kinds multiplied and public subscriptions were solicited for horse-races which were held on Kersal Moor, as it was claimed these were a public benefit.

As regards the cultivation of music in Manchester, the Collegiate Church already possessed an organ built for it in 1684 by Father John Smith. In 1724 a larger one was added, and an organist, Edward Betts, was appointed to take charge and to train children, frequently selected from the Chetham School, to act as choristers. Betts' 'Introduction to the Skill of Music' at once became a standard work of instruction, and passed through several editions. The subscription concerts for the town began about 1741 ('Harland's Collectanea') and were probably held in the Long Room of the Exchange. In 1742 a new organ was built in the Collegiate Church.

Increased recognition of the social needs of destitute children had become noticeable in the provision of public institutions for their care by private benevolence. Privately-

¹ 'The lower part for chapmen to meet and transact business, but they have generally preferred the market place before it for that purpose and butchers' stalls are occasionally set up on it on market days. The upper storey is for the sessions room and manor courts, having sometimes served for public exhibitions before the theatre and public concert room was erected.'—James Ogden's *Description of Manchester*, 1783.

provided poor-houses had existed in Miln Row, Rochdale Road, from 1684, but poverty and destitution, ignorance, laziness, and ill-health were now outgrowing the resources of private benevolence in the busy thriving town. The time had come for civic action. As this affected the rates levied by the overseers, the proper place for discussion upon the matter would be the vestry meetings held at the church and attended by the general body of ratepayers. Here the desire to keep down rates would often preponderate over public needs, however much some wealthier members of the trading classes were willing to meet their social obligations.

At the town's meeting convoked to consider the provision of a workhouse for the poor it was proposed that equal numbers of guardians should be elected from each of the three political bodies—eight from the High Church party, eight from the Low Church party, and eight from the Dissenters. John Byrom at once detected that this scheme was detrimental to the High Church party, since, in the existing state of local politics, the Whig Churchmen and the Nonconformists would on controversial matters unite against them. He skilfully organised an attack on the scheme in the House of Commons. The whole story is best told in the language of a contemporary, viz. in James Ogden's 'Description of Manchester,' 1783, where there occurs the following :

'On the left hand at the descent to Miller Lane towards Rochdale Road there is a range of buildings which was long unfinished until some families took possession, and have continued it as a species of almshouses though the materials and first erection are said yet unaccounted for. This building was reared and covered as one side of an intended quadrangle wherein it was proposed to confine the poor and set them to work upon divers branches of manufacturing, with a power to punish them if idle or insolent, under an Act of Parliament which was intended to erect the town into a borough and commit the government of it to a certain number of the principal inhabitants to be named in the Act, one-third of whom were to be reputed High Churchmen, another third Moderate, in their principles, and another third Dissenters.

'All parties at first came eagerly into the scheme and this building was erected as a beginning, none doubting the Act in contemplation would be procured as it was countenanced

by the Ministry at that time in order to throw the Government of the town into the hands of their friends. Though the design was very palpable from the first, yet a fondness for novelty and power, with the plausible view of uniting all parties, had made the High party as sanguine in pursuit of the plan as might be imagined, till one of them who saw deeper into it than the rest, observed that they were giving the command of the town out of their own hands to the Low party, as in every contest for power the Dissenters and reputed moderate men would divide against the High party. This observation at once opened the eyes of that party and a counter petition was procured with all dispatch against the Acts which prevented the scheme and the High party had a meeting which was continued yearly in a grand cavalcade to Chorlton for the perpetuation of the triumph. It was known as the "Chorlton Rant."

Further details occur in the following notes which appeared in the *Parliamentary Journal* of the period, p. 594 :

'Petition of the inhabitants, traders, and proprietors of Land who agreed to subscribe £2000 towards the better maintenance and employment of the poor of Manchester, presented 23 Jan. 1730, reported on 24 Feb. 1730. They had examined the matter of the petitions and had cited as witness Christopher Byrom, who showed the poor rate had doubled within five years, that the officers had refused to let him inspect the books, that he had attended a meeting Oct. 1729 and had received instructions to prepare a draft of a subscription deed and had presented it to a subsequent meeting when 14 were present and all subscribed, and previously in June 1729 when it was decided to hire a temporary workhouse at which 45 poor were taken. Mr. John Kaye said he had known the town about four years and proved the signatures of the second petition presented by Mr. Bowker (overseer of the poor for the last ten years at a salary of £30 a year) who had a Book of Assessments signed by the Justices of the Peace, Jeffrey Hart under an abstract showing that the poor rate amounted to £1333, and the Institutes who contributed paid £229 1s. 9d. that the petitioners against paid £236 14s. 2d.

'Mr. John Byrom supported the objection and said he had attended a meeting 27 Dec. 1729 of 190 inhabitants when *all* present rejected the subscription deed and declared against. Ordered Sir H. Houghton, Mr. Plumtree, Lord

Malpas, Mr. Brockbank to bring a Bill. 25 March 1731 a counter petition of inhabitants praying that they might be heard by themselves or by counsel against the Bill before the House.'

Money was collected on both sides, and the progressives placed a Bill in the hands of Bishop Peploe, who undertook to introduce it in the House of Lords. He either forgot all about it or delayed the journey to London till it was too late. Sir Oswald Mosley, who was greatly in favour with the Whig Government, withdrew his support on being persuaded that his authority when he entered into the lordship of the Manor might be weakened if there was a local corporation governing the affairs of the town. The Government withdrew their support, and the measure was defeated.

The importations of raw and manufactured material involved correspondence with foreign countries, and this further aroused an interest in foreign customs and natural productions. Skilled botanists and geologists were employed to collect exact information about the natural products of Georgia, Savannah, and other colonies. A catalogue of such American plants as were worthy of cultivation for the purposes of medicine, agriculture, and commerce was drawn up by John Ellis, F.R.S. Entomology became a subject of exact study in France, where the extensive manufacture of silk goods rendered the study of the metamorphosis and formation of cocoons and webbing by insects a matter of considerable commercial importance. With increased transit the manufacture of other textiles beside linen and wool rapidly increased, raw cotton fibre being introduced from the East.¹

As regards the local study of natural history, it is evident that the appointment of Darcy Lever (1742), of Alkington, Prestwich, to be feoffee of the Chetham Foundation was of some moment. In 1727 he had purchased for himself a

¹ In the early days of the cotton industry it was considered necessary to mix wool or linen fibres with cotton fibre before weaving. In 1748 Thomas Wilford, of Manchester, chapman, was granted a patent for fourteen years for a newly invented machine for intermixing thread, cords, or thongs of different kinds, commonly called platting or fustians.—*Gent.'s Mag.* Lewis Paul took out two patents for carding machines.—Baines' *Lancashire*, vol. i. p. 392.

microscope (cf. 'Byrom's Journal'), and it was probably at his suggestion that the feoffees spent £26 in September 1734 on the purchase of a 'reflecting telescope a yard long.' Optical experiments at this time constituted a favourite popular recreation, if not study. It was certainly on Darcy Lever's suggestion that the trustees subscribed to the publication of the writings of John James Dillenius, the Dutch botanist, who had been brought to England by James Sherrard, partly to arrange Sherrard's own plants at Eltham, Kent, and partly to organise the fuller study of botany in England. This work has special interest for Manchester, for in it Dillenius expresses his particular indebtedness to the assistance of a local linen-draper—William Harrison, who had been educated at the Grammar School, and had made botanical collections about 1724. He died 1764. Perhaps both Darcy Lever and Harrison had benefited by the botanical knowledge of Richard Thompson, assistant master at the Grammar School, who died in 1721 'skilled in Botany.' The collection of 4000 mosses which William Harrison made was deemed so valuable that they were purchased at considerable cost by some local library, stated by Richard Pulteney to have been the Manchester one. It was either the public subscription library established in the Exchange in 1765, or that at Liverpool or Warrington, or maybe it was purchased by Darcy Lever. All other record of this botanical collection has disappeared.

A steady change was taking place in the social circumstances of many of the boys who attended the School. Hitherto most of the advanced scholars who proceeded to the University, as well as most of the junior boys who constituted the bulk of the Middle School, came from families resident in the town. With the increasing emoluments of the Church, the opportunities offered for those possessing classical training at School and University also increased. The School exhibitions, and the Somerset and Hulme exhibitions and scholarships, attracted considerable numbers of boarders from a distance, especially those who desired to take Holy Orders. Commerce offered even better opportunities for the attainment of comfort, and even of wealth, to local boys of energy and talent, as well as opportunity for the gratification of that intellectual curiosity which is at the root of a desire for learning. It enabled merchants to collect and study objects of natural

history, archæology, &c. Sir Hans Sloane, a London physician and philanthropist, was making those vast collections which were subsequently purchased on behalf of the nation and formed the nucleus of the British Museum. His agents were in constant communication with merchants and collectors in various parts of the world. Others, such as Darcy Lever, were doing the same thing, but on a smaller scale.

John Woodward, M.D. (1665–1728), a Derbyshire linen-draper, after building up a competency, began to study medicine. He also collected and studied geological specimens, and gained such reputation that he was appointed Professor of Geology at Gresham College, London. To place his favourite study on a satisfactory basis in England he founded a lectureship in Mineralogy at Cambridge. He left his cabinets of English fossils to the University, which ultimately purchased his remaining collection of foreign fossils.¹ The third holder of the Woodward lectureship was Samuel Ogden, who had begun his education under Brooke and Purnell. His claims to the post are obscure. His sermons testify that he was an eloquent preacher, but his enemies record that he spent £100 in bribes in order to secure the position. Interest in natural philosophy and natural history was also kept up by John Leech, M.D., a Manchester physician, who was appointed feoffee of the Chetham Foundation in 1718 (*vide* 'Byrom's Journal'); by George Lloyd, M.B., F.R.S.; and by Sir Darcy Lever, who was laying the foundations of the famous museum, subsequently greatly enlarged by his son, Ashton Lever.

The works on Natural Philosophy in the Chetham Library increased in number, though it is not possible to discover the exact place in Manchester at which a series of lectures on Natural Philosophy were delivered by Caleb Rotherham of Kendal, during 1743. The MS. of these lectures is in the Chetham Library and, though no author is named, the characteristic handwriting of Caleb Rotherham can easily be identified, and the subjects of the successive lectures can be compared with the notes in a diary of Samuel Kaye, M.D. (1708–1782), who attended them and who subsequently practised medicine in the town for many years. The lectures

¹ John Byrom attended the sale of his books in 1729.

were illustrated by practical experiments, and the subject-matter was grouped in the following way :

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Lecture | 1. General Introduction. Reference to work of Descartes and other Natural Philosophers. |
| „ | 2. Divisibility of Matter. Attraction and Repulsion. Gravitation and Cohesion. |
| „ | 3. Repulsion of Matter. Electricity. Phosphorus. |
| „ | 4. Mechanism of Air-pump. Boyle. Rapin. |
| „ | 5. Motion. Momentum. |
| „ | 6. Weight, the Lever, the Pulley, &c. |
| „ | 7. The Inclined Plane, Wedge, and Screw. Compound Engines. |
| „ | 8. Sir Isaac Newton's Laws of Nature. |
| „ | 9. Gravitation. Projectiles. |
| „ | 10. The Tides. |
| „ | 11. Hydrostatics. |
| „ | 12. Weight of Different Fluids. |
| „ | 13. Of Spouting Water, and of Specific Gravity. |
| „ | 14. Pneumatics. |
| „ | 15. Pneumatic Engines. The Air Pump. |
| „ | 16. Elasticity of the Air. The Human Diaphragm. |
| „ | 17. Further Experiments in Pressure and Elasticity of Air. |
| „ | 18. Optics. |
| „ | 19. Reflection of Light and the Laws by which it is accomplished. |
| „ | 20. The Eye and the Nature of Vision. |
| „ | 21. Theory of Colour. Sir Isaac Newton's views. |
| „ | 22. Of the Orrery. |
| „ | 23. Of the Earth and its Motions. |
| „ | 24. Of the Planets. |

The intellectual life of the town was saved from absorption into material aims at this time by the permeation of some of the best current French thought. Francis Hooper, late of Trinity College, Cambridge, was librarian, and probably was

actively concerned in the decision of the governors of Chetham to spend a large portion of their surplus funds, i.e. £200, in the purchase of some 200 French books. All shades of opinion were represented on the list,¹ which included works of Devotion, of Biography and Travel, also Atlases, Histories, Commentaries, Dictionaries, as well as critical writings on Classical and Biblical authors, and the works of moralists, such as Diderot, Fénelon, Fontenelle. The inclusion of so many works of reference, when there were so few in the town likely to avail themselves of their use, indicates that the library was still intended for scholars rather than for general readers. Still stronger evidence of French influence is presented by the appearance in Manchester of Dr. Thomas Deacon, 1697–1753, a London Jacobite and Nonjuror² who had taken part in the 1715 rebellion, and finding it necessary to avoid publicity had engaged in the study of medicine under Dr. Joseph Meade. He left London and settled in Manchester in 1726, and soon gathered around him a body of men who were profoundly dissatisfied with a philosophy of life which left man to pursue his own selfish aims in a universe already well arranged for his convenience. They wished to develop their spiritual growth. They cultivated a union with God which differed from the 'State of Grace' of the old Calvinist Puritans by being based on a study of personal feelings and passions. The leader of this school of thought was Malebranche, whose writings were eagerly studied in England, mainly through the influence of William Law, whose 'Call to the Unconverted' is the first piece of English constructive psychology based on an analysis and training of the emotions. Other evidences of this desire for personal perfection are found in John Byrom's³ 'Journal,' 1707–1763, which contains many comments on contemporary Manchester life. John Byrom bought William Law's book in 1729.

'I have bought Mr. Law's book since I came to town, but W^m Law and Christian religion and such things are mightily out of fashion at present. Indeed I do not wonder at it, for

¹ See Appendix.

² Cf. Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*. Malebranche had stayed with the Byrom family at Kersal, January 1713.—*Byrom's Journal*, vol. i. p. 35.

³ Author of the hymn 'Christians, awake, salute the happy morn.'

it (religion) is a plain calm business. These people are, and love to be, all in a hurry and to talk their philosophy, their vain philosophy, and which they agree with each other, is nothing but in rejecting many received opinions.'

On February 20, 1729, Dr. Thomas Deacon wrote from Manchester to Byrom:

'Thomas Cattell [a prominent local high churchman and Fellow of the Manchester College] believes W^m Law may be a good man, but that his book does harm with weak judgments, and Father Malebranche is a visionary. O Christianity, where art thou to be found? Not among the clergy. Well, more's the pity. I pray God mend them, then other people will mend too.'

Although he continued to practise medicine, Dr. Deacon regarded this as subsidiary to his main work of teaching religion. He was ordained according to the rites of the Non-juring body of Anglican Churchmen. He published for his congregation a special Prayer Book and a Liturgy which omitted what he regarded as the Latitudinarian errors. He translated Tillemont's 'Ecclesiastical Memoirs,' and 'History of the Arians.' The list of subscribers published at the beginning of these works contains the names of prominent Manchester scholars of widely different shades of opinion, and shows their broad outlook and high opinion of Dr. Deacon. The High Church clergy, who constituted a large part of the active intellectual life of the town, cultivated the study of ancient creeds and patristic theology, and based their claims of absolute verity on the writings of the Early Fathers and the customs current when the Christian Church was struggling for existence. The adoption of St. Cyprian for their patron saint has already been mentioned. While at Oxford, Clayton and several of his fellow-townsmen, such as Robert Thyer, had come under the inspiring influence of John Wesley. Clayton left Oxford in 1732, and was appointed chaplain at Manchester. He was so successful in his ministry that in December 1733 he brought sixty people for confirmation. He was invited by Bishop Peplow to preach the Ordination Sermon at Trinity Chapel, Salford, and in 1738 was appointed incumbent there. He was also appointed chaplain of the Manchester Collegiate Church in 1740. He had opened



JOHN WESLEY WITH HIS FRIENDS AT OXFORD, 1726.

M. Claxton.

his private grammar school in Salford about 1735. This he called St. Cyprian's, but it was more generally known as the Salford Grammar School. It was established for the sons of well-to-do parents who desired a more markedly religious atmosphere than was afforded by the somewhat lax Manchester School, and who wished their children to avoid the supposed contamination of being mixed up with the boys of a less favoured social level. One of the earliest of Clayton's scholars was James Dawson, son of William Dawson, apothecary, who had previously been at the preparatory and co-educational school associated with the name of Thomas Ryder. James Dawson entered St. John's, Cambridge, 1737, and like the majority of the young bloods of Manchester, entered very deeply into Jacobite intrigue. He received a commission as captain, took part in the 1745 rebellion, was caught, convicted, and executed. Thomas Coppock, son of John Coppock, tailor of Manchester, who had proceeded from the Manchester School to Brasenose and graduated B.A. 1742, after having taken orders, had also joined in the rebellion and suffered the same fate.

In 1746, a number of Clayton's scholars got into trouble for joining in the Jacobite Riots and molesting the worshippers at the Parish Church, by shouting out 'Down with the Rump,' and throwing various missiles at those who expostulated with them. Adherents of the Jacobite High Church party in Manchester had grown considerably in numbers, not only among the older-established gentry, but also among the townspeople. They continued to form a distinct clique at the Collegiate Church, until the foundation of St. John's Church, Deansgate, in 1754, found another centre for them.

Had the military ability and the physical force at the disposal of the Jacobites of Lancashire been at all commensurate with the intellectual attainments and the spiritual vigour of their leaders in Manchester, the 1745 rebellion would have proved a very much more serious affair than it actually became. John Byrom had been quietly working among his friends, though his constitutional timidity prevented him from taking a prominent public part. The clergy, with the exception of Warden Peploe and the pluralist high master of the Grammar School, Henry Brooke, were unmistakably on the side of the Stuarts. Dr. Deacon had induced three of his sons to take up commissions. On his entry into Salford,

Charles Stuart was met by Rev. John Clayton at the head of his boys of the Salford Grammar School. Many young and impressionable sons of Manchester families, such as James Dawson, Thomas Coppock, and Thomas Chadwick, who were disgusted with the self-seeking and self-satisfaction of the Hanoverian dignitaries and place-hunters, and whose imagination had been stirred by the early fervour of the Oxford Evangelical Revival, joined in the Rebellion. Very few of the Manchester merchants, however, shared the fervour of the High Church clergy. They were more concerned about the stability of their trade in the event of a change of monarchy than with any abstract principles of right or of religious zeal. Those who were not members of the Whig congregation at St. Ann's attended the ministration of Rev. Joseph Mottershead, at Cross St. Chapel. They subscribed nearly £2000 to raise a troop of soldiers to be placed at the disposal of Edward, Earl of Derby, the lieutenant of the county. The rebellion itself was a fiasco. Several of the local rebels—Deacon, Syddall, and Chadwick—were caught and executed, and, as a warning to others, their heads were placed on the top of the Manchester Exchange. Like all forms of intolerant cruelty, this action had the reverse effect to that which was intended.

Whether the appointment of three new Whig trustees—viz. Right Hon. Lord Strange, Sir Edward Egerton of Heaton (died 1744), and the Rev. John Parker, who had just succeeded to his father's estates at Brightmet, Oldham—had anything to do with their complacent leniency, or whether they were influenced by Warden Peploe's politics, does not appear, but it seems singular that at a meeting held October 6, 1747, it was ordered that

'Mr. Walley (the receiver) do pay Mr. Brooke the High Master, within the space of three months next ensuing the date hereof, the sum of four hundred and ninety pounds in full for all arrears and demands due to him from the said feoffees, it appearing by the Warden's certificate and otherwise, that he hath duly attended for the time of 3 years and nine months. Ordered likewise that Mr. Brooke be let into possession of the School house in Millgate, on 1st May next.'

The following letter from Mr. George Kenyon, which

though only part of a correspondence that is no longer known to exist, further clears up some of the charges against Mr. Brooke, though it does not completely exonerate him :

‘The reason of the feoffees reserving a residuum was the inconvenience they had formerly found when the funds of the School were so much exhausted during some contests they had with Sir Oswald Mosley about the cost of grinding malt that they were forced to lower the Master’s salary and at last for a time to shut up the School. It is true they afterwards recovered the costs upon obtaining a decree, but this did not remedy the inconvenience, for by the temporary suspense, the scholars were removed to other schools, and it was some time before it could recover its former credit.’

Perhaps there is some excuse for Mr. Brooke’s absence from the school during the period when his salary and that of his assistants were very irregularly paid. He was a man of scholarly instincts, and his subsequent career shows that he was quite conscientious in the discharge of what he considered his duties both as a parish clergyman and as a schoolmaster. He lived in an age when pluralism was recognised, and he had received, as he thought, proper authority to leave a deputy in his place. The earliest register of the School that remains in the possession of the School authorities was commenced by him and is in his writing.¹ A copy of his MS. notes on the local history both of the Manchester School and of the Manchester Collegiate Church, of which he was a Fellow, is in the School library. These notes show that he could be painstaking in matters of historical research, and it is to his efforts that we are indebted for having even the imperfect list of the earlier schoolmasters still available. He aroused within a number of his pupils some love of learning. He endeavoured to pursue a non-party course in Manchester at a time when religious and political differences were too often an excuse for virulent party strife, and when commercialism too often consisted of the pursuit of petty gain without any regard to the rights of others. In addition to his address

¹ He is credited with having stirred the feoffees to take action to maintain their ancient monopoly of grinding corn for the town, and of being the author of a squib.—J. E. Bailey, *Local Notes and Queries*, vol. vi. p. 1886; *Lancashire Hob*.

to the friends of the School gathered together in 1744, he published a volume on 'Christian Peaceableness, with a postscript to the inhabitants of Manchester,' chiding them for their wastefulness of public money and their quarrels in the matter of the workhouse. The portrait¹ which Mr. Singleton of Blackley saw in the possession of the Hutton family in 1836 and described as that of Henry Brooke should probably be assigned to Joshua Brooks.²

¹ Raines' *MSS. Chetham's Library* and *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.

² Cf. p. 197.

CHAPTER VIII

1749-1780

PRIVILEGE, PATRONAGE, AND PUBLIC SERVICE

'For there are in nature certain fountains of justice, whence all civil laws are derived but as streams.'—*Advancement of Learning*.

Further organisation of patronage under the Whig oligarchy and enlightened public spirit—William Purnell becomes high master, and Charles Lawson, usher—Books in the School Library—Occupations of parents of scholars—Numbers and proportion of day boys and boarders—Further study at the English Universities—Private Commercial Academies—Changes at the Chetham Boys' School and the Salford Academy—High-level Nonconformist Academies in the North of England—Natural Science at Chetham Library—Social habits of the townspeople—Growing antagonism between the town and the country people—Quarrels about the school mills result in Act of Parliament abolishing most of the monopoly—Foundation of the Infirmary, and its effect on the study of medicine—The Grammar School boys perform plays at the newly-built theatre—Movement for improvement in the town—John Howard visits Manchester and promotes prison reform—Death of William Purnell—Growth of the Lever Museum—Character and work of Charles Lawson—Rebuilding of the school.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the oligarchy formed by the great Whig landowning classes had become more organised, enlightened, and efficient. The so-called British constitution was in a state of equilibrium, for all the classes possessing power were more or less satisfied. The smaller landowners, the more important merchants, and the professional classes, secured the consideration of their needs by grouping themselves round great landowners who controlled the government. They were the electors who chose representatives in the House of Commons. By avoiding interference with established privileges they secured the passage through

Parliament of such local Bills as they needed for their natural growth. Intellectual curiosity found ample scope in various scientific, literary, and philosophic studies, which attracted interest and found followers in most provincial towns. Semi-private museums and subscription libraries became common. These afforded the professional classes and more intellectually inclined merchants opportunity to cultivate their special interests. The study of Classics at Grammar Schools and Universities was rendered attractive by the inclusion of Ancient and Modern History, which were used for the inculcation of civic virtues. French, Italian, and mathematics were taught by private tutors. Even if theology remained coldly rationalistic and mainly concerned with refuting the arguments of the impossibility of miracles, &c., its appeals to reason and natural philosophy made it of some interest to the better educated worshippers. The more benevolent and philanthropic merchants found scope for their kindly feelings in the erecting and maintaining of hospitals, churches, and workhouses.

In such a social organisation, the smaller tradesmen, artisans, and servants who were beginning to increase in number had little opportunity to grow; there was little to arouse them from the apathy of ignorance and dependence. Some rudimentary provision for the education of their children existed in the towns where private schools and academies, of different grades of inefficiency, were common. A few attended the local Grammar Schools, but could have gained little benefit from their school life and imperfect training. It was the evangelical fervour of Methodism which aroused in the middle classes a sense of self-respect, while the more ignorant but enterprising children learned to read and write at the Sunday Schools which were now being established everywhere.

The building of hospitals caused highly trained physicians and surgeons to settle in English towns, for the Scotch Universities had now taken the place of Dutch Universities as centres for medical training. Their high-level training attracted apprentices, who in turn benefited by attending the local hospitals. The multiplication of town churches and chapels provided fresh opportunities for highly educated clergy and nonconformist ministers. The clergy took greater part in public life, for between 1749 and 1780 there were thirteen clergy of Manchester and Bolton who served as

trustees at the Chetham Library and School. The profession of law became liberalised by the study of jurisprudence and the attention now paid to criminals and the prisons. Lawyers were also taking their share in public life. In Manchester, though the only corporate government was by the Court Leet held under the auspices of the Lord of the Manor, there were marked movements towards increased self-government. A subscription library established in the Long Room of the Exchange in 1757 was much used by the merchants. Town meetings of ley or ratepayers, as well as parish meetings, were held to discuss matters of general interest.

The resignation of Henry Brooke in 1749 had caused the services of Mr. Purnell to be recognised by his appointment to the vacant headship. Any anxiety which the feoffees had felt formerly in 1727 concerning his succession must have been completely dispelled after they had gained more experience about him. He was not only of a benevolent disposition, but as a result of his wider studies in general literature he had developed a sense of humour and of the proper proportion of things that prevented the firmness of his religious convictions from developing into narrowness or bigotry. Of his humour, several instances are to be found in the 'Diary and Correspondence of John Byrom,'¹ while his benevolence is shown by his support of such new movements in the town as the building and maintenance of the Infirmary, the Charity Schools, &c., and also in his aloofness from the partisan opposition to the erection of a workhouse. His retiring disposition and his lack of political partisanship prevented him from pushing himself forward as a candidate for vacant fellowships at the Collegiate Church, but he was much beloved and respected for the conscientious way in which he discharged his duties at the school. He served as incumbent at Unsworth Chapel, Prestwich, for many years, and subsequently at Newton Chapel in succession to William Crouchley, for whose benefit the affairs of the latter chapelry had been put in order in 1738. Mr. Purnell from the first took an active interest in the parish school of Newton.

The appointment of Charles Lawson at this time as usher constitutes an epoch in the history of the School. He received favourable recommendation from Robert Thyer in a letter written to John Byrom, July 31, 1749.

¹ Chetham Society, vols. 32, 40, 44.

'Our new usher is come down and entered upon his office. He brought with him an excellent character in point of scholarship, from Dr. Randolph, the head of Corpus Christi College, and from Mr. Patten his tutor. He is but young, about 22, but seems a very modest pretty sort of young man, and he will set very heartily about retrieving the character of the School which Dr. Randolph has very strongly recommended to them both (i.e. Purnell and Lawson). There was a meeting of the feoffees on Tuesday, when the salaries of the Masters was fixed as before with promises of advance on good behaviour.'

He was the son of Rev. Thomas Lawson, Vicar of East Kirkby, Lincs. He was born about 1728 and had entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1743. It used to be stated of him that he was a staunch Jacobite, accompanied the Young Pretender to Derby in 1745, was ordained deacon before the canonical age, but never proceeded to the priesthood, being unable to take the required oaths of allegiance to George II. His appointment as second master must have been a matter of congratulation to the Jacobite clergy. Perhaps the high position taken in the study of Mathematics by the scholars at this time should be attributed to the influence of Rev. John Lawson, brother of Charles Lawson, of whose career we have no knowledge other than the fact that he wrote mathematical books.

The four new feoffees who were chosen after the appointment of Mr. Purnell had been settled, and the two who were appointed two years later were, like their predecessors, well-to-do landowners. Some represented the county or one of the neighbouring boroughs in Parliament, others served as High Sheriffs of the county, the majority as Justices of the Peace, then a position implying a settled income from land of at least £100 a year.

It is possible that in the opinion of some of the friends of the school, and almost certainly in the opinion of the collegiate clergy, Mr. Purnell was outshone by his assistant, Charles Lawson, and had he been less lovable and less liberal minded, it would have been difficult for the two to have worked harmoniously for so long together. The diversity of their dispositions and of their intellectual interests must have been very good for the boys. William Purnell exerted a genial and enlightening influence fed by his love of modern literature, while Lawson exerted the equally necessary exact discipline involved in the rigid study of classics and mathematics—

an aspect of school education dwelt upon by Locke. We have already noticed Purnell's choice of books for the School library in 1727. There are still in the School library a number of volumes of a later date which manifest a continuance of the same interests. We find the Works of Pope (1754); Matthew Prior (1754); 'Life of Peter the Great' (1756); Sheridan's 'Elocution' (1762); Spenser's 'Faerie Queene' (1758); Rollin's 'Belles Lettres' (1737). There are also introductions and translations of the classical writers, and books on Modern as well as Classical History, such as Shuckford's 'Sacred and Profane History' (1728); Echard's 'History of England'; 'Conquest of Mexico' (1753); Smollett's 'History of England' (1737-63). We may be confident that these were but a few of many works which were well calculated to awaken the interest and stir the imagination in the performance of public duty. How harmoniously as well as effectively Purnell and Lawson worked together is also shown in the number of scholars and the subsequent careers of many. The school registers from 1730 to 1837 have been edited with much fullness by J. Finch Smith, who prefaces them with the following remark :

'It will be apparent at the first glance that many more scholars have been identified who entered into what are called the learned professions than into those honourable walks of life with which the town and neighbourhood of Manchester are more closely connected in its merchants and manufacturers, but it is much more easy to trace the one than the other . . . with regard to the Manchester names and others connected with mercantile life, there are but few public sources whence information could be had.' . . .

Since the publication in 1866 of the first volume of the School Register, so many fresh incidents of local history have been brought to light that it is possible to trace in somewhat fuller detail the influence which current education exerted on the town in the eighteenth century. The old trade guilds had disappeared, for it is evident that the attempts to illustrate ten of them at the town celebrations of the coronation of George III were highly artificial. The old trade designations were often used for masters and servants alike, but, owing to the increased growth of capital, the latter were becoming separated more distinctly into masters and journeymen or servants whose dependence was intensified with the

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introduction of mechanical appliances, and at a later date by the phenomenal growth of the cotton industry due to the adoption of machinery and application of water-power. In taking account of the occupations of parents, we note the large proportion of those in which traditions of learning were ingrained for professional or other reasons. Next in number are those occupations which brought men into touch with a large variety of their fellows, and caused them to appreciate the advantages of education more readily than those whose circle of acquaintances was more limited. Thus taking the figures from 1740, when Mr. Brooke returned to active work, to 1765, which corresponds to the end of Mr. Purnell's high mastership, we find :

	1740-5	1745-50	1750-5	1755-60	1760-5	Total 1740-65
Nobility and gentry .	5	11	19	18	15	68
Divinity	2	5	12	27	19	65
Law . . . . .	...	2	4	4	2	12
Medicine and surgery.	1	2	...	4	3	10
Freemen and yeomen .	8	7	4	10	6	35
Innkeepers . . .	8	11	13	12	17	61
Tradesmen	9	12	14	17	7	59
Dyers	8	4	6	1	9	28
Hatters	3	3	5	4	5	20
Unclassified artisans, shop-keepers, and minor occupations .	26	59	64	68	87	314
Total	70	116	141	165	170	672

	1740-5	1745-50	1750-5	1755-60	1760-5	Total
Presumably boarders ¹	14	25	44	60	53	196
Presumably day scholars	66	91	97	105	118	477
	80	116	141	165	171	673

¹ In estimating the proportion of day scholars and boarders, it is assumed that the boys whose parents lived at a distance were boarders and those who lived in the town were day boys. There is no other distinction in the register itself.

Of the boarders, 84 (*i.e.* nearly one half) are to be found passing to the Universities, while only 16 of the day boys appear to have done so. Of the non-professional classes farmers sent 10 to the Universities, innkeepers sent 5, superior tradesmen and merchants 8, grocers 3, and shoemakers 3. It is very evident that only a small proportion of day boys fully benefited by the classical system of education, and probable that only a small proportion stayed beyond the age of twelve.

Some notice must be taken of the other educational institutions in the town. Private venture academies sprang up in considerable numbers and prepared scholars for business careers. The Nonconformist residential academies which prepared scholars for the Scotch and foreign Universities or for the Nonconformist ministry were undoubtedly important centres for liberal higher education. Some of the private day schools offered a very elementary education, which served to prepare scholars intending to proceed to one of the English Universities for the upper forms of the Grammar School. Numerous advertisements of such private schools, preparatory or commercial, are to be found in ten contemporary newspapers which now begin to appear.

Harrop's *Manchester Mercury* was first published in 1752. In the issue of May 11, under the heading of Manchester Intelligence, we read :

‘Whereas a report has been maliciously spread that the said Hy. Whiteoake Fawcett has more scholars than he can well teach, and consequently cannot take in any more this is to assure the public, specially such as are disposed to favour him with their children, that the said report is groundless and entirely inconsistent with truth. Nor does he think it necessary to say more to the candid part of the public of the honesty of his intentions in taking in no more scholars than he and his assistants can teach well and justly, since it is evident in the natural course of things that a practice contrary to this will have a tendency to blame his character and entirely deprive him of business.’

The Rev. Henry Whiteoake Fawcett

‘begs leave to acquaint the public that he continues to teach English, Latin and Arithmetic, writing and merchant accomplishments, in a plain, easy, useful and concise, yet

comprehensive method, in a large commodious room in the late Wheatsheaf Court aforesaid, opposite the Half Moon Tavern in Deansgate.'

And again, in the issue of January 2, 1753, we read :

'This is to give notice that the Grammar School at Burton Wood in the parish of Warrington and the County of Lancashire, will be vacant of a Schoolmaster in January next, and any person who undertakes and is qualified to teach the classic authors, writing and accounts, may apply to the trustees of the said School residing in Burton Wood aforesaid. The qualifications of the persons chosen must be made apparent to some judicious person or persons appointed for the purpose; the salary belonging to the School is about £13 a year certain, besides several other purchases which make £20 a year or better. A testimonial of his morals will be required.'

In the issue of April 30, 1754, we find the following advertisement of James Wolstenholme,

'who had had his education in the Free School of Manchester, and stands well recommended by the Master, the Rev. Mr. Purnell. He intends to open a School in Swan Court, Market Street, Lower Manchester, for the reception of those who desire to learn in the English, the rudiments of the Latin tongue; as he is determined faithfully and diligently to observe such methods of instruction as have been or may be recommended to him by his late Headmaster, he hopes that those committed to his care will meet with few inconveniences whenever their parents may think proper to remove them from his school to any other.'

The following advertisement occurs in a current pamphlet entitled 'The Schoolmaster flogged with his own rod: a letter to Thomas Burrow of Manchester,' 1754, by Joseph Partridge :

'Leonard and Thomas Burrow at their School House down the Fountain Court, behind the Exchange, where, having leased a house for the purpose, they continue to teach English in a millhouse, recommended by some eminent masters in the most easy and expeditious way for learners, and which hath been as well practised, and found to succeed, also Latin and Greek, following herein the course and custom of the

best schools. Together with writing in a separate School, Arithmetic universally and compendiously taught, with an application of it to all the useful purposes of life and branches of trade. Book-keeping, Mensuration, &c. Youths boarded and ladies taught needlework in a commodious apartment under the same roof.'

This particular schoolmaster came in for much criticism. Lastly, in the *Mercury* of December 27, 1763 :

'Henry Whittaker, writing master and accountant, has engaged Mr. William Paynter to attend his school at proper hours to instruct young ladies and gentlemen in the art of Drawing.'

The character of the training provided for the boys of Chetham's Hospital also underwent a change at this time. In 1760 the feoffees further decided that no boy should be employed by the schoolmaster or others as a menial servant out of school hours. In 1763, at the request of Rev. John Clayton, Fellow of the Collegiate Church, two of the hospital boys were allowed to attend the choir services in the said church, and to assist 'the singing men.' In October 1765 an advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Mercury* :

'The Governors of Mr: Chetham's Hospital give notice that they are desirous to treat with any Person who is willing to instruct and employ any number of the Blue Boys in spinning twine, candlewick, or in any other easy Business or Employment fit for children between the Ages of eight and fourteen. Persons who are inclined to send in such Proposals are desired to apply to Mr. Gartside.'

The treasurer was instructed to summon a special meeting of Governors, with power to make any contracts for the purpose aforesaid, not exceeding the expense of £100.

In April 1767 Mr. Booth was allowed to employ twenty of the Hospital boys daily in the making of shoes for the following year, the said boys to work in a general room from eight in the morning till twelve, and from one to six, except the Master of the Hospital shall have liberty to employ two of the said twenty boys one day in each week to assist in washing and brewing, and except that the said boys shall have liberty to go to church in the greater holidays and to go home for one month at the Whitsuntide holidays without

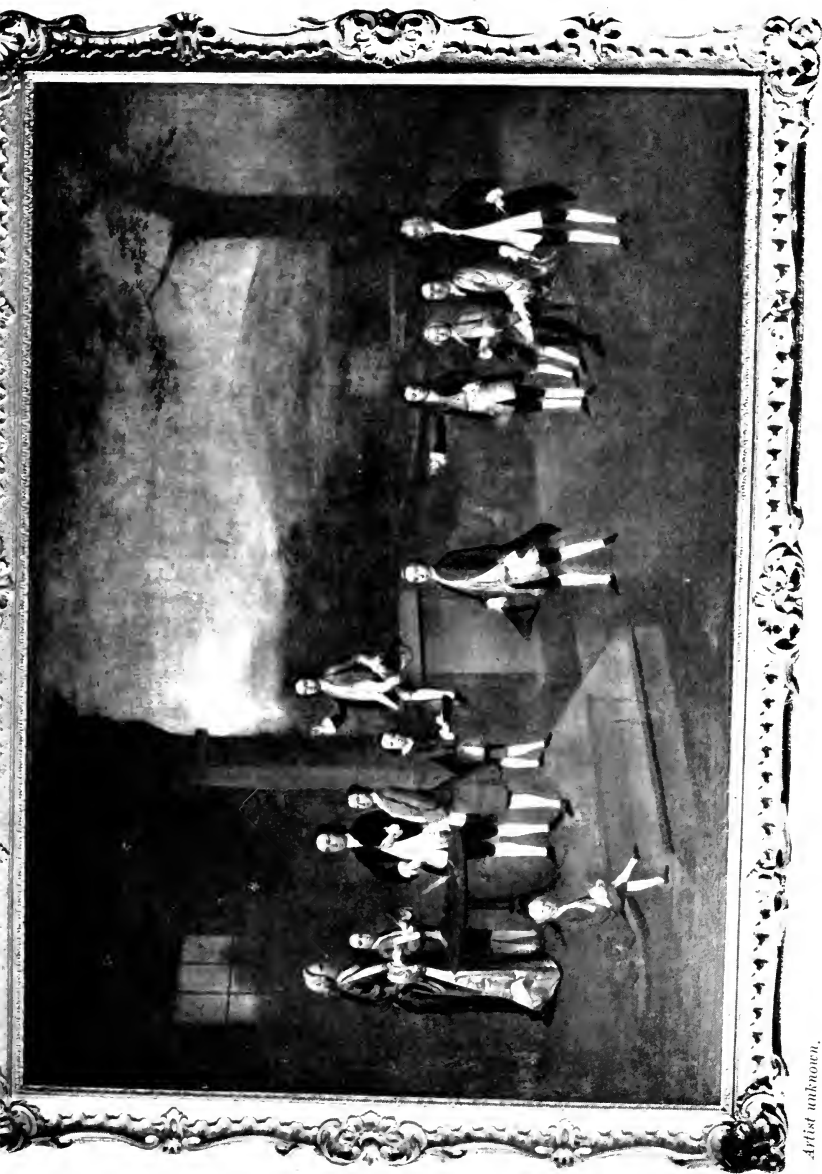
any deduction being made by Mr. Booth on account of such absence. Mr. Booth agreed to pay the Treasurer £20 for the twelve months' service of the said boys.¹

The Salford Grammar School entered into serious rivalry with the Manchester one. It was by far the most successful of the private schools, and was probably the successor of the co-educational school of Thomas Ryder noted in a previous chapter. Its pupils were recruited from the well-to-do Jacobite and Tory families. The date of the accompanying picture must be about 1738, for the boy sitting cross-legged on the step is Edward Byrom (born 1724), son of Dr. Byrom. Many of the scholars by their innate vigour of mind and their careful training became distinguished in the Church, in Medicine, and in Law. One of them, Charles White, shares with Dr. Percival, of whom more presently, the honour of establishing in connection with the Infirmary the reputation of Manchester for enlightened medical teaching and sanitarian reform.

None of Clayton's pupils exhibited more thoroughly the religious character of the training at this Jacobite school than John Clowes, who subsequently became the first rector of St. John's. He has left an autobiography of considerable interest, in which he tells us :

'He was born at Manchester, 31st October, 1743. His father was a barrister-at-law and continued the practice of his professional duties in Manchester and the neighbourhood during his life. His mother was a daughter of a pious and learned clergyman in Wales, the rector of Llanbedr, near Ruthen, and inherited all her father's virtues. She died, however, when the author was only 7 years old, so that he did not derive so much advantage as he might otherwise have done from her piety and her example. All that he recollects concerning her is that she was very assiduous about the attendance of her children at church and also about their private devotions every night and morning. For this purpose, as soon as they could read, she supplied each of them with a book of Common Prayer, and also with Bishop Ken's Manual of Prayers for the use of Winchester

¹ At this time the custom of apprenticing workhouse children to the factories in Lancashire and Yorkshire was coming into vogue. The children could work the frames as well as adults and their services were cheaper. The guardians got rid of their obligations by 'apprenticing' the children; abuses naturally became common.



JOHN CLAYTON'S SCHOOL IN 1738.

Artist unknown.



scholars. From this latter book the author afterwards derived the greatest benefit, insomuch that he has often been led since to regard it as a special instrument under God of inseminating in his mind the principles of Christian life and duty. And here he is constrained earnestly to recommend to all parents zealous attention to the early education of their children in Christian principles, since the tender mind at that age is in a fitter state than at any future period to receive the seed of the eternal truth, and if that seed had been neglected, there is too much reason to fear that the ground may afterwards be so overrun with thorns and thistles as to admit with difficulty the insemination and growth of heavenly principles. Besides, the evil propensities of children, it is well known, begin to manifest themselves with their pernicious influence in the very dawn and springtime of life, and consequently if no barrier of piety and virtue be then opposed to their operation, they reign uncontrolled, and confirm and extend every day more and more their baneful dominion over the whole mind and life of the neglected and untutored subject. . . . It was not only to his mother but to his father also that the author was indebted for his Christian education, since it was a constant rule with the latter not only to be accompanied by his children every returning Sabbath to the House of God, both morning and evening, but also to call the family together in the evening of that holy day to hear a sermon and to join in the more private duty of family devotion. . . . It was about this time, 6 or 7 years old, that the author was sent to a Grammar School in Salford, the master of which was a pious and devout clergyman of the Church of England, who did not think it sufficient to instruct his scholars in Latin and Greek, but extended instruction also to religious knowledge. The duties of the school were accordingly always preceded by prayer, and the morning of every Saturday was appropriated exclusively to an explanation of the Church Catechism. The author has since looked back with unfeigned gratitude to the Divine Providence and upon this instance of paternal care in placing him at a school where Christianity was taught together with classical knowledge, and where the young mind, being instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel, was less exposed to the dangers resulting from the perusal of heathen literature and from the practices and impurities of Heathen Mythology. . . . He had always a strong relish for juvenile sports and pastimes, which relish he has since been convinced is communicated from heaven for the double purpose of recreation, and promoting the growth of mind

and body. After remaining at school until acquiring what was thought a competent knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he was removed at the age of 18 to the University at Cambridge, where he was admitted in the year 1761 a pensioner of Trinity College. . . . During the whole period of his residence in the College he was never once called upon to attend a single lecture on theological or religious subjects, not even so far as related to the evidences of Christian dispensation. The sad consequences were, as might be expected, that the serious impression which he had brought along with him from school, instead of being more confirmed and extended, as it might have been, was in danger of being weakened and entirely effaced.'

Annual meetings of the scholars were held, and even after the school was closed on Mr. Clayton's death, in 1773, the 'Cyprianites,' as they called themselves, continued to hold an anniversary public dinner to preserve the memory of John Clayton.¹

Training for 'active life' at Nonconformist academies had established itself as an educational tradition in the Lancashire district, particularly for those who for various reasons did not desire residence at Oxford or Cambridge. It was especially adapted for those destined for country life, or for mercantile careers, or for medicine, law, or the army, &c. The following sequence of these local academies at which many Manchester scholars attended shows how important a part they took in the higher education of the middle classes during the eighteenth century.

1. The Manchester Academy, 1693-1712 (John Chorlton, cf. p. 120).

2. The Whitehaven Academy, 1711-1729, conducted by Thomas Dixon, who had studied under Chorlton. He graduated M.A. Edinburgh, M.D. Aberdeen, and practised as a physician while he maintained a private academy.

¹ The success of these Tory dinners was probably the cause of the establishment in 1784 by certain leaders of the opposite political school, such as Sir Thomas Egerton, of the annual Whig dinners for the old Manchester Grammar School boys, though the political aspect of these latter changed after the death of Charles Lawson, as will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

3. The Kendal Academy, opened by Caleb Rotherham, who lectured in Manchester 1743. He died 1751. Besides the 56 Divinity students, whose names and careers are known, there were 120 other pupils, chiefly in the mathematical and philosophy schools, whose names and careers have not been recorded.

4. The Warrington Academy, 1757-1786, established by Rev. John Seddon, the Nonconformist minister of the town. The most notable of its scholars was Dr. Thomas Percival, 1740-1804, who had been admitted to the Manchester School in 1751, but owing to ill-health had been transferred to Warrington, where he could receive more individual attention. The most notable of its teachers was Joseph Priestley, a copy of whose 'Plan for a Liberal Education' (published 1760) was among the educational books in Charles Lawson's library. The aim of this academy was 'to lead pupils to an early acquaintance with and just concern for the true principles of religion and liberty.' Annual subscriptions amounting to £469 came from Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, and Birmingham. The academy was opened October 23, 1757, and though it was not formally closed till 1786, for over ten years it had fallen into decay. Altogether 393 students received a part or the whole of their education there. Of these 22 came from or went to the West Indies; 21 followed the profession of Medicine, proceeding to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leyden, or Utrecht; 24 followed the profession of Law; 18 entered the Army; 100 entered Commerce; 55 became Divinity students, and of these 20 received pecuniary assistance from the Presbyterian Fund,¹ 13 became clergymen of the Established Church, and one became a Bishop.²

The valuable work which many of these academies were doing in the diffusion of science and liberal knowledge was in contrast with the apathy of the well-endowed English Universities and the illiberality of the wealthy clergy. This did not escape the keen eyes of Adam Smith, who devotes one chapter of his celebrated work, 'The Wealth of Nations' (published 1776), to the study of the institutions for the

¹ W. D. Jeremy, *The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Williams Trust*, 1885

² See *Monthly Repository*, 1812 and 1814; *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, August 1914.

instruction of youth, and one chapter to the study of institutions for the instruction of people of later age. He incidentally shows that owing to their lack of endowment and public support these latter institutions were necessarily of a temporary nature.

The local study of Natural History received encouragement by the purchase of numerous illustrated works on the subject by the feoffees of Chetham's Library. In the introductory preface to the catalogue of 1791, John Radcliffe, the compiler, tells us that the special character of the librarianship of Robert Kenyon (1743-1787) was the addition to the library of many works on Natural History and numerous engravings, though interest was manifested in such subjects long before Robert Kenyon was appointed and also extended after his decease. The most important of these works were Edwards' 'History of Birds,' Bloch's 'History of Fishes,' and Latham's 'Synopsis.' In fact, the governors, the majority of whom had been educated at the School and were mostly either merchants or professional men in the town, or members of the county families around, took considerable interest in the kind of books purchased for the library. They were accustomed to send the librarian to London so that he might bring back lists of the most recent publications and submit them to small sub-committees.

Robert Kenyon seems to have held a highly favoured position after he entered into some family property, as he is then called custodian. He must have spent much of his time away from Manchester, for he was Resident Fellow at Brasenose 1771, and incumbent of Salford. The attention paid to the study of Natural History is shown by the fact that Dillenius¹ expresses his obligation to John Clayton, who sent information about plants in Virginia, and John Frederick Gronovius acknowledges the help of the same naturalist. There are several John Claytons with local connections and of local origin who travelled in Virginia about this time. It seems impossible to identify this particular one.

Much of the floating capital which had been accumulated in the country as a result of extension of our foreign trade,

¹ See Introduction to the *History of Mosses*, 1741. He acknowledges help from William Harrison, linendraper of Manchester, whose collections were purchased by the Subscription Library held in the Old Exchange, 1765.

by the beginning of the eighteenth century had naturally found its way to the towns, where it was employed in increasing the manufacture of textile goods and filling the coffers of the merchants. Owing to the scarcity and high price of linen yarn, the weaving of pure cotton was introduced. By the middle of the century the wearing of pure cotton underclothing became common among the middle classes. The increased cleanliness that ensued must have contributed to the increased self-respect which is so essential a factor in social progress. The improvement in housing and in street arrangement took place at a later date. The growing demand for textile goods caused the number of textile workers to multiply at a great rate and to outstrip the production of food for their subsistence. This, however, did not improve the position of the farmers, for, owing to the growth of landlordism, the yeomen of the seventeenth century had disappeared, and the smaller tenant farmers who had taken their place could not command the amount of capital that was necessary for the proper development of their independence. Their increased earnings were paid in rent, and this still further emphasised the class distinction growing up between town and country. Consequently, agriculture continued to be a less attractive means of livelihood for adventurous or ambitious youths than that of textile manufacture. The available amount of provisions, especially cereals, was always limited and uncertain, and dependent on weather. Two successive bad harvests were apt to increase the price of food for the artisan of the town so much as to overthrow the balance of earnings and expenses. The status of the artisan was therefore falling considerably below that of the master employer. Owing also to the lack of guidance and regulation by means of any organised authority, such as guild or State, and also to the fact that the skill needed to work the new machinery was very limited, the apprentice system with its technical training had fallen into disuse. Self-respect and social tradition disappeared. The character of industrial life therefore fell, for there could be little home life in the towns where there was no real comfort, privacy, or adequate provision for evening occupation or recreation. Inns and taverns multiplied as social resorts, and their importance is indicated by the many sons of innkeepers who attended the School. Fortunately, gin palaces, which indicate worse degradation of the workers,

were not so common in Lancashire as in London.¹ Coffee-houses multiplied for those who possessed intellectual curiosity, but were dependent upon the society of their fellows for its exercise. The new generation of retail traders and small middlemen possessed neither the traditions of the old merchant families nor made alliances with the county families, whose growing wealth caused them to form a special caste separate from those whose enterprise made their landed possessions of so much value. Petty social gossip and petty parochial politics were the main topics of discussion. Social prejudices and misunderstandings became magnified owing to lack of general enlightenment, and led to active opposition and quarrels, and these accentuated the evils inseparable from social caste. The antagonism between the trading interests of the town and the agricultural interests of the country became constantly intensified. The general body of the clergy adopted the self-regarding interests, ideas and principles now increasingly prevalent among their patrons without developing new traditions of learning and conduct. Their theology consequently ceased to supply any adequate interpretation of human existence, and their practice of religion too often became formal and meaningless. The religious teaching provided in churches and chapels, even when possessing some of the glow of evangelical revival, did little to unite and much to separate parties, while the instruction in the schools and universities included no systems of mental and moral philosophy based upon the studies of the characteristics and diversities of the different classes, nor had literature delineated or studied class necessities. The fact that a few wealthy and travelled landowners and wealthy merchants were cultivating intellectual interests and social accomplishments after having been brought under the influence of wise schoolmasters, or having served on the governing body of a well-endowed library, did not secure the spread of learning and self-direction and control among their less privileged fellow-citizens. Indeed, the advancement of the

¹ 'There are people yet alive who remember but one inn or publichouse in the town that sold wine or spirituous liquors, and not above three or four private houses that had either. . . . Those frequenting alehouses and gin-shops were weakened by excess. . . . The workhouse generally receives those who have the good luck to escape the gallows.'—Joseph Stott, cobbler (i.e. Robert Whitworth), *A Sequel to the Friendly Advice to the Poor of the Town of Manchester*, 1756.

fortunate few was too often accompanied by the degradation of the many, for the increasing cost of education both in leisure and in means caused learning to become a class privilege. The long-established habits of co-operation and division of responsibility which had characterised the old forms of local government had disappeared. Private and individual benevolence alone, though steadily growing in volume, was inadequate to stem the social disintegration.

The following advertisement from a Manchester paper of the time illustrates the extent of the cleavage that was growing up between the town and the country inhabitants :

‘Whereas the necessities of the poor are now very great, as through the scarcity of work and the high price of corn which hath been and still is artificially kept up by the policy of farmers and dealers in corn, flour and meal, to the great oppression of the public, and more especially the lower rank of people who are obliged to buy all their bread and bread corn at the shops on the worst terms, therefore I recommend to all my farmers and tenants who have any corn or other eatables to dispose of, that they gradually thrash up the corn to supply the wants of their poor neighbours and afterwards bring what they have to spare to be sold in public market on reasonable terms, which I hope will be a means to silence and put a stop to all further disturbances and riots, and such of my farmers and tenants as shall disoblige me in the reasonable request are not to expect any further favours from me.

(Sgd.) HENRY WARRINGTON.’

(*Dunham, Nov. 28, 1757.*)

Under these circumstances it was not unnatural that the high price of food, occurring among the labouring classes at a period of agricultural depression, caused town riots in 1757–8, which culminated in what is popularly known as the Shude Hill fight. In this case the sympathies of the magistrate, John Bradshaw, were, if not on the side of the rioters, at least to some extent with them.

It was at this time that John Wesley made one of his visits to Manchester, and wrote in his diary, April 1756 :

‘I preached at Manchester this evening. We had at length a quiet audience. Wretched magistrates who by refusing to suppress encouraged the rioters had long occasioned

tumults there. But some are now of a better spirit, and whenever magistrates desire to preserve the peace they have sufficient power.'

In another record of those times we read :

'Sunday, Aug. 12, 1758. The Assizes at Lancaster ended when many capital offenders were tried. On the first day of the Assize an account was received of prodigious riots and tumults in and about Manchester, that near 10,000 manufacturers (*i.e.* workers) had left off working and entered into a combination to raise the price of wages by force, that large sums of money were collected, and paid into the hands of some of the leaders for the maintenance of the poorer sort while they refused to work, that they insulted and abused such as would not join in the combination, that incendiary letters were dispersed and threats of vengeance denounced against all who should oppose them. That business was at a stand, the magistrates were afraid to act and everything seemed in great confusion,' &c. &c.¹

And again :

'July 10, 1762. An insurrection of the colliers of Oldham and Saddleworth put the town of Manchester in the greatest consternation. Their pretence was the high price of corn. They demolished the warehouses of two or three of the dealers in corn and meal and obliged others to promise to sell at a moderate price.

'July 21, 1762. The port of Liverpool was opened for the free importation of all sorts of grain.'¹

Disputes and quarrels about the School mills maintained the general dissatisfaction. The method of grinding corn in vogue at the School mills was expensive and obsolete, for the mills themselves were in bad repair. New and cheaper methods had been discovered, and opposition mills had been set up, yet the feoffees naturally clung to the School monopoly, urging that the profits were for public, not for private advantage. The feoffees claimed to have suffered a loss of £1500 from the opposition mills, and brought an action in the Duchy Court against the owners.² Though the feoffees ultimately won the case, the defendants, ostensibly for the benefit of the whole town, succeeded in stirring up so much active sympathy, that they induced the townspeople, by Act of Parliament, to get rid of the whole monopoly.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, pp. 391-2.

² *Whatton's Foundations*.

The following notice appeared in the *Manchester Mercury*, December 5, 1757 :

‘This is to give notice that all landowners and inhabitants of this town are desired to meet at the old Coffee House on Monday next at 2 o’clock in the afternoon in order to consider certain proposals which will be laid before them for taking the School mills from the feoffees upon a certain rent, and other terms and conditions therein expressed, which are afterwards to be laid before the feoffees for their approbation.’

The riots and disturbances which had recently taken place were used in Parliament in support of the Bill, which was finally passed in 1758 as : ‘An Act for discharging the Inhabitants of the Town of Manchester from the custom of grinding corn and grain, except malt, at the School Mills.’ By this Act the inhabitants of Manchester were released from their old obligation of sending corn to the School mills, though they were compelled to continue to send all their malt to be ground there, the inhabitants paying 1s. per load of six bushels. It was intended that further recompense should be paid to the School authorities for any loss of income by freeing them from the obligation of paying town rates, but, ‘owing to a combination of artful knavery and carelessness,’ this was not accomplished. The price of grinding malt ordained in the Act was fixed at a time when money was more valuable than it soon afterwards became, consequently the millers who rented the School mills before long complained that the price fixed by Government hardly allowed them sufficient profit, while the inhabitants of the town complained that the malt was so badly ground and kept so long at the mills that it became mouldy. There can be no doubt that the continued maintenance of the School on the proceeds of an unpopular monopoly was a constant source of friction and ill-feeling between the managers of the School and the townspeople. It had, however, one great compensation, which it would not have possessed had the School derived its income from the possession of landed property. It reminded the local inhabitants that the School was maintained by their industry in a way which, by a curious lack of insight so characteristic of Englishmen, they would not have realised, if it had been maintained by the proceeds of land in their

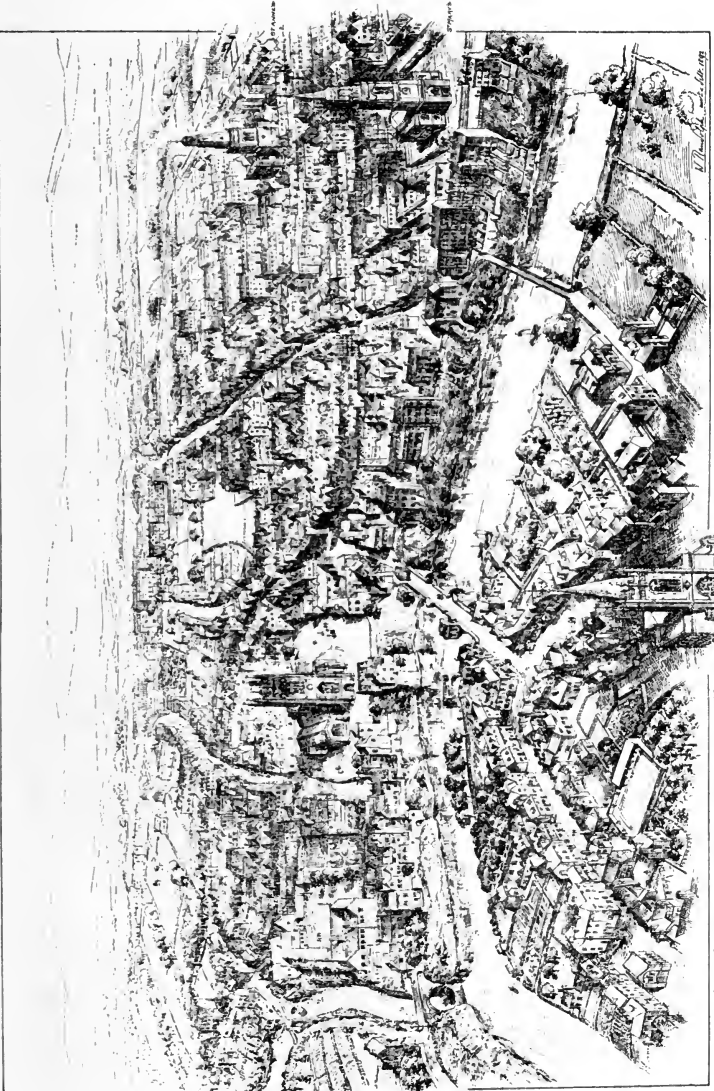
midst which their own enterprise and endeavour caused to rise automatically in value.

In spite, however, of many difficulties and quarrels, the Manchester School continued to pay its way and support some four or five new scholars each year at Oxford and Cambridge.

A second attempt to secure a Royal Charter of Incorporation for the town of Manchester was made in 1762, but it was unsuccessful. Members of Parliament for the county and for neighbouring boroughs such as Wigan, and Newton and Preston, were glad, however, to earn the goodwill of their constituents by furthering local claims, and the Government itself desired to conciliate the trade interest. Consequently many local Acts of Parliament appeared at this time, and the demand of the rapidly growing towns for Parliamentary representation was for a time silenced.

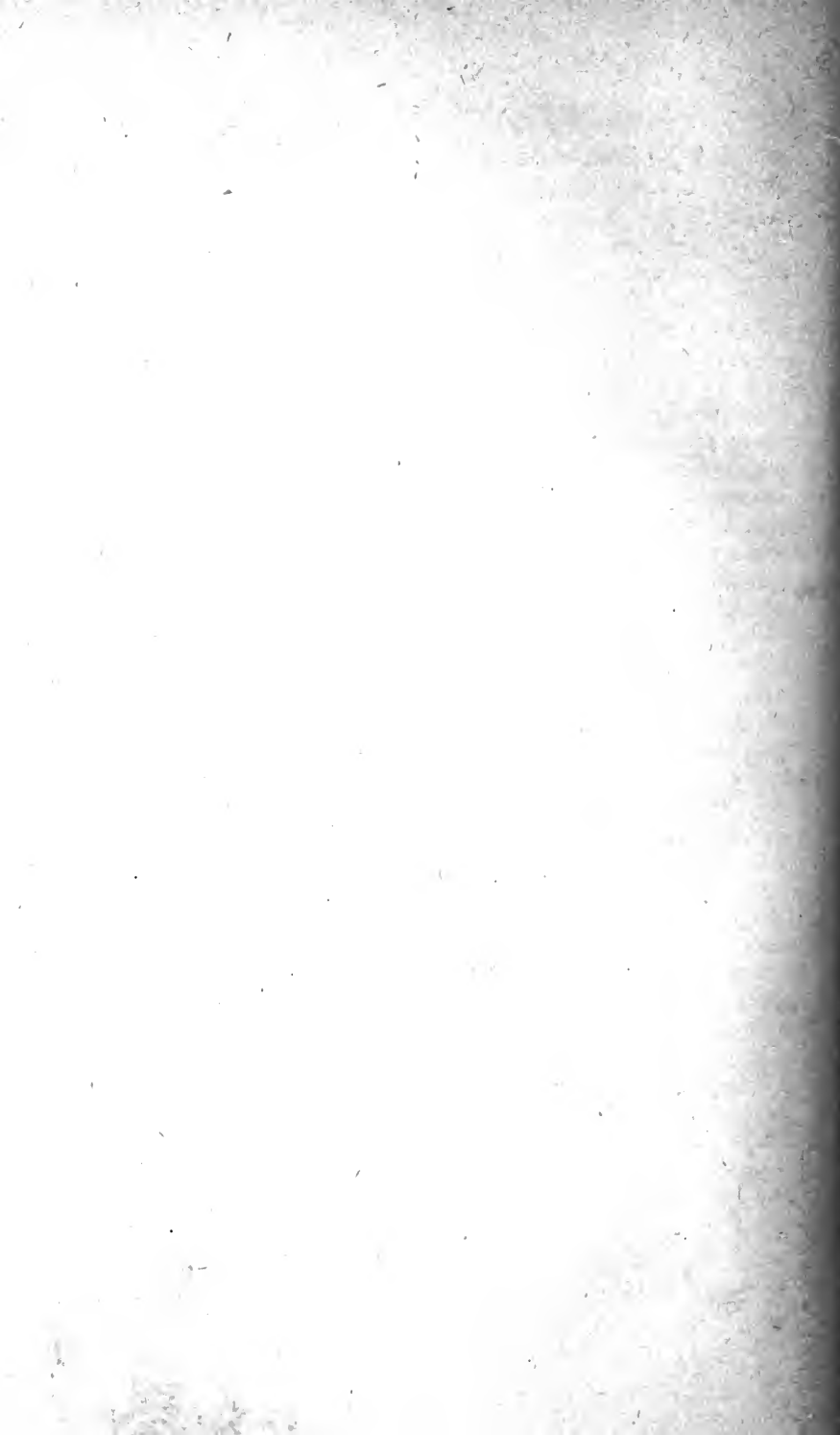
Among these various local Acts, one was obtained which placed certain powers in the hands of local commissioners (1765) appointed for cleaning and lighting the streets, lanes, and passages within the town of Manchester and Salford.

In the Constable's Accounts, November 7, 1770, is the first indication of money spent on public improvements: 'allowed Mr. Jas. Bancroft to leave unbuilt upon his land in Toad Lane, to make the King's Highway more open, £2.' For the most part, however, petty quarrels and antagonisms prevailed until the ill-feeling provoked by partisan spirit caused a number of leading inhabitants to seek to find objects of common interest. The unsatisfactory state of the streets and thoroughfares seemed to offer an aim at which all could unite. Meetings were held, subscriptions solicited, and an Act called 'The Towns Improvement Act of 1776' gave 200 commissioners who were owners or tenants of property of the annual value of £20 the right to acquire certain properties abutting on certain public thoroughfares, Old Millgate, Market Stead Lane, St. Mary's Gate Entrance, and to effect such improvement in highways as was for the benefit of the public. Representatives of all parties joined in the effort to raise the necessary funds, and in this way a sum of £10,000 was raised by public subscription. The public feeling which caused the passing of this Act is particularly interesting, for it led to the rebuilding of the Grammar



MANCHESTER AND SALFORD
AS THEY APPEAR IN 1760

ABOUT THE YEAR 1760



School itself, the feoffees having power under the Act of 1758 to make such changes in their property without appeal to Chancery or to Parliament.

As the town community progressed and gained corporate intelligence some of its members became conscious of certain elements of unsoundness and deficiency, and sought to provide appropriate remedies.

It is the duty of a well-organised school to use the period of later adolescence to awake a true civic or national spirit, but local efforts for the prevention of poverty, unless inspired by a true humanism, have often been cruel and selfish, and directed to getting rid of obligations rather than to their reform. Some indication of the completeness of the training provided by the School may be found in the degree in which those whom it had trained found themselves guided when called upon subsequently to take their share in the public efforts to deal with social problems.

The social problems that presented themselves to the philanthropists of the middle of the eighteenth century were sufficiently limited in scope to be readily grasped, while the outlook was sufficiently rational and even scientific for them to be efficiently solved. But there was an absolute lack of any appreciation of the real nature of problems of poverty on the part of many who cultivated a high degree of personal piety. In 1730-1, the attempt to establish a workhouse had been successfully opposed by the High Church party, guided by Dr. John Byrom. In 1755, at the request of the late and present officers of the town, the Rev. John Clayton, a member of the same party, published a pamphlet, 'Friendly Advice to the Poor.' The entire absence of any attempt at understanding, and even of offering sympathy with, the real needs of the poor, which is shown in this pamphlet by one of the most earnestly religious men of the town, received severe criticism and exposure by Joseph Stott.

In a thoughtful community the presence of a workhouse would naturally serve as a reminder of the necessity to find out and control the causes of destitution. The almost entire absence of any civic effort to do this in England is due to the separation of Poor Law administration from other forms of local government. Complaints have always been

made at the payment of poor rates, but except at the time of the Sanitarian revival, when not only the arguments of the statisticians to prove its wastefulness became unanswerable, but the claims on the pockets of the taxpayers aroused their sleeping intelligence, English statesmen have never seriously endeavoured to prevent poverty. It was evident that the failure in 1730 to provide a local workhouse was also a failure to attempt to solve a civic problem.

The effort to help the sick poor fortunately had a different issue. About 1750 a number of benevolent citizens made several attempts to establish an Infirmary. A prominent local merchant, Joseph Bancroft, who, like several of his brothers, had received his education at the Grammar School, made the offer that if Charles White, a surgeon of local origin and of great repute who had received his early training at the Salford School, would give his services for twelve months, he would guarantee the necessary funds for at least one year. Charles White willingly assented. James Massey, another scholar of the same school, became the first president. Patients were admitted to the temporary premises opened in Withy Grove, July 1752. Money was soon collected from various sources for the erection and support of a more permanent institution, and a suitable piece of vacant land in Piccadilly was purchased from Sir Oswald Mosley. The new Infirmary was opened in 1755. It seems to have been one of the first provincial infirmaries, and its establishment undoubtedly raised the level of medical practice in the locality, for it not only served to attract eminent medical men to Manchester, but enabled local medical practitioners to improve their medical knowledge and their apprentices to find opportunity for clinical instruction. It thus laid the foundations for a fully organised local school for medical instruction. This was first attempted on a limited scale in 1781. One of the earliest of such apprentices was Thomas Seddon, who describes his transit from the Grammar School to the study of physic at the Infirmary, and his early abandonment of the profession of medicine in the following terms :

‘Destined by parental decree, not by my own inclination, which was for the Church, I was taken away from school in my seventeenth year and placed as a pupil in the Manchester

Infirmary for the study of Physic &c. The advantages I had to have obtained excellence in the medical line there were superior to those in any country situation that I know of, as the reputation of the physicians and surgeons demonstrates. Notwithstanding these, and other opportunities afterwards offered, I could never conquer my aversion to the profession. I know not whether a foolish humanity which almost made me fearful of being called to a patient, or whether my prepossessions for the pulpit prevented the prosecution of my medical prospects, and yet though my wishes were always to be in the Church, every action of my existence set me forth to the world as of too volatile a disposition for either physician or divine. Indeed my ill-grounded education would have disqualified me for either profession, if a clerical trustee had not benevolently instructed me in the classics. Mr. Clayton was a friend to all mankind, and his qualifications to give such instruction are evinced by a monument erected to his memory in the College of which he was a Fellow, by his scholars who annually commemorated his excellence every St. Cyprian's Day.'

The other forms of social unsoundness to be dealt with were crime and vice. They naturally first came under the consideration of the Justices of Peace. As many of the scholars after settling down in life occupied such a social status (an income from land of £100 a year) as would qualify them for these positions under the 1744 Act, many were naturally called upon to serve in this capacity, and the way in which they performed their public duties testifies to the value of their school training. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the Justices to whom Manchester is indebted for the prison reform that took place at this time on the instigation of John Howard, who had been engaged in pointing out the miserable condition of prisoners, whether convicted criminals, or innocent but poor persons who were accused of crime, often falsely, but it is evident that some of them had been trained at the Grammar School. On November 5, 1774, John Howard visited the new House of Correction opened at Hunt's Bank in Manchester, and offered suggestions for the better treatment of the prisoners, urging particularly the cause of those who had been long confined. His suggestions must have been appreciated and carried out, for in the following year he found the number of inmates

reduced from twenty-one to six. He made other visits in 1776, 1779, and 1782, and when the new Bailey Prison was opened in 1787, a tablet was placed in a prominent position, which bears the following inscription :

‘That there may remain to posterity a monument of the affection and gratitude of this country to the most excellent person who hath so fully proved the wisdom and humanity of separate and solitary confinement of offenders, this prison is inscribed with the name of John Howard.’

At this time religious activity was aroused in all sections of the Christian Church in England by the preaching of John Wesley, who had first preached in Salford in 1735. In Manchester the Nonjurors and Jacobites, such as Dr. Deacon, Rev. John Clayton, and others, were also very active, and their zeal succeeded in arousing interest to repair some of the old as well as to cause the building of new churches. Trinity Chapel was rebuilt 1751 ; and St. Mary’s, St. Paul’s, and St. John’s, founded in 1753, 1765, 1769. Many of the incumbents of these churches and some of their founders had been trained at the School under Purnell and Lawson.

In 1757, the collegiate body was reorganised. The revenues of the clergy had been increased ‘near £500 a year’ (Joseph Stott), and greater zeal was manifest in many directions. Some of the worshippers at the Nonconformist chapel in Cross Street, dissatisfied with the Arian tendencies of the new preacher Mr. Seddon, who had come to help Mr. Mottershead the old minister, decided to hold evangelistic meetings of their own at the old meeting-house in Cold Street. They soon found themselves strong enough to build a chapel of their own, and approached Dr. John Byrom, who sold them a piece of his land in Cannon Street. This was not the only interest he showed in them. Their preacher Rev. Caleb Warhurst had been strongly recommended to Dr. Byrom by his friend Rev. John Newton of Olney in a letter to Richard Houghton, dated November 18, 1762, when Newton requests that ‘when Dr. Byrom has finished with Jonathan Edwards’ “Enquiry into Prevailing Notions of the Freedom of the Will,” he will let his servant leave it for Mr. Warhurst at Mr. Clegg’s in Turner Street. The Rev. Caleb Warhurst is a truly humble and pious man.’¹

¹ *Byrom and Wesley*, by Elijah Hoole, and *Byrom’s Journal*.

The Chetham Library continued to exert a marked intellectual influence on the feoffees themselves, who chose the books, as well as on the readers in the town. It served as a natural intellectual centre, and the senior boys of the Grammar School were accustomed to study there, and were doubtless encouraged by the librarians, most of whom had received their education at the School.

The peripatetic public subscription lectures on Natural Philosophy, which we have noticed in 1743, were evidently continued at intervals. They were mainly supported by fashionable audiences, though medical students often attended. The following advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Mercury*, November 15, 1762 :

‘A course of 20 lectures on Experimental Philosophy to be given at the late Angel Inn, Market Place, by James Ardenn, Teacher of Experimental Philosophy at Beverley. Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Astronomy, Geography, use of globes, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics.’

And in the issue May 29, 1764 :

‘Mr. Ferguson takes this method of acquainting his friends that he proposes to begin his course of lectures in Experimental Philosophy on Monday, 4th June 1764. He desires that those who choose to favour him with their attendance will leave their names at Mr. Newton’s Book-seller where a subscription list is called.’

John Banks, of Kendal, also conducted classes at the Bull’s Head Inn, 1772 (advertisement in *Harrop’s Mercury*). An epitome of his course of lectures on Natural Philosophy was published 1789, and is very similar to that of Caleb Rotherham.

But natural philosophy was not the only subject which awakened the interest and engaged the attention of the more enlightened inhabitants of the town and district. Increased trade and foreign travel caused sons of the well-to-do merchants as well as sons of some of the county families to become acquainted with the active Continental Universities. Many of the wealthy began to make their own antiquarian and natural history collections so as to become patrons of workers in such subjects. Among them the Right Hon. James

Stanley, Lord Strange, feoffee of the School, educated at Leyden, began his famous Natural History collection.

Sir Ashton Lever (1729-1788), of Alkrington, Prestwich, educated at Salford Grammar School and Christ Church, Oxford, continued to add to the collections begun by his father, Darcy Lever, of objects of Natural History, Anthropology, and Archæology, which included Captain Cook's curiosities. He subsequently moved the collection, on which he had spent £50,000, to London, in the hope of inducing the Government to purchase them, and thus to reimburse himself of some of his outlay. In this he failed, so he finally attempted to dispose of it by lottery. Only shares to the amount of £8,000 were taken up, and Sir Ashton Lever died suddenly, it is believed by his own hand, at the Bull's Head, Manchester, February 1786.

Many of the early physicians and surgeons attached to the Infirmary had received their education at one of the two local schools, and the liberal education they had received enabled them to extend the study of medicine in its broader aspects. Richard and Edward Hall, sons of Richard Hall, and probably also Peter Mainwaring, M.D. (1695-1785), and Charles White, were educated at the Salford School, under John Clayton. Though it is not known that Samuel Kaye, of Bury, and his son Richard Kaye, attended any school in Manchester, they were closely associated with the town, for John Kaye of Salford, appointed feoffee of Chetham's Hospital in 1705, had come to reside in the town about 1725 and attended the lectures on natural philosophy given in 1743 by Caleb Rotherham of Kendal. Dr. Samuel Kaye is famous for his early recognition of the medicinal value of cod-liver oil.

James Walker, F.R.S., passed in 1733 from the Manchester School to Brasenose College, Oxford, and, on the introduction of Charles White and Thomas Percival, became Fellow of the Royal Society. Of Dr. John Leach, long a resident in Manchester, and a graduate of Leyden University, a governor and for some time treasurer of Chetham's Hospital, and who died in 1744, very little is known. There is a volume of MS. notes on Surgical Diseases, especially those of children, written by a surgeon who studied at Leyden and Edinburgh about this date which seems to belong to a series of lectures on medicine given in Manchester about 1750.

The amount of fever existing among the patients who presented themselves for treatment at the Manchester Infirmary soon provided an object-lesson for the study of public health. Dr. Thomas Percival, who has been called the apostle of the modern sanitarian movement, was early attached to this Infirmary, and made his first studies in the extent of distribution, the rise and fall of deaths, from various epidemics such as smallpox, measles, &c. In association with Dr. John Aikin of Warrington and Dr. Haygarth of Chester, he provided a basis on which statisticians of a later age could base their arguments for a fuller consideration of the value of human life to the national welfare.

The first Manchester theatre was erected in Marsden Street about 1753. So important a function of school life had the public performance of Christmas plays by boys become under Mr. Purnell's influence, that within a few years of the building of this theatre Mr. Purnell arranged to hold the annual meeting of parents and friends of the Grammar School there instead of in the more restricted school-rooms. Pupils of the School performed various classical and other plays before their friends and relatives in December 1759, 1760, and 1761. Such public performances met with the very strong disapproval of Dr. John Byrom, who a few years previously had entered his vigorous protest against the appeal for public subscriptions asked for in support of the Kersal races. Dr. Byrom wrote a censure in the form of an epilogue and sent it with an anonymous letter. Mr. Purnell replied in a letter which reveals both his liberality of view and his strength of purpose. He begins by expressing his disapproval of anonymous letters, and continues :

'My notions of the stage are different from yours. I think it may be made use of for good ends and purposes and to promote virtue and religion as well as the pulpit. There are some vices more fit for reproof by the stage than by the pulpit. I have lately received some volumes of sermons from a friend, a doctor of Divinity, and some plays published by another friend, and there is more sense, more learning, and more religion in the plays than in the sermons. If I thought the play would take the minds of any of my youths I would never have engaged in it. I am sure the youths benefited by the play, and I have used all possible care to prevent any ill consequences you are

apprehensive of. As to virtue and religion, I have as great a regard for them as yourself, but as to reputation, I am entirely indifferent about it. You may publish the epilogue when you please.'

The volumes of sermons in question appear to be those of Dr. Henry Stebbing, a controversialist of the famous Bangorian controversy, while the plays were probably those of Dr. John Brown, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, who had taken part in the siege of Carlisle against the Jacobites, and had written the tragedies of 'Barbarossa' to show the evils of inordinate and selfish ambition, and of 'Athelstan,' both of which met with considerable success when performed at Drury Lane Theatre about this time.

It has been pointed out that the subsequent career of each of the participants in the public play of 1759 abundantly supports Mr. Purnell's contention that a liberal education was the best preparation for a useful and purposeful life.

William Purnell died in 1764, after forty-one years' service at the School. It is strange that nothing but the bare notification of his decease occurs in the local periodicals, and also that four of the Tory collegiate clergy adopted the unusual course of petitioning that Charles Lawson should be appointed. He was so evidently suitable for the post, and he had recognised rights of succession. It seems as if there was some likelihood of interference by the Whig Warden Peploe, on account of Lawson's High Church sympathies, and perhaps on behalf of some nominee of the Crown. No such hitch actually occurred. Mr. Lawson was at once appointed. He gave an introductory address on entering into his duties as high master on 'The Ancient Glories of the School, and the Use of the Classical Languages to Education.'¹ If he did not continue the interest shown by Mr. Purnell in dramatic representation, he was at least during his early life interested in the outdoor life of his boys, for he annually presided at the Bull's Head Inn, Market Place, whilst the boys shot with bows and arrows for prizes.²

With each appointment of a fresh high master the School had undergone a rapid expansion. During the five years that succeeded the appointment of Mr. Purnell the entrances

¹ Whatton's *Foundations*.

² Harland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 67.

had risen from 100 to 150. During the first five years that succeeded the appointment of Mr. Lawson, they rose from 150 to 250. The number proceeding to the University, and the number of boarders, similarly increased. The overcrowding of the old premises had not been due entirely to the increased number of boys seeking University training nor to the larger number of boarders : the sons of the commercial classes in the town were now fully appreciating the high training offered by the School, especially when this was reinforced by additional teaching at private mathematical schools kept by Ainsworth, Henry Clarke, and others. Both Purnell and Lawson were men of deep religious feeling and a high sense of responsibility. Though neither were engaged in public preaching in the town, as Henry Brooke had been, they had profoundly impressed the public with a sense of seriousness quite compatible in the case of Purnell with a strong sense of humour.

The main ostensible object of the School was still the preparing of boys for the English Universities, where they might obtain that further general intellectual equipment which continued to be the aim of English learning. When we examine in detail the extent to which its educational privileges were enjoyed by actual residents in the town, the result is very remarkable. During the period now under review (1749-1784), 183 scholars proceeded from the School to the English Universities ; of these 153, or 84 per cent., had been boarders, and only 30, or 16 per cent., were local residents, most of them being sons of local clergy or others seeking professional and almost exclusively clerical careers. Many of the Cambridge scholars took high positions in the Mathematical Tripos examinations, after 1747, when the examinational attainments of candidates were classified and published. The year 1759 was 'Annus Mirabilis' for the School, since the positions of first, third, and fifth Wrangler were all held by scholars from the Manchester School. It is doubtful whether many English Grammar Schools possessed equally good mathematical teaching at this period.¹ In the further movement for the reform of the examination initiated by John Jebb, an old Manchester scholar, Miles Popple of Trinity College, took a prominent part.²

¹ Cf. Mr. Ayscough, quoted in Hone's *Year Book*.

² Vide *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786-7, and *School Register*.

Although theoretically the benefits of the School were available for able boys of restricted means, as an actual fact this had largely ceased to be the case in the eighteenth century. The difficulties that beset the early career of, at any rate, one of the most notable of such boys proves the failure of the School to accomplish this purpose at this time, for the incident could hardly have occurred in the time of Henry Newcome and John Wickens, when the need for public preachers caused diligent search to be made for able boys.

Henry Clarke, born 1743, son of Thomas Clarke of Salford, was admitted to the Manchester Grammar School about 1752 under Purnell.¹ He learned the rudiments of mathematics from Mr. Lawson and constructed a globe nine inches in diameter when only nine years of age. Having no means of support he soon left the School, and at the age of thirteen became assistant in the Academy of Aaron Grimshaw of Leeds. Here he met Joseph Priestley. In 1762 he helped Robert Pulman, land surveyor, mathematical teacher and writing master of Sedbergh, who kept an Academy at Leeds. An advertisement in Harrop's *Manchester Mercury*, 1765, shows that Clarke practised as a land surveyor in Manchester, and later advertisements (e.g. December 22, 1772) show further that he practised as a schoolmaster. It was to the Chetham Library even more than to the School that he owed his opportunities for study, for in the presentation copy of his translation of A. M. Lorgna's 'Dissertation on Converging Series,' published 1779, Henry Clarke writes to the librarian of Chetham's:

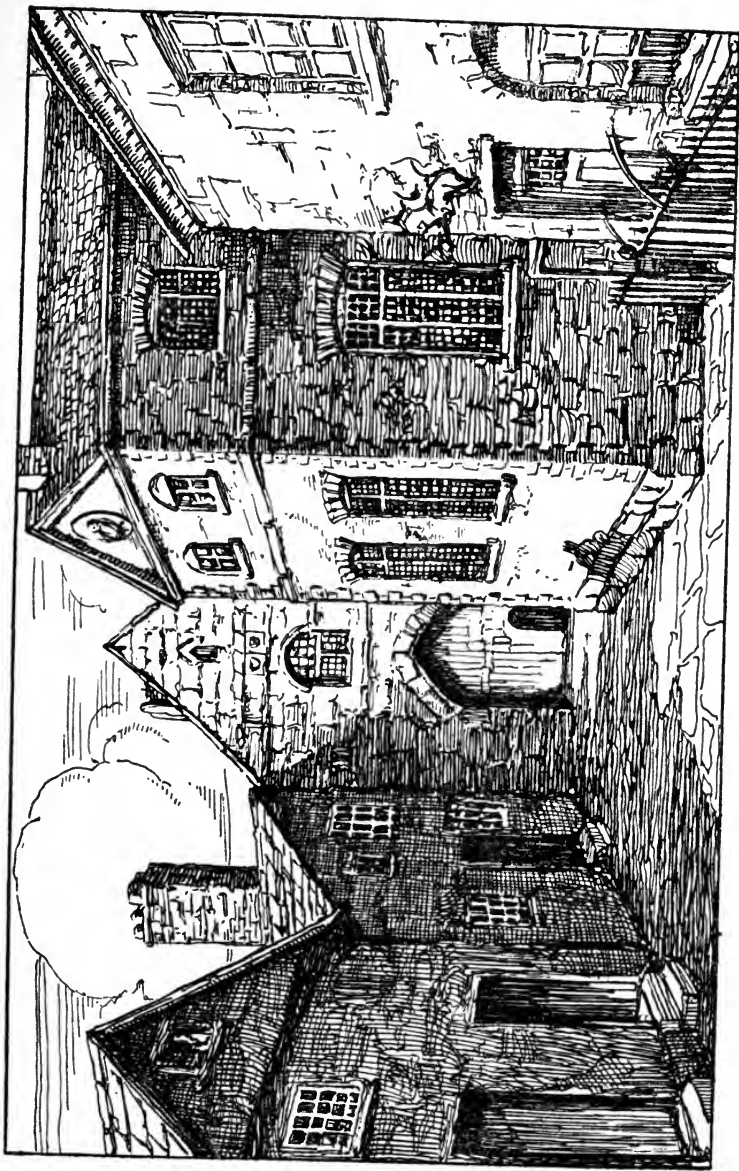
'As an acknowledgment as well for the advantages I have received from the College library as the very obliging manner you have accommodated me with the books, I would wish to deposit a complete copy. In this, Sir, I hope to meet with your usual indulgence.

'Rev. Sir, your most obliged,

'HENRY CLARKE.'

Clarke was appointed Professor at the College of Arts and Science established in Manchester in 1783, which had so short an existence. About 1791 he became schoolmaster

¹ *The School Candidates*, 1788, with *Memoir of Henry Clarke, LL.D.*, by G. E. Bailey, 1877.



FRONT VIEW OF THE SECOND GRAMMAR SCHOOL, BUILT 1776

in Salford, describing himself as penman, arithmetician, geographer, and experimental philosopher, and as such was responsible for the commercial education of the sons of many of the better merchant families.

Jeremiah Ainsworth (1743-1784) entered the Manchester Grammar School about the same time as Henry Clarke. He was of unusual talents, but they were not in demand for any recognised occupational career. As already mentioned, for many years he kept a mathematical school in Long Millgate, opposite to the old School, and taught many of its scholars when they were not with Lawson. A few months before his death in 1784 he was appointed steward of the Chetham Hospital estates.

In contrast to the lack of encouragement of Henry Clarke and Jeremiah Ainsworth stands the benevolent help afforded to another clever but poor lad, Joshua Brookes, who became one of Manchester's most noted worthies and whose characteristics are so vividly portrayed by Mrs. Linnæus Banks in 'The Manchester Man.' He was admitted to the School in February 1764, and soon became a distinguished pupil under Charles Lawson. In consequence Thomas Ayscough, senior fellow of the College, collected together sufficient money to send him to Oxford. He graduated B.A. 1778, Brasenose College, and obtained a Hulme Exhibition. He was licensed to the chapelry at Chorlton-cum-Hardy in 1782, but resigned that living in 1790 on being appointed chaplain to the Collegiate Church, a position he held for thirty-one years. 'Mindful of the help he had himself received, he willingly helped others.'

'He was rough and unclerical in outward demeanour, but he possessed qualities of heart and mind which commended him to those who regarded the inner man. . . . He was a profound scholar and a divine of strict discipline, of a warm yet forgiving temper, of acute feeling, of a generous and benevolent disposition, yet in the conscientious discharge of his sacred duties often assailed by the ridicule of the ignorant, the malicious and the uncultivated rabble.'¹

We have already noted that the extant School registers were begun in 1733 after Henry Brooke had been in charge for

¹ Cf. Booker's *History of Chorlton Chapel*; *Raines' MSS.*, vol. xiii p. 131; *Manchester School Register*, vol. i. p. 108.

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six years. They are fairly, though not absolutely complete, for a number of boarders in the houses of masters have been omitted.

	Total Admissions.	Yearly Average.	Probable No. in School at one time.	To the English Universities.
Between 1733-1749,	829	26	100	183
1749-1764 }				
1764-1785 }				
	1026	50	205	

Although the admission of wealthy boarders to the benefits of Classical training at the school was quite within the 1524 regulations that 'no boy of any other county (than Lancashire) should be excluded,' it is very doubtful if that phrase should have been extended to include the bribing of boys from distant regions by means of University Exhibitions derived from the taxing of the corn and malt of the inhabitants of the Town of Manchester. The boys attending the Grammar School became an increasingly selected class, not perhaps from any deliberate policy on the part of feoffees or masters, but simply because the study of Latin and Greek, though still, as in Hugh Oldham's time, the gateway to learning, was not the gateway to the commercial and industrial life which was now so rapidly absorbing the interests of the majority of the townspeople.

The mixture during school life of wealthy boarders with sons of well-to-do merchants of equal ability and enterprise proved of great service in the cultivation of public spirit, for it caused the boarders, many of whom came from considerable distances and had been brought up in the somewhat limited atmosphere of country life, to become acquainted with the interests and activities of a thriving commercial town which possessed few rich idlers, and therefore offered few temptations to dissipation. The constant presence of a number of serious scholars, of whom four or five were annually leaving the School for the Universities, also insured a degree of thoughtfulness and maturity of mind among the senior boys, which enabled the highest value to be derived from a classical education.

George Morewood entered the Manchester Grammar School in the summer 1771 and continued till Christmas 1780, nine and a half years. He tells us that he entered the under part

of the Lower School in 1771, held perhaps in the outbuilding of 1684, for the old building was one of one storey. Here the first rudiments of learning were taught, and out of it a class of proficients yearly ascended into what was called the Middle School. The Middle and Higher Schools were then conducted in the long room, into which he entered after the Christmas recess of 1772. At this time the Upper and Middle Schools were under the direction of Mr. Lawson as High Master, Mr. Darby as second master, and Mr. Jackson as assistant; and the Lower School in the care of Mr. Samuel Jackson, a relative, it is believed, of the assistant master. During Mr. Morewood's stay the whole School was rebuilt, and for a time the scholars were taught in a triangular room in that end of Chetham's Hospital or the College, as it was popularly called, next to the Grammar School. Mr. Morewood's impression of Mr. Lawson was that, if not a profound teacher, he was generally correct, and he considered that his most striking characteristic was a strong love of justice and a great impartiality in all his dealings with the boys. For this, as well as for other qualities, although a severe master, he was much liked by the boys generally, and by some of the seniors respected and beloved. Both Mr. Lawson and Mr. Darby had boarders in their houses, and Mr. Morewood thinks that twenty guineas a year was the sum paid for each boarder.

A sketch of the School life is also given by Thomas Seddon, whose attempted entry into the study of medicine after a two years' stay at the School has been recorded above. It is evidently coloured by a sense of failure :

'In that highly reputable Grammar School at Manchester (though fixed as Fate to the dunce's form) I must by dint of memory have been made into a decent classic, for the progression there is so cautiously slow that, according to the rules established there, neither the brightest boy nor the most consummate blockhead is permitted to advance more than one class in twelve months, so that the ignorant associating with the ingenious, through a course of education, cannot remain altogether in ignorance. The apt scholar is under a kind of necessity to assist his ignorant class-fellow, and as in communicating our ideas we commonly correct our own, the expediency serves as a payment for the pains then taken by stopping that rapidity of fancy which is the offspring of a quick apprehension, to reflect

upon what otherwise might be too cursorily read and too soon forgotten. . . . I have, and ever shall have, to lament the want of a longer continuance in this School, but it was my fate never to be more than two years under the same preceptor, and most of my teachers were so inadequate to the province they assumed, that, though I read Homer, it was with a man who I could discover had little knowledge of even his accidence.'

Another indication of the type of boarders who frequented the School is given by the contents of a bill paid to John Darby, usher of the School in 1776: 'A carriage and four and a pair of saddle-horses for the journey of Mr. John and Mr. William Bagshaw to Manchester School.'¹

The Speech Days were generally held on the first Tuesday in October, when the boys were encouraged to recite their own poems, no doubt after being corrected by Charles Lawson. Old alumni of the School were also invited to send their University poems to Mr. Lawson, and these were frequently given as well. Occasionally the University prize poem itself was recited as a model for the boys. In this way a love of good expression was encouraged among them, and the poems were greatly prized in after years.²

Annual feasts were held on Shrove Tuesday, the School festival. After the boys had finished their competitions of shooting with bows and arrows, they adjourned to the Bull's Head, in the Market Place, the most important inn of Manchester, where they were entertained by Charles Lawson.³ One of his favourite mottoes was 'What will please the boys will please the multitude.'

The state of the Manchester School was evidently very much better than that of many other Grammar Schools of whom Lord Kenyon, in delivering judgment in the case of the *King v. Archbishop of York*, thus speaks:

'Whoever will examine the state of Grammar Schools in different parts of the kingdom will see to what a lamentable condition most of them are reduced, and would wish that those who are in superintendence or control over them had been as circumspect as the Archbishop of York, Dr.

¹ *School Registers*, vol. ii. p. 10.

² See *School Registers*, vol. i. p. 121; vol. ii. p. 71.

³ Harland's *Collectanea* (Chetham Society's publications), vol. ii. p. 179.



BACK VIEW OF THE SECOND GRAMMAR SCHOOL, BUILT 1776.



Markham, formerly headmaster of Westminster. If others had equally done their duty we should not find, as is now the case, empty walls without scholars, and everything neglected but receipt of salaries and emoluments. In some instances that have lately come within my knowledge there was not a single scholar in the school though there were large emoluments to them.’¹

The remark, attributed to Churton, and which is said to have offended Joshua Brook, is capable of more than one interpretation: ‘Manchester is more celebrated for its School than for its learning.’

A general spirit of improvement of the town was in the air. Large sums of money were subscribed by the inhabitants to purchase property so as to enlarge and widen Old Millgate and St. Mary’s Gate, to open a new street from the Exchange to St. Ann’s Square, and to obtain parliamentary powers to pave, clean, and light the streets. A public meeting was held January 15, 1776. The scheme of the Bill was presented to the House of Commons, March 12, and passed the House of Commons in April, receiving Royal assent, May 20, 1776.

At length, however, it was unmistakably evident that the School premises were unsuitable for the new conditions. It was decided to pull down the one-storeyed stone building of the Grammar School which had been standing from 1515, with its annexe of 1686, and erect a more capacious building capable of holding from 200 to 250 boys. There is no known illustration of the old building, though perhaps the outlines may be identified in the view of Manchester from the north, published 1760. Money for the new building was obtained partly out of school funds, and partly out of the sale of school property in Essex, for by the Act of Parliament, 1758, the feoffees had power of sale.² The new building was larger than the old, but was erected on the same site. It was two storeys high and stood till 1879.

It was probably due to the energy of Robert Radcliffe, Edward Greaves, Sir Thomas Egerton of Tatton, and his namesake Samuel Egerton of Tatton, that the new scheme was carried through. In 1779 Mr. Lawson obtained permission from the Chetham feoffees to rent and use part of the Derby Garden as a playground for his boarders, who were now very numerous.

¹ *Term Reports*, vol. vi. p. 490.

² *Kenyon MSS.*, p. 519.

CHAPTER IX

1780-1806

OLIGARCHY ON ITS TRIAL

‘That it may please thee to bless and keep the Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice and to maintain Truth. We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.’—*English Litany*.

The Grammar Schools fail to provide training for the unprivileged classes—The establishment of Annual Dinners for the Old Boys—Enhanced position of the clergy—The wealthy landowners raise local troops for the American War, which are sent to Gibraltar on the Declaration of Peace with America—The Nonconformist members of the merchant classes, already shut off from the English Universities, where learning is monopolised in the interests of the clergy, failing also to get suitable training at the Grammar School, cultivate the study of science and the fine arts—They found the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society—The Chetham Library gradually ceases to be the centre of liberal learning or of natural science—The rivalry of Pitt and Fox emphasises the growing antagonism between town and country and leads to the split up of the old Whig party—Further alienation of the town interest in the Grammar School on account of the increasing needs of the industrial population—Death of Charles Lawson.

THE study of grammar—that is, of Latin and Greek literature—was originally established by men with practical knowledge of public affairs to provide an open gateway, available for all who desired to enter into the possession of knowledge. By allying it with the humanistic study of the Scriptures which took place at the Reformation, educational pioneers in England had created a new basis of authority in the instructed but self-directing conscience of the individual. After the Reformation a knowledge of Latin had served the study of Government at the Inns of Court. During the Commonwealth the study of Latin and Hebrew had assisted in setting up, in London and in Lancashire, a theocracy under Presbyterian ascendancy which, in spite of the excellence of

its educational discipline, failed to hold the people permanently because its intolerant dogmatism and censoriousness interfered with the freedom of the individual and was thereby opposed to the English character. Further liberalising tendencies were introduced into education by international commerce during the time of Whig supremacy and were fostered by Whig benefactions. They do not become an organised part of the general system of English learning because the highest seats of English education had become monopolised at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the interests of the clergy, whose self-seeking and self-indulgence restricted their outlook, and whose lack of moral purpose was only partially redeemed by the Pietist movement set going by the Nonjurors and the more religiously inclined Jacobites. At those schools which possessed masters like Purnell and Lawson who were capable of inspiring their pupils with some zeal for public duty, a revised classical training, amplified by the study of Modern and Ancient History, was very helpful to the well-to-do country gentry and merchant classes. We have noticed how such training had marked influence in awaking general intelligence in many directions at a time when the nation was elbowing its way, with little regard for the needs of its humbler members or the claims of its rivals.

We now come to a period when Whig oligarchy had become permeated by caste prejudice and separated from the rest of the community. It had developed a social antagonism born of a jealousy of the rising power of the trading classes, who had received in the Evangelical revival a widely different, but by no means necessarily inferior moral training to its own. This jealousy became combined with a fear of the violence of an industrial class altogether untrained. We have now to consider how far the old learning, reinforced by the later additions, helped those in power to overcome their party spirit and welcome new classes to share their privileges. Was it able to break down caste prejudices, to moderate social antagonisms, to discover new principles of political justice between those of the poor who were downtrodden and those of the rich who were self-indulgent? If it failed in these things, it might continue as a social luxury or as an intellectual accomplishment and provide means of relaxation for a selected few of the leisured classes, or remain a suitable preparation

for the limited number who were seeking ecclesiastical or professional advance and preferment, but it could in no sense be regarded as affording the common groundwork needed for a truly national education which would serve the needs of the most intellectually enterprising of all classes.

The rebuilding of the School in 1776 was itself in some measure a recognition of the fact that a new order of things had arisen with new needs. The feoffees who held office at the time were mostly elderly men. For many generations son had succeeded father, or nephew had succeeded uncle in the management of the School affairs, as well as in the succession of family estates, and an idea of hereditary proprietorship had grown up which was compatible with benevolence and with a form of public spirit, yet less likely to keep the School in touch with local needs than would have been the case had its administration been shared by merchants and professional men. Though the building was new, the policy was old. Similar circumstances were causing the Chetham Library also to lose touch with the corporate life of the town, though in both cases the feoffees were undoubtedly men of integrity and honour, and of experience in public life.

The prosperity of the School had begun to decline towards the latter part of the high mastership of Charles Lawson, even at a time when efforts were being made to secure its permanence through the deliberate cultivation of school traditions and the perpetuation of school friendships by the establishment of anniversary School Dinners and by the consistent election of old boys on the body of feoffees. The full manifestation of its failure was, however, delayed for some years.

The period of the School's greatest numerical and social success was therefore also the period when serious, though fortunately not fatal, symptoms of decay began to appear.

The following statement appears on the front page of the 'Anniversary Dinner Book':

'Sept. 24th, 1781. At a meeting of gentlemen educated at the Free Grammar School in Manchester, Sir Thos. Egerton, Bart., in the chair, the following resolutions are agreed upon:—

'That there be an annual meeting of such gentlemen as have been scholars of the Free School on some day near the feast of St. Michael of which previous notice shall be given

by the stewards of the meeting in the Manchester, Liverpool, and Chester papers one month before the said meeting.

‘That there be two stewards elected annually.

‘That there be a holiday for the whole day for the school-boys on the anniversary.

‘That such members as may attend insert their names in the book.

‘That the masters sit on the right hand of each steward.

‘That Sir Thomas Egerton and Mr. Wm. Egerton of Tatton be stewards for the year ensuing.’

There are thirty-two signatories to this document, five of them being feoffees of the School as well as old scholars. The account of the second meeting, held October 2, 1782, gives the lists of toasts :

1. Success to the meeting.
2. Success to the School.
3. Success to the Town and Trade of Manchester.
4. Health of Mr. Lawson and Mr. Darby, second master, who were present as guests.

The dinners were distinct social successes, perhaps in part because they were begun at least two years before the break-up of the Whig party and the antagonism between Pitt and Fox caused political differences to become violently acute. The earlier dinners were regularly presided over by Sir Thomas Egerton, while member of Parliament for Lancashire and before he became member of the House of Lords. Many old scholars travelled long distances to meet their old masters and companions, and to offer congratulations to those who had achieved such social distinctions as appointment to the position of Sheriff of the County or Borough-reeve of the Town. Both Charles Lawson and John Darby the assistant master regularly attended these dinners, and during the first twenty years some two hundred different scholars took part. If, in these early days, there was less honour rendered to high scholarship than was the case in the succeeding period when the School was under the sway of Rev. Jeremiah Smith, yet in acknowledging public service something even better was accomplished, and opportunity was afforded for welcoming those who like Colonel Drinkwater had received recent military recognition and honour.

Sir Thomas Egerton, the founder of the Old Boys' Anniversary Dinners, always devoted to his old schoolmaster, Charles Lawson, naturally took the leading position. The Holland family from whom he inherited his estates had been connected with the School from Elizabethan times, and his wife Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Ralph Assheton, was the representative of a family which had been connected with the School from its very foundation. Her only brother had died while a scholar at the School. Sir Thomas Egerton was elected Parliamentary representative of the county in 1768, and held this office till 1784 when he was raised to the peerage as Baron Grey de Wilton 'in recognition of his unremitting labours for the public benefit, particularly in his raising at his own expense a company of cavalry' which he drilled in Heaton Park. He was made Earl of Wilton in 1801, and died 1814 at Heaton House.¹

The ineptitude of our political and military leaders in the American War, and particularly the discredit attached to the failure at Saratoga, in 1778, had begun to rouse the country from its lethargy and self-sufficiency. Sir Thomas Egerton raised a troop of cavalry at his own charges and had them trained in his own private grounds at Heaton Park. The general citizens of Manchester and district raised a sum amounting to £8,000 in order to provide a regiment for service in America. Some 1,082 men were soon enrolled. Hitherto only an occasional scholar from the School had followed the profession of arms; now the spirit of patriotism pervaded all ranks of Society. The aristocratic feoffees of the School and the sons of wealthy merchants alike taking commissions, the senior scholars soon followed, some obtaining commissions, others entering the ranks. Among the earliest to join the new town regiment—subsequently known as the 72nd or Manchester Royal Volunteers—was John Drinkwater, son of John Drinkwater, surgeon in Salford, born July 12, 1762. He had entered the School January 18, 1773, and obtained his commission in 1778, at the age of sixteen.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown prevented the Government sending the regiment to America, but caused them to send it to join the force under General Elliott, engaged in the defence of Gibraltar, the siege of which had originally

¹ For other feoffees see Appendix.



THE HIGH MASTER'S HOUSE, OLD MILLGATE



begun in 1779, but whose complete blockade started in 1781. It reached its greatest intensity September 1782, when the combined French and Spanish fleets of 47 ships-of-the-line, numerous frigates and ten floating batteries, commanding 500 guns, anchored within 1,200 yards of the British entrenchments, while the British garrison could only oppose 96 guns. Nevertheless the garrison sustained the siege till January 1783, when they were relieved.

John Drinkwater was in Gibraltar during the whole of the defence, which constituted the one bright spot in the long series of disgraces and disasters that characterised the English management of the war. He afterwards accompanied General Sir George Eliott as secretary, when he was made Viceroy of Corsica. He was present at the battle of St. Vincent and published an account of it. He returned to England and served as Chairman of Commission on a Military Enquiry. He also acted as Controller of Army Accounts in 1811. In answer to his request the feoffees of Chetham's Hospital placed the colours of the disbanded Manchester Regiment in the public library. Drinkwater published a history of the Siege of Gibraltar which went through some four or five editions. An author's presentation copy is in the School Library. The following description of the citizen soldiers who served under him is given by Joseph Budworth, who entered the Grammar School January 1769 and died 1815, in the introduction of his poem on Gibraltar :

‘When my native town of Manchester gladly gave one thousand men to Government, and even clothed them till they arrived at Gibraltar, they were put under the command of Lt.-Col. Gladstones. A finer regiment of recruits had never been seen before, and in a very short time, from the indefatigable exertions of the Colonel, they were completely disciplined. . . . I was the oldest but one of a company of one hundred strong, and it is a great credit to them, and satisfaction to their officers to have seen them return to their looms with as much industry as they had shown alertness against the common enemy at Gibraltar.

‘*Sloan St., Chelsea, Nov. 17, 1794.*’

The increasing income of the old Collegiate body not only benefited the Warden and Fellows, but improved the incomes of the many chaplains and curates who held local

benefices. Efforts were made in which many successful merchants and manufacturers took active part to establish new churches or to rebuild and enlarge the old ones, and thus provide for the personal convenience of the well-to-do, as well as to raise the level of intelligence and the standard of conduct of the rapidly increasing general population. For the newly established churches highly trained clergy were needed. Consequently those grammar schools which had maintained their close association with the English Universities, and retained a high-level classical curriculum, continued to be well attended.

The natural head of the local clergy was Warden Richard Assheton (1727-1800), who had succeeded the somewhat supine Dr. Samuel Peploe, junior, June 1780. With him was associated Rev. Thomas Aynscough (1719-1793), only surviving son of Radley Aynscough, who had been educated at the Manchester Grammar School, under H. Brooke, and at Brasenose College, Oxford. He was the life-long friend of Charles Lawson, whom he had known at Oxford. In November 1761 he was elected Fellow of the Manchester College, and in 1765 was curate of Birch, where he lived, and where he was instrumental in causing the chapel to be rebuilt. He succeeded Richard Assheton as feoffee of Chetham in 1766, and in 1788 was appointed feoffee of the Grammar School. He took an active interest in the Charity Schools of Manchester and served as trustee to the Elizabeth Scholes Charity, established in 1731 for ladies in reduced circumstances. His interest in Joshua Brookes, already related, was only one instance of his regard for boys at the Grammar School.

Another Fellow at the College of considerable influence was Rev. Maurice Griffiths (1721-1798), born in Denbighshire, 1721; educated under William Purnell and at Jesus College, Oxford. He lived at Hunt's Bank close to the School, and was one of the early subscribers to the Manchester Subscription Library established in 1765.¹ He became a feoffee of his old School in 1770, and of Bury Grammar School in 1778. He served as J.P. for the county, and, though he is reported to have had a great regard for literature, no modifying effect of this on his public actions is noticeable. In public affairs he was strongly opposed to Warden Peploe, and showed

¹ Axon's *Handbook of Public Libraries of Manchester and Salford*.

great animus against those holding reforming opinions.¹ He had sons of good abilities and striking presence, all educated at the School, but whose habits earned for Dr. Griffiths and his family the title—‘the Rev. Dr. Eli and his two sons, the Revs. Hophni and Phineas.’

Numerous old Grammar School boys served as Justices of the Peace for town or county, Members of Parliament, &c., and took active interest in the administration of the work of the town, such as in the foundation of a public institution for giving advice and medical attention to poor married women. This institution later became the St. Mary’s Hospital.

Dr. Thomas Percival (1740–1804), son of Joseph Percival, merchant of Warrington, the apostle of Sanitary Science, had been entered as boarder at the Grammar School at the age of eleven with a view to proceeding to Oxford, but owing to ill-health had returned home and had been placed under tuition at the Warrington Academy. He subsequently studied at Edinburgh, Paris, and Leyden, and finally, in 1767, settled down to practise in Manchester, taking active part in the public movements in the town. About 1790, in conjunction with other physicians, he established the Board of Health² to obtain facts concerning the cause of preventable disease and to disseminate knowledge of the rightful method of prevention. Probably the most far-reaching result of the establishment of this Board was the invitation to Dr. Philips Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth) to come to Manchester as secretary. Dr. Kay settled in Ancoats and with a few friends established the Ancoats Dispensary (later Ancoats Hospital) and gained that intimate knowledge of the evil effects of ignorance and poverty on national life which he used to such purpose in his public work as virtual founder of our English public educational system—a work which he began in Manchester by establishing the Manchester Statistical Society, 1833.

The biographical notices attached to the names of many of the scholars in the printed School registers which have been edited by Finch Smith certainly show that religious training and classical education, reinforced by private tuition of some

¹ Prentice’s *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester, 1792–1832*.

² *Medical Essays*, by Thomas Percival, M.D.; *Medical Histories and Reflections*, 1795, by John Ferriar, M.D., vol. ii. ‘Prevention of Fevers in Great Towns.’

modern subjects such as those described in Dodsley's 'Preceptor,' had been successful in inspiring not a few to the performance of recognised public duties, though a great deal more general enlightenment, human interest, and sympathy were needed, particularly among those who were called upon for service in the Church and in the administration of the law. The limitation of the franchise to an insignificant few, though favourable to important interests, was unfavourable to the growth of a sense of public justice. Before social justice could be re-established, a new spirit of brotherhood needed to appear, which could recognise that the equality of opportunity ought not to be rendered inoperative by the inequality of wealth and power.¹

It is only when we come to the consideration of the kind of training needed by the teachers, leaders, and thinkers who were called upon to guide the people through their new social anxieties and problems, that we realise how far the training hitherto provided by the eighteenth-century grammar schools and universities had fallen below the actual needs of the times.

Patriotism and public spirit could not have saved the nation in the hour of its trial had there not been a movement of great force spreading among the lower middle and operative classes to kindle their enthusiasm and inspire them with fresh ideals. This movement found expression in the support given to the Sunday Schools, whose foundation, extension, and activities formed the groundwork of the next process of social and national repair. Classes were held in cellars and in disused parts of warehouses. The teachers were generally members of the working classes themselves, often those who had received their education in Scotland. Others, who had secured their own development by persistent struggles against great obstacles, willingly gave up their scanty leisure to help others. The lesson books were the Bible and the Church Catechism; the materials often only broken slates and pencils. Stories from the Bible and application of its teaching, in homely fashion, by those who had struggled with circumstances, soon stirred the imagination and aroused effort to further progress. So eager were the pupils to learn that

¹ The question of how to deal justly with inequality of innate endowments is one of the pressing problems of democracy.

many teachers, particularly in schools not under clerical control, added instruction in writing which could not be obtained elsewhere.

The movement seemed at first to solve so many problems of social disorder that, on the suggestion of Robert Raikes of Gloucester, the Borough-reeve of Manchester summoned a public meeting to which inhabitants of the town of all denominations were invited, and as a consequence a Sunday School Association, representative of all religious bodies, was formed to raise funds.

Rev. Robert Aynscough, though a stickler for the full carrying out of the Anglican rules in his own church, was active in supporting the movement, for he did not share the anxiety of his fellow clergy who regarded it as antagonistic to the movement for extending the Charity Schools started by the Established Church for the actually destitute. One of the latter had grown out of the charity of £100 a year left by Catherine Richards, the last of the family of Hartley of Strangeways, and had expanded, under the control of the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, into extensive Charity Schools which were now held in Hanging Ditch. Other clergymen, however, regarded the new movement with more concern. Half-way between them was Robert Kenyon, librarian at Chetham Hospital and Incumbent of Sacred Trinity Church, Salford, who wrote, under date December 13, 1786 :

‘I have no objections to Sunday Schools in Salford, provided they are properly regulated and the children are brought duly and constantly to church, otherwise you are teaching the children this false and wicked principle, that for the sake of learning to read or write, or other worldly advantages, it is lawful to neglect the public worship of God. But I am convinced in my own mind that regular Charity Schools are much more useful institutions, and had not my ill state of health prevented it, it was my fixed purpose and intention the last spring, to have solicited your kind assistance in establishing two regular Charity Schools, one for fifty boys, and the other for fifty girls.’

For fifteen years the various Sunday School societies in the town, whether attached to or independent of any particular religious organisation, were combined in a Sunday

School Association; not until 1800 did the Sunday Schools attached to the Anglican Church separate from the rest, and form their own organisation.

Among those less favourably circumstanced, who entered business careers, habits of industry and prudence increased the comfort and opportunities of others as well as of themselves. Mechanical ingenuity found scope, and artistic powers found expression, in the decoration of textile fabrics and furniture &c. Others, owing to ill-health, ignorance, and indifference of their neighbours, fell in the crude competitive struggle, for it is only in a highly organised and well-instructed community that the prizes do not gravitate to the most self-assertive, and that discrimination takes note of other valuable social qualities. Once discrimination according to pecuniary position had begun, social cleavage was increased by social tradition. The unsuccessful soon became the downtrodden. It was this that made the eighteenth century so sordid.

For the new political ideals and for the new incentive the middle and lower classes were indebted to the inspiring French Revolution. These ideals would have been far more destructive of good order and control among the English industrial classes had they been introduced before the appearance of the new Evangelical spirit in religious teaching and the establishment of Sunday Schools, for, though much intellectual ignorance existed, yet for a considerable number life was already imbued with a moral purpose. Among the better-educated middle classes who already possessed some love of logical order and established method, the Calvinistic teaching of Whitefield which obtained social as well as pecuniary advantages by the support of the Countess of Huntingdon, seems to have been the activating power. Among the less educated and more unsophisticated, the teaching of John Wesley had an extraordinary influence.

The influence of the Grammar School, as of all official Manchester, was almost entirely against political reform. This is natural, for though numerous works on Medicine and Administration of the Law are mentioned in the catalogues of Charles Lawson's library and the Chetham Library, and though some still exist among the few eighteenth-century books still remaining in the School library, there is little evidence of the presence of the writings of the political economists, or of anything likely to assist in the interpretation of the

aspirations and needs of the rising industrial world. The nearest approach is found in the writings of the Scottish moral philosophers such as James Beattie, Hugh Blair, James Harris, David Hartley, and there is a copy of Jeremy Bentham's 'Moral Philosophy.' As to devotional writings and theological works, those which predominate are calculated to combat the Latitudinarian writings of the period, such as those of John Leland. There are no signs of appreciation of the Evangelical work which the brothers Wesley and Whitefield were doing to raise the self-respect and purposefulness of the lower classes.

The constant increase in commercial prosperity was associated with an intensification of the belief in the sacredness of property and privilege. The spread of this belief among those beneficed clergy and the popular Nonconformist ministers who were fully sharing in the general rise of comfort naturally caused current religious teaching tacitly to regard deference to property and privilege and established opinion to be of quite as much importance as the observance of authorised ritual, and perhaps too often of even more importance than the strict observance of Christian standards of conduct. This seems to be the explanation of the dignified formalism that passed for religion. The increased powers of capital, and the multiplication of middle men, bagmen and agents, took away much of the personal and human relationship between maker and user of goods. Even the richer merchants too often shared the narrowness of outlook, only a few using their wealth and leisure to cultivate or patronise the Arts and Sciences.

It is interesting to note that the son and biographer of George Romney was admitted to the School in 1777, and that his fellow scholar William Sneyd was awarded three gold medals by the Society of Arts for his work on agriculture and horticulture. The high degree to which the cultivation of music was carried, and the patronage extended to it, are shown in the career of Joah Bates, son of an innkeeper at Halifax, who entered the School as a boarder in 1755. He was a distinguished scholar at King's College, Cambridge, and conducted the Handel celebrations in Westminster Abbey.

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society was the outcome of the long-standing interest in Natural Science which had been kept alive at the Nonconformist academies,

and also to some extent by the Chetham Library. For some years before 1781

‘a few gentlemen, inhabitants of the town, who were inspired with a taste for Literature and Philosophy, formed themselves into a kind of weekly club for the purpose of conversing on subjects of that nature. These meetings were continued with some interruption for several years. Many respectable persons being desirous of becoming members, the numbers were increased so far as to induce the founders of the Society to think of extending their original design. Presidents and other officers were elected, a code of laws formed, and a regular Society constituted and denominated the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.’

Many joined the new Society who desired to increase their technical knowledge of chemistry in dyeing and printing and bleaching, just as French merchants in the earlier part of the century had encouraged the study of the metamorphosis of insects to the formation of the cocoon in connection with the development of the silk industry.

Of the twenty-four original founders, thirteen were in medical practice in Manchester and Salford. James Massey and Dr. Thomas Percival were appointed joint presidents; Rev. Samuel Hall, M.A., Dr. Charles White, F.R.S., George Lloyd and Mr. George Bew, Vice-Presidents; Rev. Thomas Barnes, minister of Cross Street Chapel, and Thomas Henry acted as secretaries. Although the word Literary seemed at first to refer to Modern Literature and Belles-Lettres, and was more concerned with those interests which were bound up with what was called an ‘active life’ rather than the more sedentary life led by a student of books, it is evident that the new Society appealed strongly to some who had previously received a classical training at the Manchester Grammar School, or its offshoot the Salford Grammar School. During the first twenty years of its existence nearly 170 members were elected, and it is possible to identify about forty of these as having received their preliminary training under Lawson. Apart from the leaders of the medical profession, the great majority of the members were either engaged or interested in the extension of Science and Art to manufacturing purposes, and a few desired to keep

alive their intellectual interests in matters other than purely commercial. It is to be noted that though neither Charles Lawson nor his assistant, Rev. John Darby, were enrolled as members, yet Rev. Robert Kenyon and Rev. John Radcliffe, the Chetham Librarians, Joshua Brookes, the Chaplain of the Collegiate Church, and Rev. John Foxley, Rev. John Bennett (admitted School, April 19, 1773), Rev. William Hawkes, Rev. William Houghton (admitted School, January 1757), Rev. William Rankin, Rev. John Vaux (admitted School, January 1766), Rev. George Walker, F.R.S., were all members and by their presence showed that the new Society was by no means banned by the local clergy, though it is probable that the strongly marked High Church Collegiate clergy looked with some disfavour on a society in which merchants, without university training, cultivated literary and scientific interests. The Rev. S. Hall, the most important representative of the clergy to interest himself in it, though rector of St. Peter's Church, had incurred the disapproval of the Senior Fellow, Rev. Thomas Aynsough, so that he was effectually barred from election as Fellow of the College. On comparing the list of those who served as borough-reeve, or constables of Manchester, between 1782 and 1802, the date of the second Towns Improvement Act, I can only find five who were members of the new Society. During a similar period—that is, for the first twenty years from the establishment of the anniversary dinners of old scholars—nearly two hundred are recorded as having attended those gatherings, the majority of whom were University men, Manchester lawyers and merchants. Of these only about twelve appear on the rolls of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. It is noteworthy that no feoffees of the Grammar School, and only two of Chetham's Hospital—viz. Rev. Robert Kenyon and Rev. Peter Haddon—took sufficient interest in the work of the new Society to become members. It is evident that the Society met the intellectual needs of a class for whom no provision had hitherto been made.

An attempt was made in 1783 to overcome this antagonism between the groups interested in the advancement of knowledge, by founding an Academy in Manchester, to be supported by all parties, and placed under the patronage of Edward, the twelfth Earl of Derby, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and the two members of Parliament, Sir Thomas

Egerton and Sir Thomas Stanley, where boys should receive, after leaving school, some training in Natural Philosophy, in Applied Chemistry and Applied Mathematics, and in the Laws of Jurisprudence and Moral Philosophy. In spite of the cordial good wishes of the patrons and of many others, this college had only a brief existence. This was the college to which Henry Clarke was attached.

If, however, the studies of physical science and chemistry were little favoured by the classically educated boys of the Grammar School, the studies ancillary to the medical profession, and those which engaged the leisure of the wealthy, such as the Fine Arts, Natural History, &c., secured more consideration. Botany, as an out-of-door inexpensive hobby, continued to be studied even by the humble members of the community. Thus George Caley explored the districts round Manchester very thoroughly and was employed for a short time at Kew Gardens under Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1829). He returned to Manchester and was employed by Dr. Wedbury, then compiling his studies of English plants. He then studied Latin and Drawing. He was sent by Sir Joseph Banks on a botanical expedition to New South Wales. He collected quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, and his collection was bought in 1818 by the Linnean Society.¹

The story of James Henry Clough (1734–1804), of Long-sight, is also of interest. He was a handloom weaver and a diligent botanist. Whilst watching the passengers alight from the Bridgewater Canal packet at Knott Mill, he was accosted by a gentleman who was looking for someone to carry his bag to the White Bear Inn, Piccadilly. 'Old Clough,' nearly seventy years of age, volunteered all the more readily as the traveller wanted to be conducted along a rural path so as to pick up a few plants. Congenial conversation sprang up, for the visitor was interested in the newly established Liverpool Botanical Gardens. So sound and so extensive was the botanical knowledge of the old weaver that he was invited to join the meeting to which the traveller was going. A few months later Clough was offered an important position at the Liverpool Gardens, and a sum of money was presented to him to recoup the expenses of his outlay.² He probably died 1809.

¹ *Account of Lancashire Artisan Naturalists*, by A. H. Reade, 1876.

² Earwaker, *Local Gleanings*, 1915, vol. i. p. 192.

Many of the wealthy merchants like John Leigh Philips, who was a fellow-scholar with Joseph Budworth (though his name does not occur in the register), had special opportunities for making collections of beautiful objects of Art and Natural History, owing to his commercial correspondence. Mr. Philips was particularly interested in insects, and through a London entomologist, John Francillon (obit. 1818), was introduced to John Abbot of Savannah (1760-1840), one of the most famous collectors and observers of American insects.¹ Abbot had been a member of the Aurelian² Society, formed in London for the study of insect life, which had come into popular vogue owing to the work of Réaumur (1683-1757) and the more general studies of Buffon (1707-1788). In France the study of insects and plants had a direct bearing upon silk manufacture, and though, in the early days of the Georgian Society, founded in 1732, trained botanists had been sent from England to study natural products of the country, this general scientific interest dwindled to the personal interest of wealthy collectors. John Abbot's paintings of butterflies were published by Sir J. E. Smith in four handsome volumes in 1795, and numerous other drawings were purchased by various public libraries. In 1792 the Chetham feoffees purchased a hundred paintings of birds at a cost of £27 10s. and a few years later a further hundred; these are bound up in four large volumes. Somewhat later they purchased a large bundle of his paintings of spiders with descriptive catalogue. The British Museum purchased seventeen volumes of Abbot's drawings on the death of John Francillon in 1818, but the actual specimens are now housed in the Hope Collection of the Natural History Museum, Oxford.

On the death of Mr. J. Leigh Philips, all his Art and Natural History specimens were sold, the collection of insects was purchased by J. H. Robinson, a brother-in-law of Sir Benjamin Heywood, and its further history as regards the study of Natural History in Manchester belongs to the next chapter.

We must now consider the rapidly altering position

¹ Cf. *Taxidermy*, by William Swainston, 1840, in Lardner's Scientific Series, and *John Abbot, the Aurelian*, by Scudder, in *Canadian Entomologist*, 1888, also by Duncan in Jardine's *Naturalist*, pp. 69-71. John Abbot must have known of, if he had not studied, John Hunter's collection.

² One of the predecessors of the Linnean Society.

of the Chetham Library, as regards public enlightenment. On the death of Rev. Robert Kenyon in 1787, John Radcliffe (1764–1850), son of James Radcliffe, attorney, of Ormskirk, who had entered the Manchester School in January 1777 and graduated B.A. from Brasenose College, Oxford, 1784, was appointed librarian in his place, 1787. He occupied an entirely different status from that of his predecessor, who had been non-resident and had been styled ‘prelector and curator,’ and who had also been appointed Governor on coming into possession of the family estates. Radcliffe’s appointment served as a convenient occasion to complete the catalogue which had already been begun by Thyer. It was printed and published in 1791 for the benefit of readers at a distance. In the compilation of this work there is little doubt that Radcliffe availed himself extensively of the assistance of his old high master, Charles Lawson, who had been appointed a feoffee of Chetham’s in 1784. Charles Lawson’s own catalogue is in the Chetham Library, and a comparison between his method of arrangement and the arrangement adopted by Radcliffe affords distinct evidence of such indebtedness. The absence of specific acknowledgment in the full and otherwise interesting Latin preface prefixed to the catalogue is probably another illustration of the retiring nature which prevented Charles Lawson taking that position in the public life of Manchester to which his abilities and his services entitled him. The catalogue is dedicated to the Warden, to four prominent local clergymen, of whom three had been educated at the School, and to eighteen trustees, of whom eight had been educated at the School and of whom ten served also as feoffees of the Grammar School. The preface is a long one and deals partly with the history of the collection and partly with the difficulties in arrangement of books. It well repays a study. The catalogue contains a list of 6,667 books. A further catalogue of the books added between 1791 and 1826 was compiled and edited by Mr. William Parr Greswell. An examination of the relative increase in the different classes of books shows the diminished importance attached by the purchasers to the study of Theology and Law, and the increased importance attached to the study of History, Science, and Literature. Paley takes the place of the Scotch metaphysicians that were in Lawson’s Library; Political Economy is only represented

by the evidence taken by the Parliamentary Commission upon the slave trade, and by John Macfarlane's 'Enquiries concerning the Poor.' The works of Adam Smith and of Jeremy Bentham had not then been purchased. There is a great increase in the number of medical works, and it is interesting to note that a few works by German authors begin to appear on the shelves.

	No. of books bought between 1655 & 1791, still in the library at the latter date.	Additions bought between 1791 & 1826.	Per cent. increase.
Theology . . .	1,920	215	11·2
Jurisprudence . .	308	29	9·9
History . . .	1,702	363	21·3
Science and Arts .	1,608	320	20
Literæ Humaniores	1,129	288	25
Total . . .	6,667	1,215	18·2

The break-up of the old Whig party, as expressed in the rivalry for power between Pitt and Fox, was in part due to the desire for Parliamentary representation and self-government among the trading classes of the community. They had not yet formed themselves into a political party, and they were still too unconscious of civic ideals to realise corporately their lack of them, yet it was necessary for their political rulers to conciliate them as individuals from the middle of the eighteenth century, since the more important merchants held or controlled votes in such corporate boroughs as sent members to the House of Commons, and many had votes for the county also. It was the pressure of taxation and the success secured by William Pitt at the polls in 1784 that succeeded in awakening the interest of local merchants in politics. Up to this time Pitt had regarded himself as a Whig and had introduced a Reform Bill to redress some of the anomalies of Parliamentary representation, but he had withdrawn this measure in face of the active opposition of many of his supporters who felt their privileges were threatened. Pitt's mathematical training had led him to study the Free Trade principles of Adam Smith, and in the following

year he endeavoured to improve the external trade relations of Great Britain by attempting to repeal the tax on Irish fustian coming into England. This roused the fears of English manufacturers as to the stability of their trade. That their fears were not entirely selfish but were based on a genuine concern lest Irish cheap labour should take away the occupation of English artisans is shown by the willingness of some of them to contribute voluntarily to the Exchequer much larger sums than the taxes would have produced. An instance of this is found when Robert Peel, of Bury, M.P. for Tamworth, who had gone to London for the purpose and had offered £10,000 from his own firm, on expressing to his partner his doubts as to whether he ought to have offered so much without previous mutual consultation, was met with the characteristic Lancashire reply 'You might have made it £20,000 while you were about it!' A Committee of Trade was formed in Manchester by the wealthy manufacturers, and it is recorded that they sent a deputation to Edmund Burke, then member for Bristol, and the accepted exponent in Parliament of the needs of the trading classes. The attempt to repeal the protective taxes on the imported Irish textiles produced a great change in the politics of Manchester merchants. They left William Pitt and became supporters of C. J. Fox, who became increasingly '*Liberal*' in his domestic politics, while William Pitt abandoned his early efforts of reform and refounded the '*Tory*' party.

A public dinner was given by the merchants to Thomas Stanley, M.P. for Lancashire, on August 27, 1786, to celebrate his share in the repeal of the Fustian Act, and on September 15, 1786, another public dinner was given to Charles J. Fox, at which Lord R. Spencer, M.P. for Oxford, Sir Frank Standish, and Mr. Greville were guests. As the career of Thomas Stanley is typical of that of many others, it may be noted in some detail. He was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Thomas Stanley of Winwick, and like his two brothers he had been educated at the Manchester Grammar School. He was admitted January 1759, and delivered the Latin oration in 1766. He was elected M.P. for the County of Lancashire in 1774, aged twenty-five, and continued to represent it till his retirement in 1812. At his first election, he entertained some of his friends at dinner at the famous John Shaw's Inn. When the closing time, 8 o'clock, arrived, the duly elected member

asked for special privileges. John Shaw's characteristic reply was : ' Thomas Stanley, you are a law maker, and should not be a law breaker. If you and your friends do not leave my room in five minutes, you will find your boots full of water.' Within the five minutes, Old Molly, the factotum, entered with her usual mop and bucket of water, and the Law was effectually vindicated.

' In September 1786 [writes Horace Walpole] Charles Fox, Lord Derby, and others of the party, were received at Manchester with singular acclamations and compliments on their opposition to the new taxes and Irish impositions. That town had been the headquarters of Jacobitism and as such singularly distinguished by the King, who had preferred a guard on himself and palace in the late war of a regiment of raw lads raised there for him by Sir Thos. Egerton, who had been rewarded by a peerage.'

The pleasure this return of popular sympathy gave to Mr. Fox he expressed, with almost boyish satisfaction, in a letter dated Knowsley, September 10 :

' Our reception at Manchester was the finest thing imaginable and handsome in all respects. All the principal people came out to meet us, and attended us into the town with white and buff cockades and a procession as fine and not unlike that upon my chairing at Westminster. We dined with 150 people, and Mr. Walker, one of their principal men, who was in London last year upon their business, before he gave me a toast, made them a speech in which he told them they knew how prejudiced he had been for Pitt and against the India Bill, but that in the course of his business in Town he had occasion to know both Pitt and me, and found how much he had been mistaken in both. That it was the part of honest men when they found they had been wrong to set themselves right as soon as possible, all which was echoed by the whole room in the most cordial manner. You must allow this was very handsome. The concourse of people to see us was immense, and I never saw more apparent unanimity than seemed to be in our favour, and all this in the town of Manchester, which used to be reckoned the worst place for us in the whole county.' ¹

¹ *Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, edited by Lord John Russell, vol. ii. p. 270.

In 1788 there was a great commemoration of the centenary of the English Revolution. Thomas Walker was chosen borough-reeve. Apologies for absence were sent from the Earl of Derby, Colonel Stanley, Lord Grey de Wilton, Samuel Birch, Dorning Rasbotham, and many prominent Whigs of the county party, who were feeling the necessity for 'hedging,' while the merchant Whigs attended in force.

In 1789 C. J. Fox attempted to gain further political support by endeavouring to obtain the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Increased wealth had brought into prominence many Nonconformist families, who were feeling the ignominy of being compelled to take communion according to a ritual of which they disapproved as a condition of their holding corporate or magisterial office, as well as the injustice of being virtually refused admission to their own national universities. In many instances their own education, either at the Nonconformist academies or at the Scotch and the Continental Universities, was more liberal than that at Oxford or Cambridge. The exclusion of their sons, however, involved some loss of social prestige as well as prospects of appointment to official positions or other patronage. On the other hand, the caste spirit which fostered a social distinction between merchants and clerical and other landowners, was steadily damaging the National Church in public estimation. This the protagonists of ecclesiastical exclusiveness could not see, but, finding their privileges threatened, they did not dare to contemplate the discontinuance of even the perfunctory and not infrequently profane use of the sacrament which gave a formal recognition to their claims. Rather than give way in any particular they again raised the cry of 'The Church in Danger,' and perpetuated the antagonism which still further embittered party politics.

All such minor questions were put aside when the blazing volcano, into which the hitherto suppressed anger of an outraged populace had exploded, had destroyed the rotten fabric of the French Government. The French Revolution lit up with its lurid light many a dark and hitherto unrecognised danger zone in English life. Its sparks had already begun to fall on many an inflammable area, and had aroused the industrial classes to a consciousness of their own misery and degradation. It finally split the Whig party into two sections.

One followed C. J. Fox and maintained their sympathy with the cause of reform, the other followed Burke and Pitt and set their back against all change, and denounced the reformers as Jacobins or Revolutionaries. To the industrial classes the French Revolution offered the promise of a social emancipation and gave a vision of social salvation. The industrial classes, however, were not the only ones ready for new ideals. Tom Paine's 'Age of Reason' and 'The Rights of Man' had been read with trembling and in secret by many young scions of orthodox middle-class homes, and had awakened questions as to the justification of the prevailing method of rule and the basis of prevailing orthodox opinion to which no answer but established custom was then forthcoming. The reactionary party began to gather together the forces of law and discipline, with intent to control the general conflagration threatened by the inrush of new opinion. Although by its nature the awakening will of a great people is unconquerable, yet it may be possible to hold it in control sufficiently long for it to lose some of its irresponsibility and to use some of its strength in efforts of construction rather than those of destruction. Among the forces tending to steady the national judgment must be reckoned the 30,000 copies of Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution' which were speedily sold. Unfortunately for the immediate end in view, which was the adequate consideration of the principles of government, but perhaps fortunately for the ultimate result, the sermon of a London Nonconformist minister, which was the ostensible cause of this remarkable essay, loomed too largely in Burke's mind. His repeated reference to it tended to accentuate the division of the old Whig party into its two sections—one now becoming a new Tory party, centred round Pitt, and identified with the old and exclusive method of Parliamentary election supported by landowners and the clergy of the Church of England; the other, now called the Radical or Reforming party, at that time the more opulent and energetic, finding its chief, though by no means its exclusive support among the Nonconformist bodies. Their members were beginning to realise how completely they had allowed themselves to become cut off from the formal centres of higher education in England, and the injustice of the Test Acts. They naturally aimed at parliamentary reform. Until partisanship had ceased to

retain its malignant control over learning, and had been reduced to harmless proportions, it was impossible for all the people to find proper outlet for the various activities of free intelligence or render proper service to the needs of an increasingly powerful nation.

The declaration of war against England by the French Republic in 1791 again aroused patriotic ardour in Manchester, and further troops were raised for foreign service and for home defence. John Forde, son of Charles Forde, a manufacturer who had served the office of borough-reeve, 1767, and was a feoffee of the School and of Chetham's Trust, had entered the School July 1781. He had taken part in the School public speeches in 1785, and had passed to Balliol College, Oxford, but soon threw up his studies to take a more active share in the stirring events around him. He was largely concerned in raising the Manchester and Salford Light Horse Volunteers to resist the threatened French invasion. He was made Colonel of the Regiment, and it is said that he worked with such zeal that he frequently rode from Abbeyfield to Manchester and back again the same day—a distance of sixty miles—in addition to spending some hours in drilling his men. He was one among several who subscribed £1000 each to raise a body of marines and despatched them, free of cost, to headquarters. When, a little later, the artisan and middle classes of the County of Lancaster had become much disaffected at the heavy taxation and the almost prohibitive cost of living, Colonel Forde was asked to serve as High Sheriff, but felt obliged to decline on account of his military duties. He died at Abbeyfield, April 14, 1839, aged seventy-two. Another patriotic citizen who was an old scholar, and like John Forde attended anniversary dinners to honour Lawson, was John Entwistle, son of James Entwistle, a merchant of Manchester, who had entered the Grammar School, January 1753. He also took active part in raising volunteer regiments, in one of which he was a major. Later, in 1798, as Colonel Entwistle he served as Sheriff of the County.

Patriotic fervour and generous contributions of money, even wise administration of existing laws—and the administration was not always either wise or just—provided, however, no solution of the new problems that had been brought about by the social upheaval and the growing demands of the new

classes. New principles of jurisprudence needed to be discovered to meet the new problems, and before new laws could be made in which such principles could be embodied, the new classes had themselves to find champions capable of expressing their too often inarticulate needs, for they were still outside the influence of national education. The merchants were to some extent prepared, but they were practically unrepresented in Parliament. Consequently the reform of parliamentary representation, somewhat feebly foreshadowed by William Pitt in 1784, had to be made an accomplished fact. This involved a struggle of more than a generation, for it was thrown back by the French Revolution and not finally accomplished till 1832. As regards new principles of legislation, a convenient phrase was coined by Joseph Priestley, and subsequently adopted as the test of political justice, and applied with great effect by Jeremy Bentham, viz. 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'—a phrase which was ultimately found inadequate, yet which in the absence of a more perfected statement, for a long while served as a nucleus round which claims for the satisfaction for many of the needs could gather. Parliamentary reform was only one of the means by which this end could be approached. Let us see what Learning and established methods of education had to say to this.

The Manchester Constitutional Club was formed in October 1790 with the object of securing the reform of Parliament by constitutional methods, though its intentions were wilfully misrepresented by those already in power, Crown Ministers construing them into an attempt to spread the anarchical principles of the French Revolution in England.

The leader of the Reform party in Manchester was Thomas Walker (1749–1817), son of a Bristol merchant who had settled in the town. We have noted the prominent part he took in the political agitation about the Fustian Taxes. He was elected to the chair in 1788, when 130 of the principal gentlemen of Manchester sat down to a public dinner in the open space of the old Exchange to celebrate the anniversary of King William III landing in England.¹ When at the height of his popularity, he had been appointed borough-reeve of Manchester, 1790. He shared C. J. Fox's sympathies

¹ C. F. Espinas, *Lancashire Worthies*.

with some of the ideals of the French Revolution. On July 14, 1791, he presided at the dinner held at the Bridgewater Arms to celebrate its anniversary—a proceeding which naturally brought upon him the anger and vengeance of the followers of Pitt. The stewards at this dinner were :

George Lloyd (1750–1805), who had entered the Grammar School April 1762, and took part in the public speeches 1764. He was a son of George Lloyd, M.B., F.R.S., of Hulme Hall, and by profession was a barrister, though being of independent means he did not practise. He was long resident in Manchester and served as borough-reeve in 1784, and as major in the Manchester Volunteers. His name appears at the head of a protest against the Convention Bill (1795) limiting the right of public meeting. He was one of the earliest Vice-Presidents of the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Society. His presence at the anniversary School dinners shows the respect in which he was held by those of an opposite opinion in politics. He died at Bath, 1805, aged fifty-five.

James Darbishire, wine merchant, who had been educated at the (Unitarian) Manchester College, York. He died in Manchester in 1836.

Thomas Cooper (1759–1840), born in London and educated at Westminster School and University College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar in 1787, and entered into the political agitations of the period in company with James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine. He visited the democratic clubs in France, practised as a chemist, and found out the secret of making chlorine. He set up works for bleaching in Manchester, and became Professor of Chemistry at Dickinson College, Carlisle.

(Sir) George Philips, Colonel of Volunteers in 1803, who laid the first stone of the new Exchange on July 21, 1806.

Thomas Kershaw.

Samuel Jackson, son of William Jackson, weaver. He had been admitted to the Manchester School on December 11, 1759.

As neither Harrop's *Manchester Mercury* nor Wheeler's *Chronicle* would advertise or receive communications from the Reform party, the *Manchester Herald* was started, March 31, 1792. On September 13, 186 innkeepers and alehouse keepers signed a memorial refusing to allow any meeting of clubs or societies in favour of Reform on their premises.

In April 1794 the Government became thoroughly alarmed at the growth of Reform opinions, and by the use of spies and

false informants, thought they had collected sufficient evidence to justify them in bringing an action for high treason against Thomas Walker, together with William Paul and Samuel Jackson, at the Spring Assize at Lancaster. The evidence adduced was so flimsy that the prosecution resulted in a complete fiasco, and the Attorney-General for the County Palatine, subsequently Lord Ellenborough, publicly threw up the case. Other sympathisers with Thomas Walker were James Cheetham, son of James Cheetham, dyer, admitted to the School February 1767; Oliver Pearsall; Benjamin Booth, son of George Booth, watchmaker, admitted to the School on January 18, 1779; and Joseph Collier. Of these Thomas Walker, William Paul, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearsall, Benjamin Booth, and Joseph Collier were again indicted for high treason at Lancaster, October. The trial ruined Walker; his out-of-pocket expenses alone amounted to £3000, and his business was lost owing to the boycott set up by his political opponents. He died on February 2, 1817.

On December 12, 1792, in opposition to the Reform party, another society was formed among those who feared that any yielding to popular demands would be regarded as weakness, and the signal for further disorder. Sir Thomas Egerton, now Lord Grey de Wilton, became president of the local branch. The society was called the 'Association for preserving constitutional order and liberty as well as property, against the various efforts of Levellers and Republicans.' A list of its members¹ reveals the decided position taken up by the feoffees and masters of the Grammar School.

The gaunt spectre of want which even threatened famine now began to appear, as is shown in a notice issued in the *Manchester Mercury*, January 28, 1796:

'In compliance with the recommendation of the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to reduce the consumption of wheat flour at least one-third of the usual quantity used in ordinary times, and with the example of the House of Peers and the House of Commons. The magistrates at the last General Quarter Sessions held in this town; the Borough-reeve and Constables, the Clergy and other inhabitants have pledged themselves solemnly by subscribing their signatures to similar resolutions for that purpose to

¹ See A. Prentice, *Personal Recollections of Manchester*,

follow the example strictly, and to recommend it in the most earnest manner in their respective neighbourhoods.

‘A parchment containing the Resolutions now lies for signature at Mr. Harrop’s in the Market Place.’

At no period of their history did the Grammar Schools of England exhibit such signs of decay as at the end of the eighteenth century.¹ In Manchester the diminished popularity of the School appears to have been the result of several conditions, the most important probably being the commercial depression which followed the prolonged wars and caused a diminution in the number of wealthy boarders. There was also a lessening value attached to classical education in comparison with other studies, and finally there was the increasing age of the high master and his assistant,

	Total Admissions.	Yearly Average of Admissions.	Total Number to University.	Yearly Average.
1732-1749 (probably 90-100 in the School)	829	48	62	4
1764-1782 (probably 150-200 in the School)	1052	58	118	6
1783-1807 (probably 120-150 in the School)	745	31	115	5

	Total Admissions.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Clergymen.	Law.	Medicine.	M. P.	J. P.	Army.	Navy.	Borough-reeves and Mayors.
1720-1729 .	180	16	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1730-1739 .	222	21	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1740-1749 .	205	28	12	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1750-1759 .	281	25	11	26	9	5	—	5	4	—	—
1760-1769 .	354	26	16	25	15	4	—	10	11	—	—
1770-1779 .	548	46	21	39	13	10	3	18	20	6	8
1780-1789 .	490	47	24	31	26	8	4	21	30	4	—
1790-1799 .	285	45	13	20	9	5	—	?	10	1	—
1800-1809 .	288	22	7	9	5	4	—	—	3	1	—

¹ See *The Annual Orations at St. Paul’s Cathedral before the S.P.C.K. on Behalf of Charity Schools in London*, 1799, by Dr. Rennell, and in 1800 by Thomas L. O’Beirne, D.D., Bishop of Meath, and the reply of Dr. William Vincent, Dean of Westminster and headmaster of Westminster School.

Mr. Darby, which limited their grasp of the changing conditions and their adaptability to the new needs. It could not have been due to a lessened number of local candidates for higher education, for the total population was rapidly increasing, and in spite of frequent bankruptcies and failures the merchant classes were sharing in the rise of the general standard of life.

During this time the population had risen from 42,000 in 1773 to 84,000 in 1800.

The best contemporary description of the life in the upper part of the School at the end of the eighteenth century is given by Thomas De Quincey in his *Confessions*. De Quincey was born August 15, 1785, and after the death of his father in 1792 he was placed under the tutorial care of one of his guardians, the Rev. Samuel Hall, rector of St. Peter's, who gave him a good training in classics. In 1800, De Quincey was entered at the Manchester Grammar School to facilitate his entry into Oxford by means of the Brasenose Exhibitions. He became discontented, and after eighteen months ran away from school, retaining some bitter memories of his stay there. His *Confessions* were first published in the *London Magazine*, December and November 1840 :

'The school-room, though of ample proportions, was dreary, and the external walls, which might have been easily and at little expense adorned with scenes from classic history, were quite bare, nothing relieved the monotony. The headmaster was Mr. Charles Lawson. His life-work was practically over (he was 75 years of age), and though I may have been mistaken, I had no very high opinion of his abilities.¹ Politically, he was a Jacobite, and in his private life he had known the pangs of unrequited affection. One characteristic feature of the School was the entire absence of all forms of corporal punishment, a state of affairs due to the loyalty of the masters and the upper boys, so that the master could afford to laugh over Horace's "plagosus Orbilius." Discipline was maintained by the self-restraint and example of the older boys, these being for the most part boarders in the master's house. There was no playground—at least none connected with the Upper School, though there

¹ De Quincey subsequently suppressed this opinion, and the subsequent statement about flogging must be modified in view of other testimony, though no doubt years may have modified the vigour of the discipline, which at one time earned the sobriquet 'The Flogging Turk.'

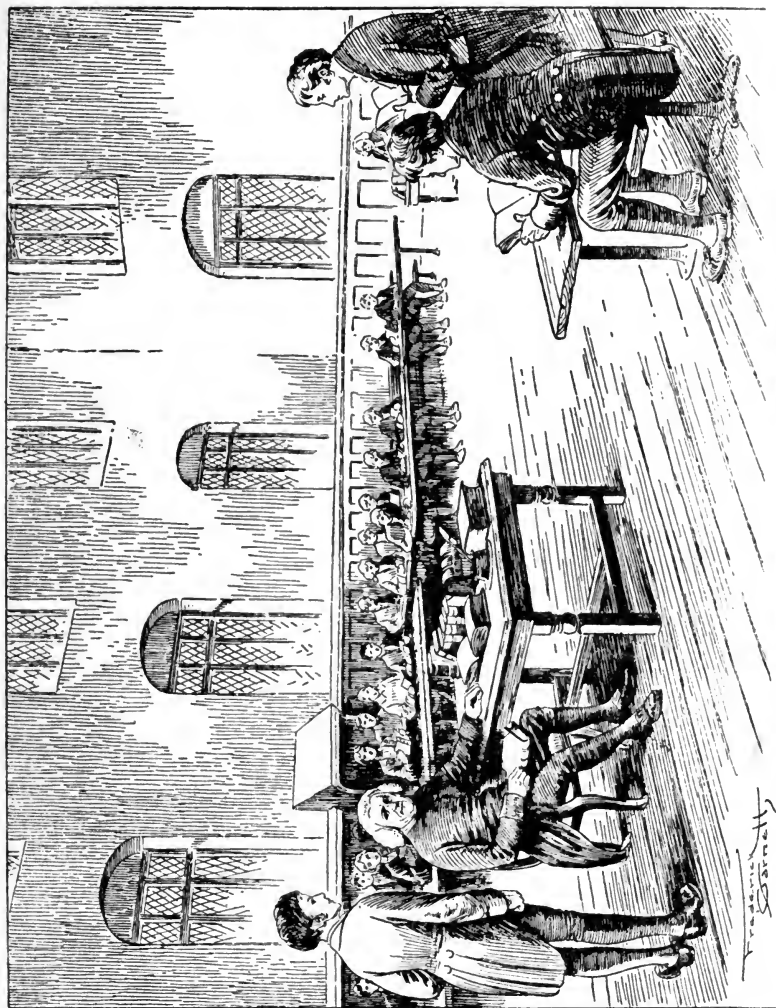
may have been one connected with the Lower School which extended beneath ours. The lack of a playground may have been in some respects an advantage, since it kept us exclusive and added to our sense of dignity. On my introduction to the School, I was invited to turn into Latin part of one of Steele's papers in the "Spectator." My knowledge of this language, as well as of Greek, was not very extensive at the time, on account of my youth, but I had a great command of both languages. I hold that there is a great difference between the two terms. One's knowledge of a language increases with the time spent in the study of it, whereas one's command of it is a gift of nature. It is moreover a fact that the greatest scholars in Greek are by no means the greatest composers in that language.

'To return, the result of my examination was such that the headmaster complimented me on my rendering, the first and last time he did such a thing. Two or three days afterwards I began residence in the master's house. Parting from friends, the bad weather and the dreariness of my rooms, combined to depress me, but all this feeling passed away when I was presented to my schoolfellows, from whom I received the kindest welcome—a welcome that impressed me the more in that though they had not the advantages of birth which Etonians have, yet they were superior to them in self-restraint and self-respect, however deficient they may have been in other qualities. A longer experience has since led me to the conclusion that the natives of Lancashire are pre-eminent in many high qualities.

'My first evening was spent in a discussion on Grotius, whose book on the evidences of Christianity was prescribed for the Sunday evening exercise. A feature of this discussion, which called forth my admiration, was the way in which one of the boys argued with great ability against the generally accepted notions with regard to the author.

'The boys of the Manchester Grammar School, however, were quite free from the reproach of ignorance of their own literature, and considering the circumstances in which they were placed, I have not found anywhere a greater comprehensive knowledge of the subject.'

The Grammar School had now not only lost touch with the most liberal and enterprising members of the merchant classes by its continued neglect of science and modern languages, but it still more completely failed to help the industrial classes. By retaining the Latin grammar as the principal method of instruction for all boys who could read at



CHARLES LAWSON ADMITS DE QUINCEY TO THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

all, it provided nothing liberal for those who would never study classical literature and knew nothing even of English literature.

How little the Grammar School was doing for the education of the working classes is shown by the following passages from 'The Life of a Radical,' Samuel Bamford (1788-1872), where he describes his entry into the lower school about the same time as De Quincey.

'The School was a large room of an oblong form extending north and south, and well lighted by large windows. At the northern end of it was a fireplace with a red cheerful fire glowing in the grate. The master's custom was to sit in an arm-chair with his right hand towards the fire and his left arm resting on a square oaken table, on which lay a newspaper or two, a magazine or other publication, a couple of canes with the ends split, and a medley of boys' playthings, such as tops, whips, marbles, apple-scrapers, nut-crackers, dragon banding and such articles. The scholars were divided into six classes, namely Accidence or Introduction to Latin, Higher Bible, Middle Bible, and Lower Bible, Testament, and Spelling classes. The Accidence class sat opposite the master, and the Higher Bible class was at the back. Each class sat on a strong oaken bench, backed by a panel of the same placed against the wall and a narrow desk in front, so that all sat round the room in regular gradation. The spellers only had not a desk, they sat on forms outside the desk of the Higher Bible Class, they being considered as children among the boys.'

When Samuel Bamford's father had attained to the position of Master of the Salford Workhouse, the boy was removed from school, and sent to work as a weaver, greatly to his disappointment, for he had manifested from the first a great aptitude for knowledge. His persistent efforts at self-culture, and his lifelong devotion to the cause of industrial emancipation, cause his autobiography to be one of the most inspiring as well as one of the most illuminating records of the struggles of the working classes during the period.¹

On October 1797 Lawson's old scholars presented him with a portrait painted by W. M. Craig. Of this an engraving has been made. Of few headmasters could it be said more truthfully than of Charles Lawson that the record of his life is to be sought in the after careers of his scholars. It was

¹ *Life of a Radical*, S. Bamford.

said of him that he was passionate, and, in spite of De Quincey's statement, too much addicted to the use of the cane. This may well have been the case. He lived in an age when passions were little under control, and when gross insubordination was common. It was said by some that he was not a profound classical scholar. This may also have been true, if he is to be judged by the contributions of his scholars to the critical study of the classics, but a perusal of the catalogue of his library shows that he was a man of wide interests, and if he was not skilled in the new classical criticism that was springing up, he could train high-minded, earnest citizens. During the greater part of his educational life he kept himself abreast of all current educational movements. On his bookshelves Joseph Priestley 'On Education' accompanied John Locke, and Dodsley's 'Preceptor' and Henry's 'Choice of Studies,' while Sterne and Swift, Addison, Steele, and Johnson were well represented. It was therefore a wise choice that selected Charles Lawson on a committee of nine 'to secure the distribution of works and pamphlets on plain and undisguised constitutional principles to endeavour to undeceive such as may have been misled by the sinister and inflammatory insinuations of designing men.'

The following is an analysis of the MS. catalogue of his books. Both MS. and sale catalogue are now in the Chetham Library :

Classical works, History, Philology, Grammar,	
Greek 392, Latin 733	1125
Theology, Ecclesiastical History (Greek and	
Latin authors)	473
Divinity and Ecclesiastical History (English	
authors)	575
Chronology, Geography, History, Antiquities,	
Biography, Research and Travels	519
English Poetry, Criticism, Translations of	
Classics	343
Natural Philosophy and Natural History &c..	493
Miscellaneous	243
Law and Physic	149
<hr/>	
Total of separate works	3920

The sale catalogue describes several bundles consisting of a number of duplicate copies of devotional books, calculated to correct or oppose the Latitudinarian tendencies of the eighteenth century. These were presumably for distribution among the boys. They therefore reveal something of the incentives by which Lawson tried to arouse the interest of his boys on matters other than mere scholarship or social advancement.

Hugh Blair, 'Importance of a Religious Life'	6	copies
Henry Stebbing (1663-1747) on 'Prayer'	4	„
John Fred Ostervald (1663-1747) . . .	10	„
'The Whole Duty of Man' . . .	10	„
Ed. Gibson's 'Pastoral Letters' . . .	8	„
Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), 'Discourses'	4	„

It may be said that it was easy for Lawson's boys to achieve high social position and to receive acknowledgment for social services rendered, since they included members of some of the most socially favoured families not only in the county of Lancaster, but in the whole of the North of England. This was certainly true, and no school can possibly live by, or to, itself. It should never be forgotten that a school cannot accomplish its highest ultimate purposes unless the homes in which its scholars have received their early nurture, and from which they gain their later incentives, are able to provide the physical, mental, and moral pabulum which is needed for proper moral, spiritual, and physical growth. To get the best results, the highest ideals of life must prevail both in home and school. The Manchester Grammar School, then as now, retained its usefulness because seed, soil, and surroundings remained favourable.

During the vigorous growth of independence in Puritan times, the School had provided a seed-plot or nursery for a highly trained ministry, and had also prepared some of its best citizens for further study of constitutional law in the Inns of Court. During the brief period of Jacobite idealism at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it had sent forth to Oxford and Cambridge scholars who caught the early fervour of Methodism, and returning home had enlightened the materialism of a dull trading town with ideals of personal piety, which were not entirely extinguished by the failure of the 1745 rebellion. It was the privilege of Charles Lawson

to assist in keeping alive the incentives of religion among many who became leaders in public life in Manchester.

The following obituary notice of Lawson appears in Aikin's *Athenæum*, May 1807 :

‘On the 19th April died at his house in Manchester at the advanced age of 79 years, after a long and most painful disorder which he supported with a degree of fortitude and serenity that characterised his life, Charles Lawson, Master of Arts, sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and for more than 43 years the high master and the distinguished ornament of the Free Grammar School in Manchester. . . . In this arduous situation, for a period almost unprecedented, Mr. Lawson uniformly displayed a dignity and a propriety of conduct and a fixed principle of action that could not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of his pupils, and the warm admiration of his fellow townsmen. The extensive literary abilities which he possessed were of a higher class than are usually met with even in the most distinguished of our preceptors, and the depth and assiduity with which he constantly pursued his erudite researches rendered him eminently qualified for that station wherein he was judiciously placed. Although engaged in a profession at once laborious and irksome, although accumulated knowledge is productive, with some, only of satiety and confusion of ideas, yet his vigorous conception and the perspicuity with which he engaged on suitable topics of conversation, amply proved the success by which he adapted his large stores of literary acquirements. No better proof can be adduced in testimony of what is here advanced than the celebrity which the Manchester Free School acquired during the period he presided over it. Men of the first eminence in the learned world and of distinguished rank in society have received their education in this seminary. Yet from a peculiarity of local disadvantages, the School has for some years past considerably diminished in the number of its members. It is, however, to the social and domestic virtues which adorned Mr. Lawson that the biographer would more immediately advert, in the intercourse which friendship and esteem held out for his acceptance, his colloquial talents and the suavity of his manners were highly conspicuous, and irresistibly endeared him to that numerous and respectable body of friends by whom his memory will long be “praised, wept and honoured.”’

At the anniversary gathering of old scholars held the following October, it was decided to erect a marble monument designed by Bacon, consisting of a figure of Lawson seated instructing two of his pupils. It was placed in the old Collegiate Church, with a Latin inscription composed by an old pupil, Rev. Frodsham Hodson, Principal of Brasenose College, 1809-1822, of which the following is a translation :

This Memorial is erected
to the memory of Charles Lawson, M.A.,
High Master of the Manchester School,
who justly claims a place second to none
among those who have successfully taught the elements
of the Greek and Latin tongue. Such was his indefatigable industry
and method of training
that neither the brilliance of ability
hastening to higher things,
nor the sluggishness of mind
which rejects all literature,
could prevent him from transfusing into his pupils
his own remarkable spirit of accuracy.
So scrupulous also was he
in the discharge of his duty
that neither the weighty cares of business
nor the seductions of social recreation
so alluring to an agreeable and witty disposition,
could draw him away from his beloved school.
But for 58 years,
even when racked with illness and broken with old age,
he nevertheless watched diligently
over the progress of his pupils to his last breath.
If he left no literary memorials of his genius,
manifold testimonies of his industry and erudition
are to be seen in the forum, in the senate, in the church.
His surviving pupils
dedicate this memorial of their respect
to the memory of a man
obeyed by boys, honoured by men, and loved by friends.
He died April 19, 1807, aged 79.¹

Besides the erection of a monument, engravings were made from the portrait for distribution or sale. After meeting all these expenses there was still some balance left, and from the surplus funds at the disposal of those who had subscribed to the portrait, it was decided to establish a Lawson

¹ Particulars of the subscription to the monument were also given in *Manchester Guardian*, December 1, 1849, and Notes in *Manchester Guardian*, July 1879.

medal, which was instituted October 14, 1840. When, nearly forty years after his death, it was found that the 'Lawson' medal was in danger of disappearing from the prizes of the school, owing to lack of funds, his name was still held in such respect that a further capital sum was subscribed by his old pupils, sufficient to provide a yearly income for the annual purchase of a gold medal, and so place the memento on a permanent basis.

CHAPTER X

1806-1837

A CHURCH AND KING SCHOOL

‘The great movements of the human spirit have either not got hold of the public schools or have not kept hold of them.’—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Increased class prejudices and prevalent ignorance—A Church and King School—Public criticism of classical education—Fresh theological colleges to provide training for lay and itinerant preachers in prevailing systems of theology—Efforts to provide a new kind of liberal education for the middle classes—Foundation of London University—Day schools become general—Manchester Grammar School again efficient as a Church and King School—The Natural History Museum of Manchester forms the nucleus of a liberal provincial Medical School—The Royal Institution—Fresh attempts to found a Manchester University—Mechanics’ institutes and lyceums—The Country Party excludes manufacturers from the magistracy—The schoolfeoffees become alarmed at the Charity Commissioners’ Reports and propose a new scheme of instruction at the Grammar School.

As long as the modified classical curriculum provided in certain Grammar Schools served to inspire a considerable number of wealthy pupils with a desire to practise civic virtue in public life, neither its lesser failure to provide adequate preliminary training for the learned professions and the higher phases of commercial life nor its greater failure to help the lower middle and working classes received general condemnation. The malversation of funds involved in turning day schools founded for all classes into specialised boarding schools having regard to the needs of the few well-to-do was overlooked in the occasional glory of the School being the early home of any one who happened to catch the popular fancy. When, however, the ruling classes found their privileges and prerogatives endangered by the spread of democratic ideas, they had little desire to continue to associate with sons of the non-privileged classes whom they were learning to fear if not to hate. They

left the town Grammar Schools and attended more exclusive boarding establishments, where they could associate with other members of their own order. The withdrawal of wealthy boarders not demanding a high standard of intellectual attainment was a serious blow to many old Grammar Schools, and some of them sought to take advantage of Sir Samuel Romilly's Act of 1812, which allowed trustees to make application to the Court of Chancery for power to alter their curriculum. Some sought by increased efficiency and higher standards of work to attract as boarders serious scholars who were intending to take Holy Orders or enter the professions of Law or Medicine, for endowments were rarely sufficient to support an ambitious headmaster, and the general mass of the people were too little interested in education to supply him with many day scholars. Even when the curriculum was specially suited for those desirous of entering the learned professions, the fees of the boarding schools were too heavy. Richard L. Edgeworth (1744-1817), in conjunction with his famous daughter Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), published an essay on professional education, which excited violent controversy. Sydney Smith (1808) discussed the book in the *Edinburgh Review*, making it the text for a caustic attack on the classical teaching at Oxford and Cambridge. It was also discussed from the Tory point of view in the *Quarterly Review*. A spirited reply from Dr. Edward Coplestone of Oriel College, Oxford, showed, however, that Oxford classical training was quite well able to justify its existence.

Nonconformists were still excluded from the English Universities by the Test Acts, and, for them, the only public avenues of higher learning were their own private academies and the Scotch Universities. Of the former the Manchester Academy was removed to York in 1804, and continued to be the only academy¹ in the North which admitted lay as well as divinity students. It had usually about thirty students, and was supported partly by fees and partly by subscriptions amounting to £700 or £800 per annum. At the beginning of the century there had been a joint board of the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters—Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists—to provide funds

¹ James Yates, *Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Teaching in England*, 1826; and *Monthly Repository*, 1814.

for theological students,¹ but the increased vigour of Evangelical teaching, promoted by George Whitefield among the wealthier classes and by Charles and John Wesley among the poorer classes, caused the Evangelicals to separate from the Presbyterians, who did not adopt their Evangelical doctrines, and to decide not only to extend their own colleges, but to found a fresh one in the North, to counteract the Socinian (Unitarian) doctrines prevalent at the York Academy.

At this time one of the most prominent of the Evangelical Dissenters in the North of England was William Roby, who, after leaving the Wigan Grammar School, had been appointed classical master at Bretherton Grammar School. It was there his duty to instruct the pupils, according to their talents, in religious as well as in secular matters. Parents asked to be allowed to attend his Sunday services or addresses to the boys. These proved very popular, and soon excited the jealousy of the local clergyman. Finding he could not suppress Roby, he persuaded many parents to withdraw their children from the school. This drove Roby out of the Established Church. Conscious of possessing powers as a preacher, Roby sought theological training at the Evangelical Trevecca College founded by the Countess of Huntingdon. Roby's powers soon attracted attention, and he was invited to become Minister at the Independent Chapel in Lower Mosley Street, 1795. Here one of his supporters, Robert Spear (1762-1818),² who had been a pupil under Charles Lawson and had built up a fortune in business at a comparatively early period of life, offered to pay the expenses of as many students as William Roby would train. A private Evangelical Academy was thus set up in Manchester, which lasted from 1803 to 1808, when it gave place to a more ambitious academy established at Leaf Square, Pendleton. As the work proved too heavy for Mr. Roby, Rev. George Philips, M.A., of Glasgow University, minister of New Windsor

¹ See Walter Jeremy, *The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Daniel Williams' Trust*, 1885; T. S. James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities in England and Ireland—Lady Hewley Trust*, 1867; William Brock on *Dr. John Ward*, *Transactions of Baptist Historical Society*, April 1914.

² John Spear, father of Robert Spear, had been one of the trustees who bought the ground for the Cannon Street Evangelical Meeting-house from Dr. John Byrom. See p. 188.

Chapel, was appointed classical tutor, and John Dalton tutor in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In order to increase the funds, a private Grammar School was also started in connection with this academy, which became so prosperous that it long continued as a private school under Rev. Dr. Cluny (1784-1854). When the academy began to flag, efforts were made to launch a bigger scheme. Thomas Harbottle, a supporter of Mr. Roby, and other wealthy merchants, who took active part in opposing Lord Sidmouth's Bill,¹ took up the work of Robert Spear. Harbottle presided on February 9, 1816, at a meeting of Evangelical Non-conformists in Manchester met to take common steps to equip a large academy for Calvinistic preachers. After much discussion Mr. Fletcher, minister of the Independent Church at Blackburn, was asked to take charge. For his convenience the academy was begun at Blackburn. It was ultimately removed to Whalley Range, Manchester, and became known as the Lancashire Independent College.

The central doctrine of the Calvinistic theology was that an omniscient Deity must know His own ulterior purposes, and had specially chosen a number of favoured individuals to carry them out. It was the basis of the Evangelical teaching favoured by Independents and Baptists, and was acceptable to the privileged classes. For his adherence to this theology, Whitefield had felt compelled to separate from Wesley, and for its continued spread the Countess of Huntingdon had founded the College at Trevecca. Its rigidity was disappearing, and its desire for social amelioration increasing. Consequently Homerton Academy, near London, had been opened without demands for doctrinal statements from students.

The Arminian theology, with its insistent belief in the moral perfectibility of each individual under proper religious training, was the central truth put forth by the Wesleyan body. The Wesleyan Methodists, as the immediate followers of John Wesley were now called, had also begun to organise their teaching and training for the ministry. Like their founder, they established numerous high schools and colleges for the children of preachers and ministers throughout the country, and were steadily raising the level of earnestness as well as of general intelligence.

¹ Cf. *Proceedings of Dissenting Deputies*.

The older Nonconformist academies, particularly the Manchester Academy, now at York, originally supported by all three denominations of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, were untouched by the Evangelical movement. Natural Philosophy had formed the basis of Natural Theology, and discussion during student life had been free and rationalistic. They had adopted the Socinian theology, which had started in Italy and had appropriately found its first martyr in Servetus, who was burnt by Calvin. They refused to make any final statements on theological doctrine. Socinianism succeeded the Arian theology, with its mild toleration of prevalent conflicting opinions, and had ultimately become the essential teaching of the particular body of Christians who had retained from Puritan times their intimate touch with Natural Philosophy. Its exponents expressed their intellectual interests by the foundation of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and fully participated in the public benevolence by their share and interest in education and by the foundation of Sunday Schools, for they had opened one as early as 1785, and on the closure of this in 1808 had opened a much larger daughter school in Lower Mosley Street. This in time became so successful that in 1835 it became necessary to build an entirely new school. A sum of £2948 was raised by public subscription, the sale of the old building realised £420, a loan of £800 was obtained, and a school was built which lasted many years.

In 1810 the Bible Christian Society under Rev. William Cowherd opened the 'Salford Grammar School and School of Science' in King Street, Salford, for 1000 children. Cowherd had come to Manchester to serve as curate to Rev. John Clowes, the Swedenborgian rector of St. John's. Owing to the growth of his radical views, Cowherd left the Established Church, and, with the help of the Brotherton family, founded a new religious community which practised vegetarianism, studied the Bible, and read Chemistry.

Another group of Swedenborgians founded the Peter Street Schools out of a fund left in 1823 by Mr. Thomas Chester of Dover to the Swedenborgian Conference for promoting religious and moral instruction. The school for boys was opened in 1827, and that for girls in 1832. The first teacher was Joseph Moss, and under him was trained his successor, Mr. James Scotson, *ob.* June 5, 1911, who was

nominated headmaster in 1857, when the school came under full government inspection.¹

Another religious body whose efforts to spread education were very widespread, were the Quakers. Joseph Lancaster had begun to form schools in London in 1798. He was invited to Manchester in 1809 by David Holt, a fellow Quaker, and a local merchant who, like Robert Spear, had been a pupil of Charles Lawson's, to meet other benevolent persons with a view to establishing a day school in the town on the principles he had advocated elsewhere. Considerable obstacles were placed in their way, and placards were distributed through the town denouncing the plan in favour of day schools under clerical control (Dr. Bell's system); but sufficient support was forthcoming for David Holt and his friends to open a school in Lever Street, capable of holding 1000 children. Similar schools were opened by the National Church of England Society in Granby Road and in Bolton Street, Salford, on April 20 and June 20, 1812, respectively.

The new humanitarian spirit was therefore independent of the special forms of theological teaching into which the several denominations had fallen, for, though many of the new schools were naturally established in connection with the organisation of particular denominations, its effects were to be seen stirring within them all.

The educational needs of the Nonconformists throughout the country were further recognised when in 1827 a public appeal was made for funds to found a National University in London, open to students of all denominations, irrespective of creed. £160,000 was collected, and the foundation-stone of the new college was laid by the Duke of Sussex. Vested interests became alarmed. In 1831 King's College was founded for the exclusive use of the Established Church. In 1835 the two rival colleges were incorporated, and a new examining body—the London University—called into being with power to grant degrees to students of approved colleges after examination and without religious tests; one of the

¹ The Mosley Street and Peter Street Schools came under the School Board in 1877 and were combined, and the new 'Central School' built in 1880 to accommodate the pupils. This was removed to the Whitworth Street site in 1904 when the site of the buildings was acquired by the Great Northern Railway Company. It is now the Municipal High School for Girls and Boys.

earliest academies to receive recognition was the Manchester College still meeting at York.

Although the study of Natural Philosophy was practically extinct at the English Universities, and received no encouragement from the State, yet private members of the merchant and trading classes continued to cultivate special interests, thus preparing the way for its re-establishment at the universities at a later date.

The collections of insects made by John Leigh Philips had been purchased at his death by J. H. Robinson, a brother-in-law of the wealthy banker, Sir Benjamin Heywood, on behalf of himself and a number of friends who wished to found a Natural History Society in Manchester. There was some delay in founding the Society, and the scheme was not completed till after the death of J. H. Robinson. In August 1821, the new Society was founded with an entrance fee of £10 10s. and an annual subscription of £3 3s. Rooms were taken in King Street to house the collections, but as other collections were also purchased, the rooms became too small, and a commodious building was erected in Peter Street for the accommodation and display of the rapidly accumulating specimens.¹

Perhaps the early scientific value of this Museum was limited by the exclusive spirit shown by the members. There were, however, a few genuine naturalists, and the position of curator was eagerly sought after. The collections attracted the attention of local surgeons and students of medicine, for the study of natural history had been extremely popular among surgeons from the time of John Hunter, and was at this time closely associated with chemistry and natural philosophy.² Dr. Thomas Turner, a young surgeon who had studied in London and Paris, came to Manchester in 1817 as house surgeon to the Royal Infirmary. He found all the materials ready for providing a general medical education for the pupils apprenticed to the surgeons of the town. He had attracted, and retained throughout his life,

This building was long used for the Manchester Y.M.C.A.

Dr. White's Museum of Anatomical Specimens, Casts, &c., at the St. Mary's Lying-in Hospital was open to the public, on payment of 1s. A miscellaneous collection of natural history curios was exhibited at the Chetham Library. Many working botanists, such as George Caley, were collecting and studying plants.

the high regard of two of the leading local physicians—Dr. William Henry and Dr. Ralph Ainsworth, who constantly forwarded his plans when he settled down to practise in 1820. His first public appointment was that of Secretary to the Natural History Society. He was soon asked to give lectures to students of the Royal Infirmary at the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. In 1824, in conjunction with John Dalton, he opened the Pine Street Medical School, the first medical school to be established in the provinces.¹ There had been detached courses of lectures given in Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, and perhaps York, Hull, and Nottingham, but this was the first provincial school to attempt to provide a complete preparation for University and College examinations.

The Manchester Horticultural and Botanical Society was founded in 1827, and established the Botanical Gardens at Old Trafford, where annual shows were held for the exhibition of rare and highly cultivated plants and for the recreation of the shareholders and subscribers.

Students of natural history in humbler life formed the Banksian Society of Manchester, and began to report their proceedings in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural Science*, October, 1829.

Other merchants, some of whom had been associated with the old Academy of Arts and Science of Manchester in 1783, had been accustomed from 1817 onwards to hold private exhibitions of pictures and works of art among themselves. At a general meeting of the town summoned for the purpose in the Exchange Rooms, October 1, 1823, they brought forward a project for the establishment of a public institution. The scheme was warmly supported, and suitable rooms were taken, pending the erection of a special building. A sum of £20,000 was raised, and the building in Mosley Street, formerly called the Royal Institution (now the Municipal Art Gallery), was begun in 1825 and completed in 1830, at a total cost of £30,000. The promoters seem to have inherited, from the first, from the old Academy of Arts and Science founded in 1784, definite educational aims. They intended to celebrate the opening by a course on Chemistry by Richard Philips, F.R.S. and F.L.S. On account of the lecture-room

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1839, p. 490.

of the Mechanics' Institute not being ready in time, this project had to be abandoned, and Mr. John Philips, honorary member of the Leeds and Yorkshire Philosophical Society, gave a series of lectures on Natural History instead. There was evidently at this time a renewed attempt to found a teaching University in Manchester by Thomas Whatton, whose brother, William Robert Whatton (1790-1835), surgeon and antiquary, had settled in Manchester in 1810. In 1822 he joined the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and was made librarian. In 1828 he contributed the 'History of the Grammar School' and the 'History of Chetham Hospital and Library' to the 'History of the Foundations in Manchester,' then being edited by Hibbert Ware. In 1829, he wrote two letters to the President, Council, and Governors of the Royal Institution of Manchester, advising the establishment of a local University in connection with it. The first letter I have not seen, but the second, dated May 1829, contains the following :

'In an address which I had the honour of laying before you a short time since, I endeavoured to draw your attention to the great and increasing demand for education which has displayed itself in all ranks during the last few years, in such an eminent degree, in this extensive and populous district.

'The advantages of gratuitous instruction in the Free School as available towards a preparation for the higher branches of general and professional education, were pointed out . . . and a plan was prepared for engrafting on the Royal Institution a University, open to all persons under certain regulations to be hereafter proposed . . . (it has been objected) that I have shewn a desire to convert the revenue of the Grammar School to the purposes of the University. This is not the case, because I am well aware it cannot be effected, the charters of foundation being special, neither would it be desirable if it could ; and in no part of my address as far as I can conceive have I offered such an opinion. The points I have urged in reference to this question are merely a judicious and economical administration of the present large income arising from the School estates by which all charges for tuition might be very well dispensed with, a gradual extension of the privileges of the School and the introduction of such a system of instruction in the modern languages and the necessary branches of science as

should be in every respect adapted to the wants of a commercial and manufacturing district.

'In this way, and in this only, am I desirous that the revenues of the Bishop of Exeter's noble foundation as well as those of the Chetham Hospital should afford the means in common with other schools of preparing youths for admission into the Manchester University.'

The branches of knowledge which Whatton considered appropriate, he arranged under three heads similar to the arrangement adopted in the recently established London University.

I. Those objects which constitute the essential parts of a liberal education: Greek and Latin, French and English Languages and Literature and Antiquities. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy, Chemistry, Logic, Mental and Moral and Political Philosophy, Political Economy.

II. Certain ornamental accomplishments: Italian, Spanish, German literature; Geology and Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology.

III. Preparation for profession of Law, of Medicine, of Engineering and the application of Mechanical Philosophy to the Arts.

The full course estimated to be not more than £70 per annum except for the medical and surgical courses.

The governors of the Chetham Library evidently endeavoured to keep abreast of the times, and published a catalogue of additions to the library in 1826. A current leaflet by Tim Bobbin, 'Museum Chethamensis,' published 1827, is of interest because it gives a humorous description of the miscellaneous collection of curiosities and now unused apparatus which had fallen into neglect, and even ridicule, owing to the want of interest in science on the part of the governors and the fact that the old Manchester library had lost touch with the public life of the town.

In addition to the efforts of the merchants to gratify their personal tastes, there was also a very general desire to arouse among the working classes some interest in the scientific principles which underlay their arts and trades, and to increase their knowledge in all matters which

encouraged their intellectual and social development. It led to the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes and Lyceum Schools of Art and Design. The following forms part of the Prospectus of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution issued on its foundation in 1824 :

'This Institution is formed for the purpose of enabling mechanics and artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application in the exercise of that trade ; that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the arts which they respectively profess. It is not intended to teach the trade of the machine maker, the dyer, the carpenter, the mason, or any other particular business, but there is no art which does not depend, more or less, on scientific principles, and to teach what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the chief objects of this Institution. The value to the mechanic of the acquirements which it is thus intended he should be enabled to make, he will find—in the most likely means of advancing his success and prosperity—in the agreeable and useful employment of his leisure—and in the increased respectability of character which knowledge has always a tendency to confer.'

The Mechanics' Institute, Cooper Street, held its first meeting March 30, 1825. The building cost £6600, and was the first one erected in England for such a purpose. The three gentlemen who had initiated the Royal Institution in the previous year had urged that another institution should be established in Manchester to teach the application of science to mechanical and manufacturing arts for the benefit of young men who needed practical instruction and had not the means to obtain it. In the report for 1827 the managers stated that detailed and systematic courses of lectures in Mechanics and Chemistry would be arranged. In addition they announced courses in Mathematics and Mechanical Drawing. An interesting detailed syllabus was given covering the principles and applications of Chemistry and including Physics. In Chemistry, laboratory instruction was given, in addition to lectures. These lectures were continued in subsequent years.

In 1836 it is stated that there were delivered :

Eight lectures	on Gaseous Chemistry.
Six	„ on Matter and Heat.
Twelve	„ on Geology.
Twelve	„ on the Mechanical Properties of the Air.
Twelve	„ on Astronomy.
Twelve	„ on the Applications of Chemistry in the Arts and Manufactures.
Twelve	„ on Electricity.

The number of students in attendance at the Chemistry Laboratory course was about 216.

On March 25, 1829, the new Mechanics' Institute was opened in Brasenose Street. The Ancoats Lyceum for working people was opened in 1828, at a charge of 2*d.* a week, and within three months 2000 persons availed themselves of its privileges. Other Lyceums had the following number of members :

Ashton . . .	191	Huddersfield . .	310
Bolton . . .	320	Oldham . . .	350
Potteries . .	280	Stockport . .	454
Rochdale . .	70	Halifax . . .	417
Ancoats . . .	530	Leeds . . .	260
Chorlton . .	800	Ripon . . .	70
Salford . . .	500	York . . .	150
Bury . . .	128	Keighley . .	119
Barnsley . .	152	Sheffield . .	352
Bradford . .	541		

The following quotation occurs in the Report of a Committee of the Statistical Society, on Education in Manchester, in 1834 :

‘Mechanics’ Institutions afforded opportunities for gaining an acquaintance with branches of knowledge higher than can be supplied in ordinary schools and offered other advantages to persons of all ages, rank, situation, and pursuits. The subjects there studied are taught by men of judgment and ability, the affairs of each institution conducted by a body of directors who are well able to judge of the merits of different plans of instruction and have ample opportunities of observing and comparing them. The plan of such

institutions and the whole course of instruction is adapted to and chiefly attended by a class considerably superior to the really operative class.'

Unfortunately, whilst a number of merchants and manufacturers were using their newly acquired wealth in various philanthropic and other public ways, many of the landowning classes were too much concerned with retaining their threatened privileges to share in such work. With the loss of their ideals of public service they had lost touch with the merchants as well as with the people, and Parliament ceased to represent the country. So marked was their jealousy of the merchants that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster refused to appoint any manufacturer to the post of justice of the peace and reserved this entirely for landowners and clergy. In order to cover up the injustice of this proceeding, an Act was introduced into Parliament (1817) to appoint a permanent paid or stipendiary magistrate. In support of this measure, it was claimed that the merchants would sympathise too much with the insurgent working classes to carry out the necessary administration.

Party feeling grew very high in Manchester. The famous informal and non-political club which had been held at John Shaw's Punch House, Smithy door, since 1750 had become exclusive and removed to the 'Hen and Partridge,' where it formally constituted itself as a Church and King Club—some of the High Church collegiate clergy being especially distinguished for their violence and conviviality. The term 'Church and King' had been inscribed on the banner of the Jacobites who had paraded in Manchester in 1745 and had been continued as a toast to a forlorn hope drunk with hushed voices behind closed doors. It was now revived to keep up old prejudices against wealthy Nonconformists when efforts were made to repeal that Act.

Church and King Clubs therefore became common in all centres of social ferment, but as the meetings became more serious and discussed political aims, such clubs became known as *Pitt* Clubs, the Manchester one being organised in October, 1812, when George Canning came to the town and dined with 300 gentlemen 'and delighted them by his eloquence and urbanity.' Perhaps the well-recognised leaning of Canning to the reforming principles advocated by Pitt before his

‘The Trustees hope the inhabitants of Manchester will not fail to comply with the Act of Parliament for regulating the custom of grinding at the School Mills which direct (under penalties recoverable before the Magistrates) that all the malt used in the town of Manchester shall be ground at these Mills.’

A new Receiver, Josiah Twyford, was appointed. Several of the old mills were pulled down in 1818, and by a judicious purchase of new property out of accumulated funds, a sufficiently large site was obtained for the erection of mills of an entirely new pattern and of ample size at a total cost of £3238, so that the tenants of the mills were enabled to enter into open competition with other millers of the town and regain, by efficiency and repute, the custom of grinding corn which, since the Parliamentary Act of 1758, was no longer theirs by privilege and monopoly. They retained their monopoly of grinding malt, and for a long while there was little complaint about their competence to deal with the requirements of the town in this respect. The complaints which subsequently broke out in 1834 were not so much on account of inefficiency of the milling as of burdensomeness of the charges, and were no doubt partly political in origin.

The only possible policy to restore the School was to re-establish it as a high-class boarding school. The old half-timbered house, assigned to the high master, had served many purposes before it had been inhabited by Charles Lawson. For many years before his death it had fallen into great dilapidation. Yet it was all the accommodation that was provided. Rev. Jeremiah Smith made the following note, July 27, 1807, nearly three months after his appointment :

‘It is *now* an admirable house, and never did I expect to find one so good. Observe I say *now*, for it was an Augean stable as to filth, through which I thought when I first saw it that it would be necessary to turn the neighbouring river Irk in order to cleanse it. It was too, in its plan, so uncouth that it seemed a labyrinth : in its conveniences so unaccountable that I shall never cease to wonder how any feeling and rational creatures should have so long acquiesced in them. But an entire revolution, and that, in a measure, planned by myself, has taken place.’

As soon as the house was put in order, a new register was

begun. At least eight of Mr. Smith's boarders were transferred from the Birmingham school, and other boarders soon came, and an increasing number of sons of tradesmen and merchants and professional men attended as day scholars. An analysis of the occupations of the parents and the ultimate careers of many of the pupils, as given in the School Register published by Rev. Prebendary Finch Smith, shows the relative degrees in which the School was utilised by different social classes and the large proportion of the scholars who subsequently entered professional careers.

When quite full, the buildings were estimated to hold 200 scholars. To teach these, five masters were allowed. To the salaries allowed for this number an extra grant of £30 for a mathematical master was decided upon in 1825.

The distribution of the boys in the school was as follows :

Under High Master	.	20	Salary £416	(with extra allowance for teaching Mathematics and House for boarders)
„ H. M. assistant	.	30	„ £160	
„ 2nd Master	.	40	„ £218	(with house for boarders)
„ do. Assistant	.	60	„ £125	
		<hr/>		
		150		
„ Master of Lower School	.	50		
		<hr/>		
		200		

In Buckler's 'Sixty Views of Grammar Schools, with Descriptive Text,' published 1827, we read :

'The afternoons of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday are holidays and are devoted to Mathematics. The business of the School begins and closes with prayers, in summer from 7 till half after eight. Return at half after 9 and remain till 12, return again at 3 and remain till half after five. In winter it commences an hour later.'

All boys able to read were admitted on application to the high master about the age of six or seven and were instructed in English and in Latin. The description of the Lower School

change of policy in 1786 had something to do with the cordiality of his reception.

The part taken by the supporters and managers of the Grammar School in the struggle between town and county is expressed by the fact that before 1808, among the earlier and more important toasts proposed at the old boys' dinners, 'The Trade and Prosperity of the Town of Manchester' held a prominent place, being drunk with honours 'three times three.' About this time it drops out, being replaced by one in favour of 'Our County Members.' It was replaced at the bottom of the list (28th toast) in 1822-6, and again dropped, to be replaced a second time in 1835, being one of forty-three toasts in 1843. Perhaps the rare presence of a friendly Tory borough-reeve who was an old boy was the occasion of such honour to the town.

It was therefore at a time of great educational and political activity, both among the merchant and the working classes, that Rev. Jeremiah Smith came to Manchester to restore its old Grammar School. The number of boarders had diminished and the number of scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, despite the supplementation of their school exhibitions by close scholarships at Brasenose, Oxford, and St. John's, Cambridge, had lessened. Few scholars went to Oxford, practically none to Cambridge. Perhaps the financial position of the country since the declaration of war with France in 1797 had something to do with this, attracting many to military rather than to academic careers. The business of the School mills had been neglected, and consequently the income of the School greatly reduced.

The setting in order of the once famous but now sadly decadent and impoverished School, deprived of so many of its boarders and placed in the midst of an indifferent if not actually hostile town population, was no easy task. Dr. John Cooke, a man of kindly but firm nature, had been president of Corpus Christi College for over twenty years, and had been privileged to watch the careers of many distinguished pupils. He showed his knowledge of men and events in appointing Rev. Jeremiah Smith to the vacancy. Jeremiah Smith had been born in 1771 and was therefore thirty-five years of age. He had had fourteen years' experience of teaching as assistant master in the King Edward VI Grammar School, Birmingham, then in its unreformed state, devoting its ample funds

to a few privileged scholars, but entirely out of touch with the needs of the poorer classes of the town. The college friends with whom he kept up an intimate friendship were Dr. Henry Phillpotts, subsequently Bishop of Exeter, an extreme Tory politician and controversialist, and Dr. Edward Copleston, who had done much to reform the classical teaching at Oxford. He was unmistakably a scholar of high attainments, and soon after settling in Manchester was awarded the D.D. of his University. He had already held several curacies at Birmingham, and, on coming to Manchester, at once engaged in similar work there. His personal appearance has been delineated by one of his most talented if not scholastically distinguished pupils, Harrison Ainsworth, who in his semi-biographical novel 'Mervyn Clitheroe' thus describes his old master :

'A spare man with large thoughtful features and a fine expansive forehead powdered at the top. He looked like a bishop and ought to have been one. His voice was particularly solemn and it was quite a treat to hear him read prayers. Under him, the boys began to give themselves the air of young men, wore well cut coats and well fitting boots, were very particular about the fashion of their hair and, above all, wore gloves.

'He was very quiet and controlled in manner, but very firm. He is only known to have used the cane once, and then it was very evident that it was more painful to himself than to the culprit. He had the faculty of at once inspiring respect and retaining it. Dignified in manner and deportment and ever preserving an air of grave courtesy, it would have been impossible to take a liberty with him and it was never attempted.'

The following advertisement appeared in the *Manchester Mercury*, February 20, 1810 :

'The Trustees of the Free Grammar School in Manchester inform the Public that having been lately apprised of the existence of some abuses in the management of the Malt Mills belonging to the School, they directed a strict inquiry to be made into the circumstances; and in consequence of the investigation that has taken place they have thought fit to discharge all the former servants employed at the Mill, and have adopted such regulations for the time to come as they expect will remove all cause of complaint.

by Samuel Bamford about 1800 may be compared with the account given in the Charity Commission Report written about 1825. It is noted that the opening of the Lancasterian and National Schools had practically emptied the Lower School, and consequently the boys were better prepared and the masters were able to concentrate their attention upon more advanced subjects.

In 1818 the feoffees made an allowance of £84 a year to the second master, in addition to his salary, to enable him to rent a house sufficient to accommodate twenty to thirty boarders. In 1821 when a suitable house had been found they agreed to pay in addition the rates and taxes; while the old house he had occupied, being a possession of the School, was let to one of the junior masters at a rent of £30 to enable him also to keep a few boarders. By these means the proportion of boarders to day scholars became naturally increased.

In 1825, owing to the great increase in the profits from the mills, the accumulated funds in the hands of the trustees amounted to £3879. Dr. Smith made application for the feoffees to build an entirely new high master's house sufficient to hold an increased number of boarders either on the existing site or on a more desirable situation if one could be found. Parlour boarders paid 120 guineas to 140 guineas per annum, others sixty guineas per annum. Under his guidance the School once more rose to a high level of efficiency. In 1811 he had re-established the annual Speech Day, which had fallen into abeyance. It was still held on the first Tuesday in October. Relatives and friends of the boys were assembled, the senior boys made speeches, and examiners' reports were read. The function was continued till 1830.

School and University knowledge were increasingly regarded as a possession, necessary for those who sought advancement in the Church, and ornamental for those who had wealth or other possessions, but quite unsuitable for the lower middle and industrialised classes, who were still being denied all opportunity of independent development. Learning thus continued as a material possession to be bought and sold like other possessions, and though the commercial nature of the transaction was disguised, yet it was by keeping a boarding house for boys desirous of entering professions that schoolmasters made the larger part of their income.

The public repute of the Manchester School may be estimated by the numbers and after-careers of those pupils who went to the old Universities. It had exhibitions or scholarships, it had influential patrons, it had a scholar and a gentleman as high master. Other grammar schools, which did not offer such University exhibitions, failed to attract serious scholars, and had to adapt their curriculum to the less specialised and more general interest of the inhabitants.

During the thirty years in which Rev. Jeremiah Smith held the office of high master, viz. from July 1807 to October 1837, the registers contain the names of some 1521 boys: this implies an average of 52 entries each year, if we may estimate that the average length of school life was slightly under four years, with a general variation between two to seven years, the latter for University scholars.

- 145 (about 10 per cent.) took orders in the Church. Of these, 79 on leaving passed to Oxford, and of these 28 benefited by Hulme Exhibitions; 56 proceeded to Cambridge, and the rest did not graduate at either University. Of the total number only 35 were Manchester boys, many being sons of local clergy, the rest were boarders from a distance. Many entered the teaching profession as well as taking orders.
- 111 (or about 7 per cent.) entered various branches of the law; 17 of whom were called to the Bar; 8 of them graduated either at Oxford or Cambridge.
- 52 (or 3·5 per cent.) entered the medical profession—the large proportion availing themselves of the advantages offered by the several Manchester Schools of Medicine.
- 13 others actively participated by writing or by other forms of public activity in the various political and social movements of the day.
- 20 entered the Army, Navy, or Indian Civil Service.
8 became architects, surveyors, or civil engineers.¹

¹ See also 'A Review and Analysis of the School Registers,' by Thomas Nash, *Ulula*, July 1875.

Jeremiah Smith very industriously collected the writings of old scholars. These he often referred to as being so numerous and so varied as to form a little library of their own. The collection was presented to the School library in 1878 by his son, Rev. J. Finch Smith, though unfortunately many of the volumes are now misplaced or missing.¹ The prosperity of the School was due to the fact that Jeremiah Smith succeeded in arousing among his advanced scholars his own love of perfection. The public examinations and the grading of candidates set up in Oxford in 1802 had raised the standard of University training and this was reflected in the teaching of those schools to which the scholars returned as masters. The teaching profession and the professions of law and medicine were called upon to display greater knowledge and understanding than before. Schools that prepared for them became noted. Therefore the upper classes of the Grammar School became crowded, while the lower classes were emptied, since children of less capacity attended other public day schools. The boarders increased, and the day boys tended to be crowded out. The boarders received special tuition and practically monopolised the School exhibitions. There was nothing in this which could not be defended by the School statutes, which ordained that no boy of any county was to be refused admission, though it does not seem very consonant with the good mind which the bishop 'bare towards the children of the County of Lancashire considering their bringing up in learning and virtue and good manners,' that they should not receive more adequate consideration. Perhaps less objection could be taken to the use of the School for the preparation of day boys for learned careers such as that of medicine.

This increased efficiency was all to the good, but there was on the other side a growing recognition that the educational provision for the less prosperous was an urgent matter, and inquiries were made, especially by those who were watching the results of the inquiries initiated in Parliament by Henry Brougham on the uses of charitable endowments, as to why the ample funds of the Manchester School should be used to maintain wealthy boarders at the Universities who had nothing to do with the town. The extensive nature of

¹ Particularly the manuscript volume of speeches delivered at the Annual School Gatherings in October.

the local educational shortage was also brought to light by the work of Dr. James Philips Kay, a physician at the Ancoats Dispensary, who with some of his friends started the Manchester Statistical Society with the particular object of finding out the facts.

The inquiries that were being made into the application of the funds of old charities, educational and otherwise, as a result of Lord Brougham's action in the House of Commons, at length began to arouse the governing body at the Manchester School. Among the new feoffees appointed about this time several possessed parliamentary experience, and therefore were acquainted with the new tendencies which led, among other changes, to the passing of the Reform Bill. The most prominent was Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856) of Tatton Park, eldest son of William Tatton Egerton who had been educated at the School and had served as feoffee and had been a prominent founder and active supporter of the Old Boys' Dinner till his death in 1804. Wilbraham Egerton himself had been educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He had served as Parliamentary representative for South Cheshire 1812-1830, and had been appointed feoffee of the Manchester Grammar School in 1816. On account of his opposition to the Reform Bill he had lost his seat at the general election in favour of George Wilbraham of Delamere. At the same election his nephew William Tatton Egerton was elected for North Cheshire and consequently the family interest in current national events was maintained. Wilbraham Egerton also served as J.P. and Deputy Lieutenant for Chester for nineteen years, Lieut.-Colonel of Yeomanry Cavalry and of local Militia, High Sheriff 1808. He was present at the Anniversary Speech Day, 1829. His character was thus described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in April 1856 :

‘Mr. Egerton was a fine specimen of a Christian gentleman ; warm hearted, humble minded, generous from inclination and from duty, tender to a remarkable degree of the feelings of others, but possessed with a stern sense of right and wrong, courteous and hospitable. He has left behind him in the hearts of his family, his numerous dependents and his many friends, an endearing memory and an example worthy of imitation by all who may be placed in like influential position.’

With him were associated his brother Thomas William Tatton of Withenshaw, elected feoffee of the School 1816, died 1827, and William Hulton of Hulton Park. Hulton was born in 1787; served as Deputy Lieutenant of the county in 1809, and as Chairman of Magistrates during the Peterloo gathering in 1819. He was invited to come forward as Parliamentary candidate for the County of Lancaster, but declined. As a counterblast to the *Revelation of Panic and Arbitrary Use of Power* published in the Press, he drew up an address to the Prince Regent, which was signed by 1800 magistrates, clergy, bankers, and merchants, expressing their entire approval of the acts of the Magistracy, the Civil Forces, and the Military Powers during the rioting.

Another prominent feoffee was Sir Robert Holt Leigh of Hindley Hall, Wigan (1762–1843), a Deputy Lieutenant for the county, and many years M.P. for Wigan. He was the eldest son of Holt Leigh of Wigan, and was born at Wigan on December 25, 1762. He entered as a pupil of Lawson's about 1776; passed thence to Christ Church, Oxford, but did not take his degree till sixty years of age, when he desired to use his vote. He was returned as member for Wigan 1802–1820; was a staunch Conservative in politics, &c., and a firm supporter of Pitt and Canning, except on the Roman Catholic question. He was created baronet by Mr. Canning, May 22, 1815, and suffered much from mob violence at the Wye election in 1830. Throughout his life he retained the love of literature. Dr. Donnegan, in the preface to the fourth edition of 'Greek and English Lexicon,' writes:

'Among the many advantages I have derived from the publication of my Greek and English Lexicon, there is none I deem more precious than its having procured me the acquaintance, the friendship, of Sir Robert Holt Leigh, Bart. a gentleman who has improved his talents by refined well-directed and assiduous culture. Thoroughly acquainted with the best writers of modern Languages, and having attained a critical and profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin literature—the excellencies of which his peculiar turn of mind enables him to appreciate fully—he still devotes a considerable portion of his studious hours, with glowing enthusiasm and untiring ardour, to the poets and orators who have bequeathed to us such splendid and enduring

monuments of Grecian genius. To the accomplishments of a scholar, he has added the advantages of having visited the most interesting countries of Europe, surveyed the choicest specimens of art with a critical eye, and observed the characters of men and manners so keenly as to justify the application to him of the commendation bestowed on Ulysses by the poet.¹

He died unmarried in January 1843.

These were some of the trustees who held office at the time that Henry Brougham was making his inquiries as to the disposal of charitable and other trusts, and who were put into a state of alarm when Richard Potter, a Manchester merchant, who had succeeded Holt Leigh as M.P. for Wigan, brought the case of the Manchester School before the reformed House of Commons on February 16, 1833, while presenting a petition from some Salford residents in favour of national education. The attention of the feoffees was drawn to the incident by a letter which Thomas Wilson Patten, Tory member for North Lancashire, had written to Dr. Jeremiah Smith, and which Dr. Smith at once brought before the trustees, February 23, 1833. After some correspondence and conference between Wilbraham Egerton, Thomas Patten, and Lord Francis Leveson-Gower, who, as Lord Francis Egerton, was destined soon to be a local magnate of great force and influence, the feoffees decided, May 1833, to lodge a petition in the Court of Chancery, under Sir Samuel Romilly's Act of 1812, for permission to alter the curriculum of the school teaching and to add the teaching of English, French, German, and Chemistry to that of the Classics, for, though English and Mathematics were also taught, these were extra subjects and were charged for. To meet the needs of the poor of the district, it was decided to build two or more new schools. The fuller draft of the scheme, as amended, included the building of a new high master's house to enable him to have an increased number of boarders, for it was evident that the School received its chief University distinction, and all the masters a considerable proportion of their income, from boarders. The petition was referred to the Master in Chancery to make a report. In June 1833 the report was made ;

¹ Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.—'Manchester School Register,' *Cheth. Soc.*, vol. lxi. pp. 217-219.

in August it was confirmed. On May 29, 1834, a report of the new scheme appeared in the Manchester papers.

The most active agents in formulating so clear a scheme and in getting it through the Court of Chancery so rapidly were William Tatton Egerton, son of Wilbraham Egerton, Thomas Wilson Patten, and William Slater, whose unwearying services to the School through its many trials were the constant source of gratification to feoffees and high master.

At the feoffees' meeting, October 10, 1833, the two feoffees were publicly thanked for their services.

CHAPTER XI

1837-1848

IN THE COURT OF CHANCERY

'Education is the culture which each generation purposely gives to those who are to be its successors, in order to qualify them for at least keeping up, and if possible for raising, the level of improvement which has already been obtained.'—JOHN STUART MILL.

Manchester merchants at length realise the full significance of Lord Henley's decree, and relate a case in the Court of Chancery—The isolation of the English School from the old Grammar School—Lord Cottenham decrees boarders to be ineligible for the University Exhibitions—This diminishes the number of boarders and causes a great falling off in the upper part of the School, as few town boys desire to continue their studies at Oxford and Cambridge—J. W. Richards appointed high master in 1839—He endeavours to arouse fresh interest, especially in modern subjects—Dean Herbert makes unsuccessful attempts at mediation between the feoffees and the merchants—Rev. Nicholas Germon appointed high master, 1842—Lord Lyndhurst in a further Chancery decree upholds the purely classical teaching of the School and negatives any extension of the commercial teaching or the erection of more English schools—The clergy rally round the Grammar School and share its isolation from the commercial life of the town—The study of Science and Art in Manchester—British Association meeting in Manchester, 1841—Colossal educational soirées at the Manchester Athenæum—The final decree in Chancery of Lord Cottenham leads to the resignation of all the remaining old feoffees.

PERHAPS the full significance of the new scheme for the management of the School Trust, allowed by Lord Henley in the Court of Chancery, was not at once apparent to the leaders of the Reform movement in Manchester, for though a deputation of the borough reeve, the constable, the newly elected member of Parliament, Mark Philips, and Thomas

Potter, presented a memorial to them, May 1, 1834, it is noticeable that there was some delay in their taking further action. The town had just passed through the unwonted experience of a parliamentary election—the first since 1657. Public feeling was being stirred up against the old government by the Court Leet, now discredited owing to the manifest jobbery, favouritism, and political intrigue of the town's officers. Many high-minded merchants refused to accept the office of borough-reeve, and were mulcted in heavy damages. Finally a wealthy merchant, who had to decline on account of ill-health, was fined to a vindictive extent. Richard Cobden was one of the jurymen, and the event made a deep impression on his mind. An agitation for the incorporation of the borough and for obtaining self-government, instead of the government by officials, was started and supported by the liberal-minded merchants of various parties.¹ By 1838 they had overcome numerous obstacles, and the Charter of Incorporation was granted, Mr. Thomas Potter being elected the first mayor.

The Reform party were looking to France for light on educational as well as on political questions. At a public town's meeting presided over by Thomas Harbottle, August 31, 1830, three of the most prominent citizens, Mark Philips, Alexander Kay, and Joseph C. Dyer, had been deputed to visit Paris to convey the congratulations of the town to the French people on the recovery of their constitutional liberties. Among other impressions they brought back one of admiration for the State system of education prevalent on the Continent. Others shared the same view. A Central Education Society was formed in London, in which both Liberals and Tories joined, with the object of advocating the establishment of a similar State system of education in England.

We have already mentioned Richard Potter's reference to the Manchester Grammar School in the House of Commons, February 15, 1833. Lord Brougham had convinced himself and many of the Radicals that funds sufficient to maintain a national system of education were available from the educa-

¹ The immediate cause of this action was the vindictive fining of Robert Barbour, subsequently trustee of the School, to the extent of £150 for refusing to serve in 1834-5. This aroused the indignation of Richard Cobden, who led an agitation by his pamphlet called 'Incorporate Your Borough.'



THREE OF THE RELATORS WHO OPPOSED THE FEOFFEEES IN CHANCERY
FROM 1837 TO 1848.



tional and other charities already in existence, and which they believed were the subjects of maladministration and abuse; and they also succeeded in impressing on Parliament, even previous to its reform, the need for many endowments to be restored to their original charitable purpose. Their case was enormously strengthened when the House of Commons had, by the passing of the Reform Act, again become more representative of the towns. The point which the Reformers failed to grasp was that the Grammar Schools were founded to prepare boys for the Universities, and therefore the endowments were for the benefit of those who desired to pursue a course of learning higher than the elementary education which was now, for the first time, claimed as the birthright of every citizen—an entirely new problem.

As the new school buildings progressed, public comment became more articulate.¹ Certain 'relators,' merchants of the town of Manchester, stirred by the passion for reform, and no doubt encouraged by the firm establishment of the Whig party in power, and in consequence the reappointment of Baron Cottenham in January 1836 to the position of Vice-Chancellor, on May 23, 1836, had lodged information in the Court of Chancery, and petitioned :

1. To have the accounts of the charity brought before the Master in Chancery.

2. To remove the present trustees who were not residents in the town, and who were therefore supposed to be unable to realise the needs of the townspeople.

3. To obtain a reference to the Master in Chancery for a revision of the scheme set forth by Lord Henley.

The real sting of the protest of the relators was in the demand that the funds of the School estate should be open to public inspection and criticism, and that some of the citizens

¹ The protest of the town against the policy of the School feoffees really began with the maltsters objecting to the retention of the monopoly of grinding malt (*Manchester Guardian*, April 26, 1834). 'Letters on the School Policy,' by A. Prentice, appeared on June 14, 1834, and the full report of Lord Henley was given in the issue May 24, 1834. Discussion continued on March 24, June 14, and August 23, 1834, when it was proposed to introduce a Bill in the reformed Parliament. Subsequently Dr. Beard took up the question of the work of the School in his pamphlet.

of the town should be elected feoffees. Exaggerated opinions as to the extent of these funds were current; one estimate placed them at £120,000. Other grievances were the continued exclusion of Manchester merchants from any voice in the management; the continued devotion of a large proportion of the funds to the support at the Universities of wealthy boarders, who filled a quarter of the School, virtually monopolised the scholarships, and conferred no honour on the town; and finally the waste of money (£5000) on the new boarding-house for the high master, when he was already provided with a handsome salary by the School and also held a good benefice.

The principal arguments against the scheme were gathered together in a pamphlet entitled 'The Abuses of the Manchester Free Grammar School,' by 'A Friend of Popular Education,' the author being the Rev. J. Rely Beard, D.D., the minister of the Greengate Unitarian Church, whose members had sent a petition to the House of Commons, presented by Richard Potter, M.P. for Wigan, on February 15, 1833, which had first opened the eyes of the feoffees to the unpopularity of their action. Dr. Beard was born at Portsea in 1800. He had been educated partly in France and partly at the Manchester (Unitarian) Academy, York. On March 2, 1825, he accepted the charge of the Unitarian church, Dawson's Craft, Greengate, Salford, and in the following year opened a private school on reformed educational principles at Woodlands, Higher Broughton. He soon removed to more commodious quarters in Stoney Knolls. Here he trained many pupils destined to take a prominent part in Manchester life. Among them the late W. H. Herford, who had entered the Manchester Grammar School, February 1833. Of the education there provided at that time Mr. Herford writes in a letter to Dr. Beard: 'My indebtedness to you begins about 1835, when I came to your school, having till then been gnawing, with particularly little appetite, the divine meal of sour thistles and brambles, as Milton calls it, meaning thereby the classical and mathematical education—*more majorum*—at the Manchester Grammar School. The introduction to literature, the rational geometry, and the natural sciences, which you provided for us, were all rich, rich feasts after starvation.' From this time forward Dr. Beard continued to be in the forefront of the battle for the establishment in

Manchester of popular education free from ecclesiastical control.

'When Grammar Schools were first founded, Latin was acknowledged the fountain of all that was useful or ornamental, the chief mental discipline, the great requirement in education, and to provide therefore a good education for the poor and ignorant was to secure a competent apparatus for instruction in Latin. At the present day no benefactor of ordinary capacity would found a school without taking measures for having taught therein more or less of Natural Philosophy . . . what Natural Philosophy is now, the Latin language and literature were then, the one indispensable requisite in a good education.'

Dr. Beard urged that at least £2000 of the funds of the School should be given annually to the Lancasterian Public Schools for Elementary Education.

A reply was forthcoming, probably from the pen of Robinson Elsdale, recently appointed high master of the School, 1837-1839, entitled 'The Abuses of Self-constituted Authority and Misrepresentation, exposed in a Letter to Rt. Hon. Lord Cottenham, High Chancellor of England,' by 'A Friend of Enlightened Education, 1837.'

'Those who are now endeavouring by means of newspaper insinuation and anonymous slander to excite the indignation of the public against the feoffees and masters of the Manchester Free Grammar School . . . will find themselves, I have no doubt, miserably disappointed. . . .

'The feoffees, in consequence of this surplus (viz. £12,080 2s. 1d.), have long entertained and expressed a desire to enlarge the system of education pursued in the Manchester Grammar School, but they did not feel themselves justified in going beyond the letter of the Founder's will, till the surplus accumulated should be so ample as to enable them to carry on both Schools with due energy and utility.

'The vast majority of the day scholars who frequent the Grammar School are intended for commercial pursuits or professions that require not a university education. The few destined for college or exhibiting extraordinary ability have generally been committed to the care of the High Master in order to complete their studies. The most talented of the neighbouring county have also been sent to the same individual on account of the superior advantages enjoyed,

“for,” says the statute, “there shall no scholar, nor infant of what county or shire whatever, be refused.” . . . By the terms of the new scheme an examiner is in future to attend once a year and present exhibitions to those who acquit themselves most to their satisfaction.’

The following extract is from the *Manchester Courier* of October 5, 1836 :

Grammar School Anniversary.

‘The 55th Anniversary of the gentlemen educated at the School took place at the Albert Hotel, Piccadilly, when about forty of them sat down. . . . In the course of the evening Rev. J. S. Masters, in proposing the health of the feoffees of the Grammar School, took the opportunity of bearing testimony to the untiring zeal and unremitting exertions they had displayed in the management of the School estate. A few years ago, he observed, the income was insufficient to defray the annual expenses, but by a delicate scrutiny into its affairs, and a strict and well-organised system of economy, these gentlemen, who had been grossly calumniated in the charges brought against them of extravagances and mismanagement, had so far improved the income of the School that they had been enabled to raise splendid new buildings which were an ornament to the town, and to extend its utility by adding to it many branches of education which had not hitherto been taught there.’

It was intended that some £600 should be annually devoted for the upkeep of the English School, which was to be spent as follows :

£200 for a mathematical master.

£200 for a master in English literature.

£150 for a teacher in French and German.

£100 for a writing master.

£50 for lexicons to be sold at half price to deserving boys or to be put in the library.

Finally an undetermined sum was to be set apart for the payment of a teacher and the purchase of apparatus to be used in the teaching of Natural Philosophy.

The English School was opened in January 1837 as an independent establishment, incomplete in equipment and curriculum, and without organic connection with the old Grammar School. The unfinished state of the buildings and

the bareness of furnishing of the English School corresponded with the imperfectly thought-out details of its curriculum. This was not because the necessity for a commercial education, conducted at a high level, had not been fully realised in Manchester, for a scheme had been put forward under the patronage of the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church, and supported by many wealthy Churchmen, for the establishment of a middle class Proprietary School at Didsbury,

‘To provide a course of instruction for youth, comprising classical learning, mathematical and commercial instruction and such modern languages and other branches of science and general literature as it may from time to time be practical and advisable to introduce combined with religious and moral instruction in conformity with the principles of the Church of England. . . . The proprietary to consist of 500 shares of £50 each bearing interest at not more than 4%, the principal going to the purchase of land and erection of a school, and any surplus being applicable to the general purpose of the Institution.’¹

It was thus evident that liberal education, or instruction in subjects other than the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, had come to be generally regarded as the special privilege of the well-to-do middle classes. If a scholar of humble origin but of unusual ability turned up at the old Grammar School, he could only obtain advancement by the personal interest and efforts of some particular patron, and as such might conceivably even be awarded a University Exhibition. Such a case did actually once occur, but the unctuousness with which it was announced on prize day showed how unexpected and rare a circumstance it was.

The Rev. Jeremiah Smith, who, even before 1833, had desired to retire from office, perhaps thought that he had finished his work at the School when the new scheme had been ratified by the Court of Chancery. He resigned the high mastership October 1837, and settled down in his country living in Cambridgeshire, with a very handsome pension from the School, as well as a generous presentation from his wealthy scholars for the really valuable services he had rendered to the School.

¹ Wheeler's *Manchester*, p. 393, published 1836.

The Rev. E. Dudley Jackson (1802–1879), LL.B., B.C.L., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was next placed in charge of the English scholars as teacher of English literature. He had previously held the position of perpetual curate of St. Matthew's Church, Manchester, and subsequently that of St. Michael's, Chetham Hill. He was closely connected with the Sunday School movement. He was a writer both of sacred poetry and of prose, and had partly compiled and partly composed a collection of Sunday School hymns. On taking charge of the English School, he divided it into an Upper and Lower School, in both of which young boys were taught writing and elementary arithmetic, and thus the pressure on the lower forms of the Grammar School was relieved. In 1844 Mr. Dudley published an edition of Goldsmith's 'History of England' for the use of boys, and also an Elementary Latin Grammar.¹ If any promising boys appeared in the English School, they were transferred to the Classical School, where there was at least the semblance of fuller opportunity. French and mathematics were also taught in the English School to various mixed classes, mainly consisting of the older boys from the Classical School. They were not regarded as a development of the English School. Mr. Mordacque² was appointed visiting French master in place of the one who had previously acted as private tutor to the boarders before the opening of the English School. Mr. Cullen was appointed teacher in writing and arithmetic for the English School. A teacher in mathematics was also appointed, but did not continue long at the School. This subject was subsequently only very intermittently taught. No appointment of a teacher in German or Natural Philosophy—both subjects included in the scheme—was ever made.

The English School attracted a large number of boys, and within two years of opening, at the Annual Dinner, held October 1838, Rev. E. D. Jackson was able to announce that there were altogether between 400 and 500 boys in the different departments of the School, and that there were no less than

¹ See John Evans' *Lancashire Authors and Ulula*, 1879.

² Mordacque also taught at the Commercial Schools and at the Athenæum. He retired 1867. As there were no funds available for a retiring pension, the trustees and old scholars raised a sum of money to purchase an annuity, Rev. George Perkins, second master, acting as chairman, and S. H. Hodson, receiver, acting as secretary.

300 candidates for admission. Mr. Jackson also gave some details respecting the new Commercial Schools which were about to be established under the supervision of the Anglican clergy in various parts of the country. At the same meeting Rev. Dr. Robinson Elsdale, who had just been appointed high master, made an ineffectual bid for popular support, by expressing a wish that in future no one would consider the dinner as a merely political one. 'It had been stated to him that it had been so regarded by some, and that consequently they had refused to attend. This (he said) was a mistake. The entertainment was a literary one at which persons of all political opinions might meet, united by the bonds of old acquaintance and old recollections.' In view of the character of the toasts proposed, and the strong partisanship of the company, this wish was hardly likely to carry much weight.

Administratively, from the point of view of the Trust, all the school departments formed part of a single establishment. Educationally, from the point of view of the high master, they constituted a group of separate departments housed in contiguous buildings, and having no relation to one another. The only parts of the scheme which were carried out consisted in the regularising of the unofficial out-of-school instruction that had long gone on among the senior boys, organising it, and providing it free of cost, for the benefit of boys intending to enter business careers. If the boys of the old Grammar School chose, they might now benefit by having free lessons in the English School, in mathematics, in French, and to some extent in writing, without, as had previously been the custom, paying for it. So indefinite and loose were the relations between the Grammar School and the English School that the afternoons of Tuesday and Thursday were regarded as half holidays even for the Grammar School boys who devoted their time to the study of mathematics in the English School. The English School also offered an alternative training for boys of poorer capabilities and lesser means, who were not regarded as capable of benefiting by the classical teaching. It was nominally under the direct control of the feoffees, who possessed neither the educational outlook nor the understanding necessary to make it an educational success. The high master accepted no responsibility for any teaching

except that of the two upper classical forms. These were regarded as full when they contained twenty boys. It was evident, therefore, that he was handsomely paid. The high master's assistant had the charge of the next group of thirty boys. The second master or usher had a third group consisting of forty boys and some vested interest in succession, and his assistant a fourth group of about fifty. There were also fifty boys in the lower part of the Grammar School, learning the elements of reading. They were about six or seven years of age.

In February 1839 Robinson Elsdale, whose health had begun to fail, applied for and was granted twelve months' leave of absence, his place being taken by the second master, John William Richards. At Christmas, 1839, Robinson Elsdale, still in poor health and residing in France, sent in his resignation. Mr. J. W. Richards was appointed in his place.

The character of the scholars had become greatly influenced by the course of the proceedings in Chancery. In 1839 Lord Cottenham issued a decree which forbade the trustees devoting any part of the surplus funds to granting University Exhibitions to boarders or to the building of boarding-houses for the masters. This was a severe blow in several ways. The Exhibitions had attracted the boarders, and this paid the masters. Other anxieties were accruing, for the accumulated funds of the School had become seriously diminished, mainly by the cost of the expensive buildings for the high master and the English School, and to a less extent by the long-drawn-out Chancery action.¹ The mills were yielding a diminishing income, and the two liberal pensions granted to Dr. Smith and Mr. Elsdale constituted a heavy tax. The salaries of the assistant masters, already lessened by the loss of boarders, had to be diminished 10 per cent. all round, the recipients of the pensions alone excluded. The mathematical master was dismissed.

Although the feoffees had never been in a position to carry out the full scheme outlined by Lord Henley—for neither German nor Natural Science teaching had been introduced into the School, and that of mathematics had become some-

¹ The relators, Mark Philips, Thomas Potter, and Joseph Brotherton, paid their part of the expenses out of their own pockets (according to a private letter written by Mark Philips to J. R. Beard).

what irregular—some renewed activity in the School was noticeable under J. W. Richards. This first showed itself in the publication of a school magazine—*The New Microcosm*—which appeared between June 1839 and June 1840. It consisted of records of Travels and of Essays on such subjects as the comparative advantages of classical and mathematical education. The signs of increased activity of the School were, however, only short-lived, for the majority of the tradespeople of Manchester viewed with utter indifference anything but trade prosperity.

In *Ulula*, March 1876, there appears an article signed by 'G. P.,' who was at School under Elsdale and Richards :

‘In the higher part of the School especially, there was in my time an enormous amount of idleness, by which most of us became demoralised, so far at least as to lose the habit of steady industry, and seriously impair our chances of success in life. . . . The sudden transition from the harsh scolding and rough pedagogics of Elsdale to the gentle manners and finer scholarship of Richards was a change no boy who experienced it can ever have forgotten. Even in his best days, and with the lower classes, Elsdale had no doubt much of the inelastic method of the older system . . . and yet as I look back along the vista of past years, I feel how thoroughly as a boy I respected Elsdale . . . and even now, while I may have doubts about the width of his knowledge, and suspicions of an occasional want of judgment, I have no doubts nor misgivings as to the genuine kindness and integrity of his character.’

The Public Speech Days, which had not been held since 1830, were re-started in October 1840. In order to re-awaken general interest, the results of the University examinations were publicly announced, the examiners' reports read, and the prizes publicly distributed. These annual gatherings were attended by the local clergy and became very imposing affairs, and, though it is doubtful whether they brought many boarders to the houses of the masters, they undoubtedly kept alive the public interest in the higher traditions of the School, and helped to prevent it being entirely swamped when the cries for 'useful' education and 'practical' education were often being urged with more clamour than insight.

Mr. J. W. Richards soon realised the impossibility of attracting any considerable number of boarders, and that

there was prospect of their further decrease in the future. It was doubtful whether even School prizes could be awarded to boarders. Consequently, Dean Herbert, the Visitor of the School, offered them a special prize for the best Latin archaic poem. Finding the funds as well as the boarders were rapidly dwindling, Mr. Richards resigned his position. He became perpetual curate of East Harnham, Hants, 1855-9, and Chaplain of St. Michael's School, Bognor, under the Woodard Trust. He died at Walton, October 30, 1887.

Attempts at mediation were now made, and on receipt of Chancellor Cottenham's decree, Messrs. Clowes, Hulton, Patten, Foster, and Birley were appointed a committee by their fellow feoffees to confer with the Dean 'on the present state of the proceedings, and the steps to be taken' to promote the interests of the Charity.

Dean Calvert had just died. He had been succeeded, July 9, 1840, by the Hon. and Rev. Dean Herbert, who had been offered and accepted the position of Warden after Thomas Arnold of Rugby had declined, on account of the difficulty of maintaining his large family on the limited stipend then available. The high master and assistant masters presented a memorial to the feoffees claiming that the funds of the school were never intended to be restricted to local scholars, and pointing out how adversely they were affected by the clause which debarred boarders from holding School exhibitions. They explained the large proportion of such exhibitions going to the boarders by stating that the day boys were accustomed to leave school too early to be ready to be trained adequately for the University. Another petition, from parents 'who believed that the removal of boarders would greatly deteriorate the School, and lower its social prestige,' was also presented.

Dean Herbert therefore interviewed the relators, together with Alexander Kay, their legal representative, and induced them to formulate certain proposals, which he placed before the feoffees :

'(1) That one-half of the number of trustees of the School be elected by the Town Council, and that to effect this a sufficient number of the present trustees retire. B. 4

'(2) That no exhibitions be in future given to scholars going to Oxford or Cambridge, the amount and character of the income of the Charity rendering it improbable that

there ever can be any surplus fund applicable for such a purpose after supplying the means of education to the present and increasing population of the district.

‘(3) That no retiring pensions be granted unless three-fourths of the trustees for the time being concur in the propriety of the grant. [This clause probably related to the high pension awarded to Jeremiah Smith, which was now running concurrently with the pension of Rev. R. Elsdale.]

‘If these conditions were agreed to, the relators proposed to raise among their friends,¹ the funds required for building four new schools within the borough, for the reception of infants as well as youths, in such situations as most required them. They further suggested that there should be at least two masters to each such school at salaries of £150 a year for the headmaster, and £100 for the usher; and that the Lower School in Long Millgate should be discontinued, the Rev. Mr. Dallas being appointed to one of the new schools at a stipend equal to the present one. Finally that the scholars should be drafted from the four schools into the school in Long Millgate, to be placed in such classes under the High master or second master as the proficiency of each scholar shall warrant.

‘(Signed) ALEXANDER KAY.

‘Jan. 12, 1841.’

The feoffees considered that these suggestions contemplated such a change in the general principles of the School as was totally irreconcilable with the charter, and that therefore they would not be justified in recommending them for adoption. They consequently decided to let the inquiry before the Master in Chancery take its course, leaving to him and to the Lord Chancellor the determination as to what

¹ Comparison may be made with the course of events at King Edward VI Grammar School, Birmingham, a far wealthier school as regards endowment. In 1824 the governors, masters, and the visitor—the Bishop of Lichfield—planned to remove the school into the country and make it more select. The inhabitants of the town fought the scheme in the Court of Chancery. A Bill was presented to Parliament, May 1830, to raise £50,000 for building a new school. There was a clause in the Bill directing that no person should be elected a governor who was not a member of the Established Church of England. This clause was ultimately withdrawn in consequence of the opposition of the Dissenters, and the Bill was passed in 1831. The effect on the spread of higher education in each district as a result of the different policy pursued by governors of the Manchester Grammar School and those of the Birmingham School ought to make an interesting sociological study.

alterations should be made under the scheme of 1833 in view of the steadily diminishing funds.

The fall of the Whig Ministry of Lord Melbourne and the consequent resignation of Lord Cottenham, followed by the reinstatement in office of Lord Lyndhurst under Sir Robert Peel, September 3, 1841, induced the feoffees to accept the opinion of their counsel, James Russell, and to apply for a complete rehearing of the case, particularly as the high master was now able to point out the very injurious effect which the decree had already produced on the School. It was about this time that Mr. Richards resigned the high mastership. He was succeeded by Rev. Nicholas Germon, who had been at the School since 1825.

John Singleton Copley, as he was at first known, but now Lord Lyndhurst, was the son of the celebrated artist, John Copley, who had emigrated to America. In early life he had been an ultra-Liberal, though when he entered Parliament in 1818 he did so as a Tory, and represented the University of Cambridge in 1845. After a brilliant University career at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he had been second Wrangler and Smith's prizeman, he had practised at the Bar and occupied his leisure with the study of Chemistry, Mechanics, and Mathematics. He had held the office of Lord Chancellor under the Duke of Wellington 1827 and 1828, 1834, and 1841. He was singularly fitted to form an enlightened opinion on the opposing claimants. He made a statement April 6, 1843, in which he concurred with much of his predecessor's judgment, but directed that the part of Lord Cottenham's report, as to boarders being ineligible for exhibitions, be omitted and the matter referred to the Master in Chancery to decide the restrictions and conditions under which this should be allowed.

He expressed himself in the following terms :

‘He was in opposition to views then prevailing in some quarters that the old foundation should be converted into a purely commercial academy. There were many persons who thought the character of the School should be entirely changed, that it ought to be devoted to commercial purposes exclusively. He would very much lament such a change, because the tendency of such a practice would be to form men into classes, and it was therefore of the utmost importance, for the purpose of obviating that great incon-

venience, that they should as far as possible all be brought up according to one general system of education. No system of education was better for the purpose of refining and humanizing the manners of a nation than a system of literature founded on classical learning.'¹

Lord Lyndhurst also decreed against the application of the relators that as soon as possible other English schools should be built out of the School funds.

The building of the English School had cost £2000, the boarding-house for the pupils of the high master £5000. The headmaster of the English School was only receiving £120, and his two assistants £80 and £60 severally; they had to provide their own houses. The salary of the high master of the Classical School was to be £450, that of the usher £225, and boarding-houses were provided for them and taxes paid. The English School had 160 boys from the age of six up to the age of fourteen. The Classical School had about eighty.

The following figures show the extent of the diminution in the numbers of scholars, mostly boarders, who, at this period, proceeded to the Universities.

	Number of Boarders admitted yearly.	Number of Boys awarded School Exhibitions.	Total Numbers sent to the Universities.
1836 to 1840 . .	33	10	26
„ „ 1841 . .	25	1	6
„ „ 1842 . .	13	1	4
„ „ 1843 . .	12	1	4
„ „ 1844 . .	?	1	2

The decree of Lord Lyndhurst was naturally the source of some jubilation to the supporters of the old régime, but the public were beginning to consider that such a régime was one of privilege and even reaction, for, evidently in reply to current criticisms, at the Annual Speech Day, October 1843, Rev. Canon Parkinson, Fellow of the College, made reference to the democratic character of the grammar schools of England, and their selective value in picking up poor clever

¹ Cf. *Ulula*, p. 92, November 1882.

boys, and furthering their educational career to the University. He made complaints of the heavy expenses incurred by the continuance of the lawsuit, which, combined with the continued loss in value of the School property, had caused the feoffees to reduce the number of leaving exhibitions from four to one.

In 1844 Rev. E. D. Jackson was appointed rector of St. Thomas, Heaton Norris, and resigned his post at the English School.¹ He was succeeded by Rev. George Slade (1808–1872), M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, who, after serving as curate of Prescott 1835, had been appointed incumbent of St. Thomas, Radcliffe, 1838. He evidently began well and imparted some fresh enthusiasm into the work, for after two years' service he was presented with a rosewood writing-desk and set of silver plate by his scholars. He seems to have introduced into the English School the use of some elementary text-books of general knowledge, consisting of answers and questions, a plan very popular at that time. These were learned by rote, a method capable of affording very fallacious results. He was accustomed to sell these books to the boys, and so increase his very limited income by percentage profit, estimated in amount as £20 per annum. Presently the sale of text-books by other masters became common, and parents began to complain of the frequent changes in the text-books used. The custom was therefore prohibited, though it is not clear that the masters' salaries were raised to make up for the deficiency.

One of the most potent of the liberalising elements at the School at this period was Richard Thompson who had become second master in 1841. The 'Grammar School Miscellany,' published 1845, was dedicated to him. He was instrumental in re-establishing the School Library about 1845, and its shelves were, at a later date, enriched by over a thousand volumes which had constituted his own private library. He encouraged the pursuit of literature, and the Thompson's History prize was founded to keep his memory green.

The French department also became very popular, perhaps influenced by the awakening interest in French ideas under the teaching of Mr. Mordacque, who was employed at the

¹ There is a character sketch of Rev. E. D. Jackson, by John Evans, in *Lancashire Authors and Orators*, published 1850.

Athenæum, and at a later date at the Commercial Schools, Stretford Road. Plays were performed by the scholars of the Free Grammar School on the Thursday and Friday of Easter week during three successive years, viz. 1846, 1847, and 1848. On the first occasion the performance consisted of the *Andria* of Terence, and was performed by the elder boys of the School, April 18, 1846, while the junior pupils gave a private performance of a selection of scenes from Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*. On March 27, 1847, the plays performed were the *Adelphi* of Terence and Molière's *Mariage Forcée*. In 1848, under the patronage of the Earl of Ellesmere, the *Pseudolus* of Plautus and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of Molière were performed. The credit of originating and conducting to a successful issue the entire series of performances was mainly due to one of the senior boys—J. W. Taylor, subsequently Scholar and Hulme Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford, M.A., and incumbent of Little Marsden, Lancashire, 'who besides enacting (and that most ably) the principal characters, wrote and recited the prologues, and with whose departure for the University it may be added the Latin play seems to have finally disappeared from Manchester School.'¹

The year 1847 is noteworthy for the School for several reasons. On July 18, the Rev. G. H. Bowers (1794–1873) was installed Dean of Manchester in succession to Rev. W. Herbert. He was educated at Clare College, Cambridge, and had already distinguished himself as an educational reformer before coming to Manchester. He had been concerned in the re-organisation of Marlborough College, in the foundation of Rossall School, and in the creation of the Haileybury School on the site of the old East India College. In this year also the Rev. James Frazer of Oriel College, Oxford, soon to be engaged in other educational work of importance, and subsequently Bishop of the diocese in 1870, appears as one of the examiners appointed by the University to visit the School.

It was also the first occasion on which the Lawson Gold Medal, the blue ribbon of the classical side of the School, was awarded. A silver medal had previously been provided out

¹ John B. Shaw in *City News, Notes and Queries*, February 22, 1868, p. 155.

of the surplus funds of the donations to the Lawson Memorial, and from the sale of engravings of the portrait of Mr. Lawson which now hangs in the high master's room. As already stated, when this surplus became exhausted, a further subscription was made by his old pupils, to furnish a capital sum, whose interest would provide an annual income for the purchase of a gold medal.

Meanwhile the Manchester merchants were making strong efforts to improve the commercial education of the middle classes by arranging for lecturers and teachers to hold classes on modern subjects at the Athenæum (established 1827). On October 27, 1837, the great Educational Soirée was held in Manchester in support of the Central Society for Education, whose formation in London we have already mentioned. This monster soirée, for which special building arrangements had to be made by extending the accommodation of the Theatre Royal, and at which some 4000 guests were entertained, was the first public local recognition of the educational fervour that was permeating all the European countries. Members of both political parties met in support of the movement for extension of public education among all classes. Mr. Mark Philips, the member for Manchester, was in the chair. Lord Brougham had promised to attend, but was prevented by a family bereavement. The first speech was concerned with 'Infant Schools' and was delivered by Wilderspoon. The second speech was that of George William Wood, Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, M.P. for Wigan, who spoke of the influence already exerted on education by the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the effect of the establishment of Sunday Schools by Robert Raikes of Gloucester, and of the Day Schools established by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. Dr. Gerard spoke of the work of the newly established London University. As a consequence of this meeting, a Manchester branch of the Society for promoting National Education was started. It endorsed the practice of the British and Foreign Society in prescribing Bible classes for every school, and placing the Bible, without special directions or instructions, in the hands of every child, except the Jews and the Roman Catholics. As it omitted to place the control of education in the hands of the clergy, it was looked upon with suspicion by the National Society, established in the interests of the Church of England, which not

only objected to the teaching of the Bible without the teaching of the Church Catechism, but still regarded education as the prerogative of the clergy, and demanded, not only clerical representation on the management, but also full clerical control. This, neither the larger proportion of the laity among the Churchmen, nor the Nonconformists, were willing to yield, and much controversy naturally arose.

Interest in Science, particularly in Applied Science, continued to grow. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, established 1838, held its meetings in Manchester in 1841, Lord Francis Egerton being the President.

Colossal and brilliant educational soirées were held at the Manchester Athenæum, during the series of years, 1843, 1845, 1846, 1847, and 1848. Merchants of both political parties joined in the effort. Hugh Hornby Birley and Mark Philips, Richard Cobden and James Heywood, attended, though the clergy and Nonconformist ministers were conspicuously absent. The meetings were attended by many of the most famous statesmen, writers, and educationists of that very remarkable period of English history. Their object was to establish the Manchester Athenæum as a permanent institution, free from political bias, for the cultivation of social and intellectual interests among the middle classes, and to supplement the provision made by the Mechanics' Institutes for the working classes.¹ Of the foundation of the Manchester School of Design in 1839 we shall speak in the chapter on Technical Education. At the first soirée held Thursday, October 5, 1843, Charles Dickens was the principal guest. At the second great soirée, held October 3, 1844, the main object was to further the movement on behalf of popular education; Benjamin Disraeli was the chief guest; Lord John Manners and others also spoke. At the third great soirée held October 23, 1845, Thomas Noon Talfourd, Douglas Jerrold, John Lowe were speakers. At the fourth, held October 22, 1846, Dr. Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, was the principal speaker, and a permanent memorial of his visit to the School is found in an extensive gift of books to the

¹ The Manchester New College was opened in Grosvenor Square, Manchester, having been removed from York in 1840, as a more convenient centre. It continued to give a course of general instruction of University level in connection with the London University. It was again removed in 1848 after the foundation of the Owens College.

School Library. At the fifth, held November 18, 1847, Sir Archibald Alison was present, and at the sixth, held November 16, Viscount Mahon was the principal speaker.

To meet current criticism the Chairman remarked in opening the proceedings :

‘It had been cast in their teeth, no longer ago than yesterday, that the members of the institution were only a set of apprentices, clerks and shopmen. . . . The Athenæum numbered among its members men of science and men of education, of the highest order ; there were professional men of all grades, architects, millwrights, mechanics, and men of science in every department.’

In 1849, however, it was realised that in spite of these brilliant and costly gatherings (perhaps even because of them), the steady educational work of the Athenæum suffered. The attendance at lectures and the list of members had greatly diminished. Mr. Samuel Ogden was thereupon appointed honorary secretary, and a policy of steady, sustained educational effort was initiated instead of the spasmodic effort at the soirées. A debt of £6000 was greatly diminished by means of a bazaar held in 1850, and was finally extinguished by donations a short time afterwards. Regular adult evening classes were held for instruction of men in business pursuits, and, though the social side was by no means extinguished, it no longer occupied the almost exclusive place it had previously held.

Meanwhile the action in Chancery was dragging on its wearying course. Lord Lyndhurst had retired for the third time from the Lord Chancellorship, May 4, 1846, and was again replaced in July 1846 by Lord Cottenham, when the Liberal party resumed office. Both litigants agreed to urge the immediate completion of the report of Mr. Dowdeswell, the Master of Chancery, and to expedite the termination of the suit. This was all the more necessary as the School revenue derived from the corn-grinding was dwindling to an alarming extent, and repeated sales of capital stock had to be made to meet current expenses. It was evident to all that there was no prospect of finding the means to carry out the original scheme as ordered by the Court of Chancery in 1833. The feoffees therefore decided to lay before the Court the present state of income and expenditure. It is to their honour

that all through the time of serious financial anxiety they had made every effort to continue the grant of at least one, and sometimes more, University Exhibitions to deserving scholars, particularly when the limited means of the scholars rendered such a course necessary. There seemed even better prospect of harmonising the views of the opposing parties, when an ill-advised advertisement of Mr. Nicholas Germon, claiming for boarders the right to school exhibitions, was inserted in the 'Manchester Guardian' of January 24, and, being wrongly attributed to the feoffees as their usual and official advertisement, again stirred up the slumbering fires of antagonism.

At last the report of the Master in Chancery, John Edward Dowdeswell, was received April 25, 1848. It abolished the system of boarders altogether, and suggested that the whole of the school room provided for carrying into effect the proposed extended system of education, should be considered as one connected establishment, to be called the Manchester Free Grammar School. It was made the substance of a decree by the Vice-Chancellor Shadwell, and although the legal adviser of the feoffees recommended a fresh appeal to the House of Lords, the feoffees decided that they would not be justified in incurring the serious additional expense to the funds of the charity by such an appeal.

Resignations were received at the next meeting of feoffees from the Earl of Ellesmere and Mr. John Wilson Patten, and it was resolved (by the feoffees still remaining in the trust) that

'inasmuch as it appears to the present feoffees that the recent decree of the Vice-Chancellor will effect such a total change in the character of the School, alike inconsistent with the original intention of the founders and with the former decrees of the Court of Chancery under which the School has been hitherto conducted, and that the Vice-Chancellor has directed the Master in Chancery to supply the existing vacancies on the Trust, and as the decree may afford an opportunity of obtaining the appointment of the full complement of feoffees under the sanction of the Court, the feoffees now present, who constitute the whole body now remaining on the Trust, have decided also to resign office and hereby authorise the adoption of such steps as

may be necessary to procure the appointment of the full complement of feoffees by the Master in Chancery.

WILBRAHAM EGERTON (*Chairman*),
 WILLIAM HULTON,
 W. L. CLOWES,
 W. TATTON EGERTON,
 J. FRED. FOSTER.

‘24 Jan., 1849.’

CHAPTER XII

1848-1859

THE HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN

'If a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.'

'Another error of learning, of a diverse nature from all the former, is the over-early and peremptory reduction of knowledge into arts and methods; from which time commonly sciences receive small or no augmentation.'—*Advancement of Learning*.

Uncertainty of educational aim among the mercantile classes increased by the opposition of the clergy to any system of public education which threatened their established prerogatives—Dr. Thomas Arnold on middle-class education—The Middle Schools of the Church of England—The formation of the Lancashire Public Schools Association reveals the presence of incompatible aims among educationalists and causes the appearance of two parties—State subsidy without State control gives place to a new Government policy in 1847—The two Manchester Education Bills and the Newcastle Commission—The New Trustees at the Manchester Grammar School—Their qualifications for their task—The teaching staff—Course of events at the School—Current opinion about the state of middle-class education in Manchester—E. Edwards, 1854; W. C. Williamson, 1855; James Heywood, 1856; Rev. Chas. Bigg, 1857—Agencies tending towards enlightenment of public opinion: Mechanics' Institutes, Athenæums, Schools of Design, Free Libraries—Revival of the School Library—Foundation of the Owens College—The Lancasterian and other Schools established by private benevolence—Classical and modern education in competition—Two ancient streams lose their force—The trustees twice seek the advice of Dr. Norris of Corpus Christi—Resignation of Nicholas Germon.

THE period during which the new trustees appointed by the Court of Chancery and their immediate successors held office lasted till 1876, when an entirely new scheme for the

management of the School was drawn up under the Endowed Schools Act of 1867. It may conveniently be divided into two somewhat unequal terms—viz., from 1849 to 1859 and from 1859 to 1876. Both were periods of educational difficulty and struggle, but they differed in the fact that, while the first witnessed confusion and incertitude of educational aims and objectives, the second witnessed a certitude of aim which was pursued in the face of bitter and unreasoning opposition organised by a number of those who had been educated at the School and who believed that, because certain abuses and accretions had been removed, no further changes were necessary to keep the School in touch with the highest educational interests of the town. They had received a caste education, and they could conceive of nothing better. Thanks to the repeal of the Corn Laws, which had so heavily oppressed the lower middle and artisan classes, and to the increasing prosperity of trade, the 'hungry forties' had passed away, and with them a period of intellectual meagreness. With improved conditions a new crop of hitherto suppressed or obstructed social and intellectual aspirations and capacities were seeking expression.

So long as these aspirations towards social betterment were confined to a few benevolent individuals of a party, they did not interfere with the old party groupings. When they succeeded in arousing public sympathy, they set in action some social instincts which are not confined to party, but are common to benevolent men of all parties. Consequently many who had previously been in opposition now found themselves in co-operation. Instead of the old groupings of Calvinists, Swedenborgians, Arminians, new groupings took place, and new parties were formed along social lines, with great temporary confusion in the process.

'The time had gone by for churchmanship to evaporate in hurrahs over a bumper for Church and Queen' (Canon Stowell). Many of the clergy shared the Evangelical zeal of the Nonconformists, but the influence of the Evangelical movement was social more than intellectual. It had become, to a large extent, a middle-class movement. The sympathies of its members were aroused by the degraded condition of the people around, and it sought to re-inspire them by bringing

them to the realisation of the blessings of Christianity. Being a middle-class movement, the petty struggles of trade allowed its members no time to cultivate intellectual interests, and for these its more enlightened members looked to the Broad Churchmen. The High Church Party alone seems to have had little share in the public movements in Manchester at this period. The census of 1851 is the only census which gives official information about the comparative strength of the various religious denominations. From it we gather that there were some 1632 buildings for religious worship in Lancashire. Of these 529 belonged to the Church of England, and 1103 to other religious bodies. There was provision in these buildings for nearly 800,000 worshippers; of these 383,466 were provided by the Church of England, and 406,702 by the other bodies. This was in spite of the fact that the number of Anglican churches had doubled between 1821 and 1851, for the Nonconformists, the Wesleyans, and the Catholics had multiplied in equal if not greater proportion.

We have already seen how the zeal for education had permeated these several bodies, in the provision for Sunday and Day Schools. We must now consider the efforts made for the better education of the middle classes. The benefaction of John Owens, in 1845, had caused still further attention to be directed to the new problems concerning educational aims, by revealing the paucity of numbers of those whose elementary training was sufficiently advanced to enable them to benefit by higher training in anything but classics and mathematics. The trustees of the Owens benefactions had become alive to the difficulties in 1851, as was proved by the efforts they made to solve the problem by seeking the advice and assistance of educational experts at the Scotch, the Irish, the London, and the Durham Universities, as well as at the older English Universities. The narrowness of their escape from complete disaster, even with such experience to guide them, showed the complexity of the problem that awaited the trustees of the Grammar School.¹

It is interesting to note here the opinions of Dr. Thomas

¹ *The Owens College: Its Foundation and Growth.* By Joseph Thompson. 1886.

Arnold, whose influence in Manchester was so much desired¹ at this time, and whose convictions about the social importance of a spread of liberal education among all classes is shown in his letters to the *Sheffield Courant*.²

Writing in 1832 on the education of the middle classes, Dr. Thomas Arnold thus expresses himself :

‘It seems to me that the education of the Middle Classes at this time is a question of the greatest national importance. I wish exceedingly to draw public attention to it. . . . The Schools for the richer classes are, as it is well known, almost universally conducted by the clergy ; and the clergy, too, have the superintendence of the parochial schools for the poorer classes. But between these two extremes, there is a great multitude of what are called English or Commercial Schools, at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and of tradesmen receive their education. . . . There is now no restriction on the exercise of the business of the schoolmaster and no enquiry into his qualifications. . . . The masters of our English or Commercial Schools labour under this double disadvantage, that not only their moral, but their intellectual fitness must be taken on trust. . . . We have no regular system of secular education. . . . The Classical Schools throughout the country have Universities to look to, distinction at school prepares the way for distinction at College, and distinction at College is again the road to distinction and emolument as a teacher. It is a passport with which a young man enters life with advantage either as a tutor or as a schoolmaster. But anything like local Universities—anything so much as local distinction or advancement in life held out to encourage exertion at a Commercial School, it is yet vain to look for. Thus the business of education is degraded ; for a schoolmaster of a Commercial School, having no means of acquiring a general celebrity, is rendered dependent on the inhabitants of his own immediate neighbourhood—if he offends them, he is ruined. This greatly interferes with the maintenance of discipline. The boys are well aware of their parents’ power and complain to them against the exercise of their master’s authority. Nor is it always that the parents themselves can resist the temptation of showing their own importance, and giving the master to understand that he must be careful how he

Conversazione of deputies of Literary Institutes in South Lancashire, held at Manchester Athenæum, October 5, 1844.

2 *Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold*, 1845.

ventures to displease them. . . . The interference of Government seems to me indispensable in order to create a national and systematic course of proceeding instead of the more feeble efforts of individuals, to provide for the Middle Classes something analogous to the advantages offered to the richer classes by our great public schools and Universities.'

Dr. Thomas Arnold also makes numerous references to the current danger of substituting a shallow instruction in modern subjects for a disciplinary training in the classics, and while not unfavourable to much of the work of the 'Mechanics' Institutes' repeatedly expresses very clearly his anxiety that the *religious* purpose of education (*i.e.* training the pupil in the tenets and practice of the Christian religion, with constant reference to a moral purpose in his life), was in considerable danger of being lost sight of in the attempt to improve his earning capacity and material progress.

The crowded state of the English department of the Grammar School no doubt encouraged the members of the newly constituted diocesan branch of the Church of England Educational Society to make further effort to provide middle-class education, subsequent to the effort described in the last chapter. Under the chairmanship and the actual personal canvas of the Hon. and Very Rev. Dean Herbert, assisted by his intimate friends, Rev. Charles Richson, Hugh Birley, Rev. John Clowes, J. C. Harter, and other prominent Churchmen, enough money was collected to build an English Middle School, subsequently known as the Commercial Schools, in Stretford Road. The foundation stone was laid June 19, 1845, by James Collier Harter. Rev. Hugh Stowell, who took part in the proceedings, refers to their intentions as follows :

'If we come to the rank of a clerk and small shop-keeper and book-keeper, and warehouseman and superior stone-mason and artisan, whose wages allowed them to get a better style of education for their children than the working classes can command by their earnings, we find that the children of such persons are sent to any school that happens to be in the neighbourhood, because there is no authenticated or endorsed school to which they can trust, or where they may send their children, knowing that they will receive a sound, scriptural, Church of England education in the

school, and it is a fact that a great many of the middle schools in Manchester will be found to be kept by broken-down tradesmen, men who have miscarried in every other attempt, but who are thought, it would seem, quite sufficient for an attempt which is less only in importance and magnitude of consequence than the office of the ministers of the Gospel themselves. . . . I will only further remark, before I close, that nothing can be further from the intention of those who are erecting this School than any wish or intention to come into rivalry, or to appear to come into rivalry, with our own venerable Grammar School, one of the most venerable, the best endowed, and I hope one of the best conducted schools in the Kingdom, which has sent up many senior wranglers, men who have conferred oftentimes real honour on both our Universities. Our object is not rivalry, and you may suppose that when I tell you, as Mr. Parkinson has just informed me, that in the Commercial School connected with the Grammar School there are about 100 applicants for whom there is not room, so that none of them can be admitted. And in Birmingham, a beautiful model for Manchester, where the funds belonging to the Grammar School are so ample as to allow them to have four different auxiliary schools planted in the outskirts, these are filled with crowds of promising youths who are drafted and transplanted to the Central King Edward's School, and they are mothered in these district schools till they are found sufficiently advanced for transplantation. Why should we not have four such schools in Manchester? Why should Birmingham, whose population is so much smaller, take the lead of Manchester? The truth is we are lamentably behind other towns in the matter of middle-class education. . . . I trust we shall not be content with a single solitary school in Hulme but that we shall have another at Chetham Hill, that another will spring up in Salford, and that we shall plant a fourth at Ardwick Green.'

The Middle-class School was opened January 26, 1846, and at a general meeting of the subscribers and friends of the Manchester Church Education Society the objects and aims were still further defined. After alluding to the necessity of model schools for training teachers, Rev. C. D. Wray proceeded :

'The schools they were about to open were commercial schools in which the youth of a higher class would be educated in conformity with the principles of the Church of

England. Valuable masters had been selected for the various departments of the School, and he did trust that under their care and the auspices of the Society, the success of the schools would equal their most sanguine expectations.'

Referring to the report of the Church of England Committee he continued :

'At the commencement of the report it was shown on a rough calculation that about 20,000 or 30,000 young persons in the parish (of Manchester) are provided with education at the cost of their parents and friends. But large as such a number appears, it is a well-known fact that with the exception of the Grammar School in its two departments, there is no institution whatever in the parish which can claim to make adequate provision for the education of such persons as the committee have now in view. . . . Moreover they have the pleasure of announcing that they are under obligation to the Committees, both of the Natural History Society and of the Geological Society of this town for the readiness they have shown to co-operate with them in the objects they have in view. From the Natural History Society duplicate specimens will be from time to time forwarded to the schools, and, by permission of the Geological Society, the scholars of these schools, under the charge of one of their masters, may visit the specimens in the Geological Museum on any day from 10 till 4.'

At the Annual Meeting and Prize Distribution of the Commercial School, June 22, 1865, Rev. Canon Richson presided, and in speaking of his early connection with the establishment of the new schools twenty years previously, stated :

'When he came to the North he resided at Preston. He then felt that efforts should be made to establish a school for the middle class which should be wholly separate from proprietary management, an institution in fact which should be a public school. This object was soon carried out by the son of the late Richard Newsome of Preston, who, at his own cost, built a public school in that town for the middle class as a memorial to his father. On coming to Manchester, a society was established at the head of which was the late Dean of Manchester (Dean Herbert) who principally raised the money for the erection of the school.'

The first head master of the Commercial School was Rev. J. G. Slight, M.A., Scholar of St. John's, Cambridge, who held the post till his appointment as Chaplain to the Chorlton Union. He was subsequently Rector of Taxall, Chester, till his death in 1851. He was assisted by a staff of seven assistant-masters, who gave instruction in English, French, German, Drawing, Music, Writing, and Arithmetic. The school was intended to hold 150 scholars, and 137 were admitted in the first year. The fee charged was £8 8s. a year.

On the resignation of Mr. Slight, the Rev. William Wilson Howard, M.A., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was appointed. He seems to have left in a couple of years, for he appears as third master of Repton School in 1855, and in 1856 became Diocesan Inspector for the National Society.

The third headmaster was the Rev. Charles Edward Moberly, M.A., Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. He had previously been head of St. Nicholas College, Shoreham, and left to be Perpetual Curate at Beeston, Yorkshire. Subsequently he became assistant-master at Rugby School (1859 to 1879) and finally Rector of Colne Rogers, Co. Gloucester (1879-1883).

The fourth headmaster was Rev. John Henn, B.A., of London University, who was appointed in 1854. During his headmastership, which lasted till 1873, the school rapidly came to the front as the leading public High School in Manchester. Mr. Henn had previously served King Edward's School, Birmingham, under Dr. Prince Lee, who had surrendered the headmastership of the school to become the first Bishop of Manchester in 1847, and who had previously served as assistant-master at Rugby School, under Dr. Arnold. Mr. Henn was a man of ability and exercised a very profound influence on the boys under his care. He was for a few years contemporary with Rev. Nicholas Germon at the Manchester Grammar School, to whose English School, being a 'Free School,' something of the mistaken stigma of a Charity School was attached.

As the Owens College developed, the Manchester Commercial Schools as they were now called, found a more appropriate outlet for their best scholars, though this was only a small part of their work, for a University course of training or a prolonged stay at school was held to unfit a

merchant's son for a business career. When the family resources allowed of the expense, he was generally sent to a boarding school for domestic convenience and for a little worldly experience, which was often distinctly bad.

It is convenient at this place to follow the subsequent history of this remarkable institution. Mr. Henn was appointed Rector of St. John's, Deansgate, in 1876, and subsequently of St. Thomas, Heaton Chapel. Rev. Benjamin Winfield, B.A., of London University, who had served as assistant-master since 1873, introduced practical instruction in Chemistry and arranged the work so that the scholars could participate in the Science and Art Department Examinations of South Kensington, and in the Cambridge University Local Examinations. In its musical training, its physical training, its public swimming competitions, and chemical laboratory work, the institution was well in advance of many contemporary schools.

It should be noticed that, unlike the Grammar School, the Commercial Schools had no organic relationship, either by exhibitions, by endowment, or by the personal attachment of any of its masters after 1854, with the older Universities of Oxford or Cambridge. School exhibitions were granted June 1856. The natural outlet for those of its scholars who were desirous of further educational facilities was the Owens College, which offered higher training in the study of Law, Medicine, and Engineering, and in special subjects of skilled industry, such as Chemistry. First the examinations conducted by the College of Preceptors, then subsequently the Local Examinations set up by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and finally the Matriculation Examination of the London University, provided standards of school accomplishment to be reached by candidates entering the several professions. Judged by such standards, the Commercial Schools continued to maintain a high, if not the premier position, before the reform at the Grammar School. University honours and professional distinctions, however useful for Speech Day purposes in inciting the ardour of coming generations, offer only a very poor test of the efficiency and influence of a school. Of much greater value is the testimony of so many of the old pupils of Mr. Henn and Mr. Winfield of what they owed to the school, as

illustrated in the letters they wrote from widely-scattered quarters of the British dominions, and which were often published in the local press.

At the Annual Meeting, held January 22, 1865, Canon Richson took the chair. He recorded the visit of James Bryce on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission and reported results of examinations in Latin, French, German, History, Arithmetic, English Composition and Dictation.

While these efforts were being made to improve the education of the middle classes, still greater efforts were being made on behalf of the poor.

The statistical work which Dr. Kay accomplished in Manchester, 1831-1835,¹ brought him at once before the notice of Edwin Chadwick, who introduced him to Lord Lansdowne, as a man of rare quality and singularly valuable experience. Dr. Kay was asked to act as secretary to the Special Committee of the Privy Council on Education which was appointed 1839. The story of the organisation of State assistance to education from this time to 1849 is really the life-work of this remarkable man. By persistent and quiet endeavour he overcame the self-satisfied ignorance, the prejudice, and the calumny and the mistaken zeal that were arrayed against him; he triumphed in finally carrying through his work, by which the State gained a directing and supervising power over popular efforts for providing general education. In 1833, when the first Government grant of £30,000 was voted for education, the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society were made the agents for applying it. In 1839 the duty of administering this grant was entrusted to the Special Committee of the Privy Council. This was the origin of the Education Department, though that name was not used till 1856. Reports of the Committee were issued in 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, and 1843.

The policy of State provision and State control of public education had been advocated by the Central Association formed in London in 1833. It was from the first supported by members of both political parties. It received enlightened criticism in a series of lectures delivered by Rev. F. D. Maurice, on 'Has the Church or the State the Power to

¹ *Proceedings of the Manchester Statistical Society.*

Educate the Nation ?' published 1839. Some of his observations on the ultimate results likely to follow the uncontrolled State education in Prussia and France when read to-day seem to possess the prevision of prophecy. State-provided and State-controlled education was adopted as a policy by the reforming party till the minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, issued in 1846, created considerable stir and changed the current of public thought by advocating the formation of local committees to deal with education.

This inaugurated an entirely new epoch, during which the civic community as such became conscious of its responsibility, and acknowledged that the public education of its children was its own affair, and should be met by local rates, and that it could not be delegated to any agency, whether clerical or philanthropic. The reforming party now demanded that education should be secular in its management and control, though it desired active co-operation with religious and philanthropic bodies. As a result of a meeting in the vestry of Lloyd Street Chapel, Manchester, in July 1847, an influential committee was formed, of which Jacob Bright, Samuel Lucas, William Ballantyne, W. B. Hodgson, LL.D., Alexander Ireland, and Rev. W. McKerrow were members.

The advocates of publicly provided education for the poor now formed two antagonistic parties, one of whom claimed that public education had not ceased to be the prerogative of the clergy, at least as far as clerical control was concerned, and that all publicly managed education was necessarily 'godless'; while the other claimed that it was only under conditions of lay control and management that public education could be freed from that subservience to the old traditions of classical education which, except as preparatory for professional careers, had become limited and obsolete. The latter party, so far from having any objection to religious training, for the most part welcomed it. They believed in a 'secular' management, though not necessarily a 'secular' teaching. The controversy was confused by the growth of new traditions of middle class and artisan learning which were springing up among the adult members of the community in connection with the Mechanics' Institutes and the commercial and science classes at the Athenæum. The Free Public Library movement was also supported on

behalf of the working classes, who formed a separate committee and raised more than a quarter of the initial funds.¹

The educational committee formed at Lloyd Street Chapel held a public meeting on August 25, 1847, at the Mechanics' Institute, Cooper Street, when an association was formed, under the title 'Lancashire Public Schools Association for Promoting a General System of Secular Education.' Its policy was defined as the provision of free day schools for children of five to fifteen years; evening school for children ten years and upwards; infant schools; industrial schools; administration to be by local authorities and finance based on local rates.

Dr. J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth felt compelled to resign his membership on account of its detachment from any religious organisation. He regarded clerical control as essential, and did not regard clerical co-operation as sufficient. The first annual meeting was held January 1849, and its second annual meeting January 16, 1850. Dr. T. Rely Beard, whose pamphlet on the administration of the Grammar School had prefaced the attack on the feoffees, was appointed Chairman of Committee.

There were three possible methods by which the expense of providing education for the poor could be met :

I. Voluntary benevolence, the plan supported by Lord Brougham, E. Baines, and many wealthy philanthropists.

II. Local rates, the plan supported by those who, having experienced the limited value of local effort under denominational stimulus, realised how inadequate was the support forthcoming.

III. State provision, the plan supported by politicians, who were enamoured of Continental systems which they had only imperfectly studied.

Each had its advocates, but soon the several groups became split up and regrouped according to their support or rejection of the control of the clergy over the schools.

Meanwhile the Lancasterian Schools continued their excellent work. At the annual meeting of subscribers, held Friday, June 15, 1855, Mr. Alfred Nield not only gave a history of their progress during the forty-five years

¹ Credland, *Manchester Public Libraries*.

they had been in existence, but also described their present condition.¹

The system advocated by the Lancashire Public Schools Association was based on local rates, district Education Committees to be appointed over large areas, not parishes, with wide powers in the building of schools, the employment of teachers, and the curriculum. Education was to be free.

The system advocated by the National Education Union was based upon a tax on property, to be distributed as a Government grant or subsidy to certain District Committees, of somewhat narrower scope than the District Committees advocated above, and which were to be under the control of a central authority. Money for building was to be derived from a local rate : money for support by private subscription, and State subsidy. The Committees were to be allowed to pay gratuities to deserving scholars to promote their further education.

To check the growing influence of the Lancashire Public Schools Association, a Manchester and Salford Committee was formed for providing education under the control of the Church of England. Of this committee Canon Richson was the most active and enlightened member. He was supported not only by the local clergy, but by many Nonconformists who believed that the resources of voluntaryism were not exhausted, and that the religious bodies were still able and willing to provide the public with means for elementary education.

Meanwhile the Lancashire Public Schools Association brought forward an Education Bill whose object was to establish free schools, first in Lancashire, then throughout England and Wales, for secular instruction. The Manchester and Salford Committee then brought forward the Manchester and Salford Boroughs Education Bill, whose object was to provide that all the youths of the three kingdoms should be religiously brought up and the rights of conscience respected. It abandoned the pure voluntary principle, and sought support by rates levied on property for all schools qualified to have the parliamentary grant, but refused to allow any part of the management to pass out of the hands of the bodies

¹ See contemporary reports.

which originated the schools. It offered free admission to all such schools for all applicants. On the presentation of the two local Bills to Parliament in 1852, a Select Committee consisting of

Mr. Milner Gibson	Mr. William Miles
Mr. Peto	Mr. Monsall
Mr. John Bright	Marquis of Blandford
Lord John Russell	Mr. Gladstone
Mr. Heald	Mr. Cobden
Mr. Caldwell	Mr. Fox
Mr. Ker Seymour	Mr. Brotherton
Mr. William Banks	

was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the education provided within the two boroughs of Manchester and Salford.

The urgency of the need for providing public elementary education is shown by the following figures :

The population of Manchester and Salford in 1851 was 390,000, 75 per cent. living in houses under £10 a year and 11 per cent. living in houses between £10 and £18 a year. From a religious census taken in 1851, there were then 2,407,642 scholars upon the books of the Sunday Schools in England and Wales. About three-eighths were in schools of the Church of England, the rest divided amongst the various denominations of dissenters and Roman Catholics, the largest proportion being among the Wesleyans, who had nearly half as many as the Church of England.

The statistics prepared for the Select Committee were sharply criticised by the Rev. Canon Richson, who possessed both insight and wide sympathy. He drew up and read before the Manchester Statistical Society figures alternative to those put forward by the Public Schools Association. He was not only a thinker, but an active worker, and had prepared for the National Society useful text-books on school planning and furnishing, and on the teaching of drawing, writing, and elocution. He did much to raise educational controversy in Manchester above sectarian bitterness.

The following quotation represents Canon Richson's point of view :

‘ Unless the inducement to leave school early by the

remuneration offered to juvenile labour can be properly diminished, the period of education among the working children of a district like Manchester cannot be expected to extend much beyond the period when children usually obtain employment, viz. the age of eight or nine years. At such an age no reasonable person can consider their education completed. The establishment of Mechanics' Institutions, Athenæums, &c., cannot be regarded as a substitute for schools of purely practical science inasmuch as they want that authority and control which are necessary to conduct any study to effect.'

The new trustees of the Manchester Grammar School were thus called upon to reconstruct an educational policy at a time when educational aims were confused and conflicting and when it was difficult for open-minded men to choose wisely and temperately between opposing claims, or to strike out new ideas which naturally met with the disapproval of the extremists of either party.

In accordance with the plan laid down by the Master in Chancery, they had been selected from persons residing in the townships of Manchester and Salford. They were all merchants of experience and of public reputation, chosen from the several conflicting parties in the town. Two had been themselves educated at the School, but none were in Orders, or had received actual University training, though the Dean of Manchester naturally continued to be their occasional adviser, as he remained the official Visitor of the school. Their names and their qualifications for the work are given in the Appendix.

By the exertions of the 'Relators' the School trust had been virtually recovered for the use of the townspeople; by the exertions of the old feoffees it had been saved for the purpose of higher education, and no part could be diverted to provide elementary education for the poor. It is true that the latter was badly needed, but other organisations had to be called into play to deal with it. Perhaps the colossal expense of the eleven years' Chancery actions was not too high a price to pay for this solution of the controversy. The new trustees, in addition to witnessing the successful completion of the political struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws and the establishment of Free Trade, had memories of the fight for the passage of the Reform Bill, and had seen how the reformed Parliament had

shown its interest in education by making the first public grant since the grants of the Duchy Court of Lancaster in Queen Elizabeth's day.¹ They had witnessed also the appointment of Charity Commissioners, of Poor Law Commissioners, of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of Factory Commissioners, and of The Health of Towns Commissioners—all with the purpose of obtaining information for the guidance of Legislature on these subjects. Lastly, the recent incorporation of the town in 1839 had established a Town Council, whose duty it was to look after the welfare of the inhabitants. To them education was one of the processes of social amelioration for all ranks of society.

The outlook of the new trustees was naturally somewhat different from that of the relators. They had not been protagonists in the struggle, and though the eleven years which had elapsed since its commencement had been strenuous ones, and many differences of opinion and even of principle continued to exist, yet there was a much clearer understanding of opponents' views and a diminution of class antagonism. Indeed, all the new trustees were Manchester merchants, half being Nonconformists and half Churchmen. Most of them had had considerable experience in Local Administration of Municipal or Poor Law, and many had served on unofficial public bodies concerned with public philanthropy or public education, such as the Mechanics' Institute, the Athenæum, the School of Design, &c. They therefore fully realised that middle-class education could no longer be limited to the kind of training still regarded as suitable for the so-called learned professions, but that it was necessary to include, for boys destined for commercial careers, some form of training in mathematics, science and art, English history and literature, and the use of modern foreign languages. Fortunately the Broad Church movement led by Archbishop Whately and others was breaking up the old spirit of exclusiveness which had grown up among the Church clergy and Nonconformist ministry alike, for Nonconformist and Anglican laymen were finding plenty of ground for common action in the educational efforts put forth by the supporters of the Athenæum and other philanthropic institutions. It was, however, noticeable that unless these efforts

¹ See Baines' *History of Lancashire*.

were markedly concerned with religious propaganda they were not supported by Anglican or Nonconformist clergy, until the recognition of the defective food supply of the people caused many of them to share in the work of the Anti-Corn Law League.

The educational scheme proposed by the Court of Chancery, which the new trustees had been asked to carry out, embraced two hitherto non-related and even exclusive aims—the one for boys intending a commercial career and leaving school at 13 to 14, the other for boys staying till 18 or 19, and intending a University and professional career.

The natural leaders of Higher Education to whom they turned could offer little assistance. They were, firstly, the official Visitor of the School. This was the Rev. Dr. G. H. Bowers, who had been appointed Dean of Manchester in 1847, the title of Warden having been dropped. Ecclesiastical administrative affairs were very engrossing at this time, for the See of Manchester had just been created, and changes in the Collegiate body were taking place. Dr. Prince Lee, though coming fresh from the position of headmaster of Birmingham, was too fully occupied with the organisation of his diocese to give much detailed attention to the purely educational needs of Manchester. Indeed, his experiences of the recent reorganisation of the King Edward School at Birmingham might have been more of a hindrance than a help.

The other natural leaders were the high master and the teaching staff. The Rev. Nicholas Germon was undoubtedly a man of considerable power and attainments. He had graduated B.A. from Oriel College, Oxford, 1821, when the reform movement within the University, which derived its name from that college, was concentrating itself on securing increased efficiency of classical teaching, though it had not yet entered on a phase of increased width of outlook. He had been recommended as assistant master to the School in 1825 by Dr. Coplestone, famous for his share in raising the efficiency of classical training at Oriel College. By successive promotions he had reached the position of high master in 1842. He was respected by the boys and by the townspeople. He had been incumbent of St. Peter's Church, Mosley Street, from 1825, and his congregation at this time included many of the wealthy merchant families,

while other such families, perhaps the most opulent and influential in the town, attended Cross Street Chapel, or the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Lloyd Street. His churchmanship is described as being moderately high and dry, and it does not appear that he exerted any considerable influence on the intellectual and religious life of the town. Though St. Peter's was the fashionable church of the town, the income attached to it was not a large one, and the salary available for the high master from school funds, though considerable, was depleted by the pension paid to Dr. Smith. Thus, in order to maintain his social position, Mr. Germon was dependent upon the additional income derivable from taking of wealthy boarders.

He expected high attainments among his scholars, whose limited numbers naturally caused him disappointment and anxiety. His experience of the social needs of a city school had not been broadened, though it might have been softened, by his long association with Rev. Jeremiah Smith. His very virtues prevented him from understanding the social and civic changes around him; while the fact that the School funds no longer provided scholarships, and wealthy boarders were no longer attracted to the School, no doubt considerably intensified any anxiety he might have felt about his personal income. Meanwhile confusion and dissatisfaction continued among the other masters of the Grammar School, who naturally shared the feelings of the high master, for they were also sufferers under the new conditions.

The most liberalising leement in the School at this time was the second master, Richard Thompson, assistant master in the Classical School. He began to reorganise the School library in 1845, which still contained a number of old books which had probably been in the School nearly 200 years. These received a detailed consideration and description by the late John Harland in the *Manchester Guardian*, while a further description of the School library at this date appeared in *Ulula*, 1882. The oldest extant MS. book containing a list of borrowers is dated 1845, when a number of books were taken out in the name of the high master and several pupils. The entries seem to have been made once a week, and small sums of money are entered up, which indicate that a weekly payment was made by those using the books. Books were

presented by Richard Whately and many others. A number of benefactors, among whom was William Slater, presented books and sums of money. The whole question was reconsidered about 1855. To the remains of the old library (about forty volumes) and the volumes more recently purchased by a subscription library, some 500 new volumes were added. A catalogue was printed, 1856, and the whole placed under the management of Richard Thompson.¹

The English school might conceivably have been of greater importance, but Rev. George Slade was a man of lesser calibre than his predecessor, Rev. E. D. Jackson. John Deas Mackenzie, who came to assist in the English School in 1853, though of considerable attainment and influence among the boys, only stayed about eight years. I have been quite unable to follow his career. He was a great lover of history, and had such a particular admiration for Cromwell that the boys when in trouble about their work would often deftly turn the conversation to the subject of the Great Protector, and so mollify any anger. He was evidently highly respected in the district, for he acted as hon. secretary at the Athenæum during a period of acute partisanship in 1858. Mr. Mackenzie's portrait hangs over the fireplace in the Board-room at the School, having been presented by his sister. He was a quiet man and lived a somewhat retired life at Irwell View, Lower Broughton, and used constantly to talk to himself as he wandered about.

The clergy of the district, many of whom had been educated at the School, had been accustomed to attend regularly on the Annual Speech Day. This had been a fashionable gathering held in the English School, previous to the Anniversary Dinner of the Old Boys. The University examiners, who were frequently old scholars, had generally attended both functions. The School meetings had not been held since 1847, but the Anniversary Dinners were continued; the University Examiners often attended these and spoke more freely than in their reports to the trustees. It is evident from the accounts of these dinners that the general policy of the School received ample criticism, and that, though they cemented old friendships, they also perpetuated old

¹ Richard Thompson's own valuable library was subsequently presented to the School by Miss Thompson in 1876.

prejudices and tended to deprive the trustees of the sympathy and co-operation of the old boys in their new task of adapting the old School.

Finally, the trustees might look for guidance to the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, in whom rested the right of appointment of high master. This was Dr. Norris, who had been made president in 1843, and who held that position during all the stormy years of University reform. He is credited with having been of Conservative tendencies, but he was certainly the most helpful of all the advisers.

The prolonged conferences which the trustees held with all of these authorities shows how earnestly they endeavoured to fulfil their responsibility. In spite of their experience of the working of the Mechanics' Institute, the Athenæum, the School of Design, and of the new Owens College, perhaps because all these institutions were directed to providing training for the adult members of the community, they failed adequately to organise the English School or to make it an efficient centre of commercial training. Consequently the first ten years of their work seemed barren of outward results. They were, however, by no means really so, for much experience was gained of the causes of failure, and many problems, if not actually solved, were placed in the way of more easy solution when the proper time came.

On their appointment the new trustees, as business men, at once set themselves to inquire into the condition of the funds. Sir Elkanah Armitage was appointed chairman; Mr. Oliver Heywood, banker, was appointed treasurer. They found all the accounts were kept in good order, and there was still a sum of £14,782 10s. 8d. in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Bank Stock. They determined to try to increase the school income, firstly, by making the business of the mills a more efficient and paying concern, and secondly, by making judicious arrangements with the rest of their property by renting it to the Lancashire and Leeds Railway Company, whose extension to Hunt's Bank had been opened January 1843, and which was now needing more space for an approach.

They then devoted their attention to the internal management of the School and the character of the teaching. Probably there was a good deal of outward respectability and decorous behaviour when the boys were under observation, which passed for educational efficiency.

The beadle was a very imposing personage, with his gold bands on his coat and his tall beaver hat. Both Mr. Thompson and Mr. Mackenzie were men of dignified bearing, and Mr. Germon was certainly treated with respect. The curriculum was, however, very bad. The masters would often sleep during part of the school-time. There were no home lessons, for all preparation was done in class, and the boys would gather round the master's desk to say their lessons. There were maps on the walls, but these were never used. Admission to the School was nominally in order of application, but practically by favour, for the applications were numerous.

The curriculum had been settled by the Court of Chancery. To see how far it was carried out the trustees appointed a Committee (December 7, 1849)—Messrs. Armitage, Peel, Rickards, Barbour, and Hunter—to examine the school buildings; to ascertain the number of masters employed; the number of scholars; the hours of attendance; the mode of admission, about which there had been some suspicion of favouritism; and, finally, the general state and management of the School. The Committee reported that they found that there were eight masters employed, and that the two schools were kept entirely separate, even possessing separate registers. There were

Four higher classical masters in charge of 130 boys.

One lower classical master in charge of 73 boys.

One master of English literature in charge of 150 boys.

One French master with occasional duties.

One master of writing and accounts with occasional duties.

The appointment of a mathematical master, so essential for boys intending a commercial career, appeared to have fallen into abeyance. The School Committee therefore reported that in order to carry out the scheme of studies laid down in the Court of Chancery, it would be necessary to appoint:

1. A mathematical master (Mr. Boardman) at a salary of £160 a year.

2. A librarian at £10 a year.

3. One or more occasional lecturers on Natural Philosophy, and to provide proper instruments and apparatus for illustration of lectures.

Before proceeding to carry out these ideas the trustees held a conference with the Dean, Rev. G. H. Bowers, and

the high master, as a result of which recommendations 3 and 4 were postponed as unnecessary at present for the type of boy in the English School, while 1 and 2 were carried out.

While granting a sum of £20 to the high master for prizes in October 1850, the trustees requested him to resume the custom, which had again fallen into abeyance, of making a public distribution of the prizes immediately after the School examination. This was particularly advisable, as the only other public function associated with the School was the Anniversary Dinner held by the old boys, to which the new trustees were not likely to be welcome guests, particularly as it was the custom to invite the high master and the examiners, and to hear from them expressions about the policy of the School.

Whether the Public Speech Days were at once established is uncertain, as no accounts of them appear in current newspapers. The Examiners' Reports, however, were regularly published, and from them we learn that the examiners repeatedly pointed out the great falling off in numbers of the boys attending the higher classical departments, and their lack of proficiency in classical and other knowledge, owing to the rapid promotion from the elementary classes to fill up vacant places. The examiners did not, however, suggest that the number of classes or the subjects of study should be diminished. They expressed themselves satisfied with the results achieved in the English School, and the presence there of some very promising material, but regretted that the majority of pupils continued to leave the School in less than two years after entry, and before the results of its teaching could be fully ascertained.

In spite of the often too favourable University Examiners' reports, the trustees continued dissatisfied and believed that the School was capable of doing more for Manchester boys than it was then accomplishing. They requested (April 13, 1853) Sir Elkanah Armitage, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Hunter to inspect the School personally, and, after conferring with the Dean and the high master, to ascertain whether the existing course of instruction was consistent with the terms and spirit of the regulations governing the School, approved by Court of Chancery, 1848. The public to some extent shared their dissatisfaction. There are a number of descriptions of the

School at this period ; among others, a very interesting series of reminiscences of contemporary school life, particularly with regard to its boy nature and boy occupation, was published in the *Courier*, and republished in *Ulula*, 1904, by Alexander Hulme, who was in the School about 1854. Mr. Edwards, who had come to Manchester in 1851 to take up the position of Chief Librarian in the newly established Free Library in Campfield, thus writes of the School in his 'Manchester Worthies,' published 1855 :

'The Upper, or Classical School, consists of 4 masters and nearly 70 boys ; the Lower School in which boys are prepared for the Upper and also for the English School, one master and 70 boys ; the English School in which a single master has to try to do the impossible task of teaching English History, Grammar, Geography, and a multitude of other subjects to 150 urchins of 8 to 12 years old ; for an English School which forms part of a great and venerable foundation in one of the chief cities of the realm, this is no satisfactory report. The amount expended in master's salaries is, according to a statement which has been printed, about £200.'

The backward state of secondary education in Manchester in 1855 is also referred to by Professor W. C. Williamson. In speaking of the difficulty of finding students adequately prepared to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the newly established Owens College, he comments :

'One thing was unquestionable, school education in Manchester was at that time at a very low ebb. Of course the schoolmasters of the day ridiculed this explanation ; but it was a fact. The students were not prepared for those higher standards of education which a collegiate institution demanded, and below which its professors could not descend. The teachers of the schools retorted by declaring that we could not know anything about their teaching because they were not such fools as to send their upper students to us. Ere long the truth of our assertions was plainly demonstrated. At that time the local University Examinations were becoming popular and were being held in a number of the larger centres of population. At length one such was held in Manchester, and when the usual annual report of these examinations was published Manchester stood at the bottom of the entire list. But whilst our complaints respecting the low standard of Manchester educationalists were thus

justified, other influences equally unfavourable were at work. At that time opinion prevailed widely amongst the merchants of the town that if lads were to do any good, either to their masters or to themselves, they must enter the warehouses very early in life, *i.e.* by the time they were 14; and, having done so, they must undertake the most menial of the operations which were demanded by the business men of to-day. That this conviction was then very widely spread, even among the most intelligent portion of the mercantile community, I know from my own personal association with many such.¹

James Heywood, M.P. for North Lancashire, son of Sir Benjamin Heywood, and brother of Oliver Heywood, perhaps the most active member of Parliament for promoting university reform, made a report to the Association for the Reform of Educational Endowments in 1856, in which he mentions the controversy at the Manchester Grammar School concerning the lack of introduction of Modern Languages and Practical Science into the curriculum.

‘The appointment to the High Mastership of the Manchester Free Grammar School is vested absolutely by Bishop Oldham’s Will in the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Fortunately at the present time the head of that College is willing to act in unison with the Trustees of the School in Manchester, and a favourable opportunity is thus afforded in the event of any change in the officers of the School, of rendering the range of instruction more extensive, by introducing Modern Languages and Practical Science as a principal part of the Education. Manchester Free Grammar School is connected with Oxford by several Exhibitions, and should the matriculation examination in that University be extended (*i.e.* should the religious tests be abolished) a favourable effect in education would be the result.’

Rev. Canon Charles Bigg had left the School for Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1858, though, owing to his not having been five years at the School, he was not entitled to a School Exhibition. Preaching the Founder’s Day Sermon at the Manchester Cathedral in 1903, he remarked :

‘Well, it is a good thing that there should be that ladder, and I know that the School still provides it in liberal measure.

¹ *Reminiscences of a Yorkshire Naturalist*, pp. 138, 139.

But all climbing has its dangers. We boys in those days came almost without exception—I daresay the same thing is true still—from those homes where there was little luxury and not much refinement. There were many ambitious boys; some admirable ones whose example left nothing to be desired. The teaching was old-fashioned and narrow, as was all teaching in those days. It provided all that was necessary for the head, but I found in myself, and often noticed in others, how insufficient it was in other ways. There was no playground—that was one great drawback; and in consequence we saw very little of one another out of school and still less of the masters. We were not sufficiently brought under any elevating influence; we saw a good deal of the seamy side of the world, and not enough of its brighter aspects. I do not doubt that all this has much changed for the better. But in my time many a bright lad went up to Oxford full of Latin and Greek, but with everything else to learn, the speech and habits of Society, knowledge of mankind, above all self-control. There they found themselves in a new world with wine at command, and almost unlimited credit, and a great range of pleasure good and bad. Many went to wreck. They climbed only to lose their heads and fall. I could tell you many a sad story, and I could tell you many bright ones—more bright ones than sad.'

Canon Bigg became head master of Brighton College, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford, Canon of Christ Church, and friend of John Mathias Wilson, the last of the Benthamites, and was perhaps thereby one of the influences which induced F. W. Walker to come to Manchester.¹

The main cause of the difficulties which beset the English School was the lack of general enlightenment among the middle and industrial classes living in the neighbourhood, capable of providing the School with a stream of able, energetic and well-prepared boyhood, whose education could be advanced into the higher reaches of learning for which the School was intended. Such enlightenment was rapidly occurring, thanks to the provision of free public libraries, and the activities which now centred round the Mechanics' Institute. Though the Institute was intended primarily for the members of the

¹ Obituary Notice, *Manchester Guardian*, July 16, 1908.

working classes, it was attended by the youth of the middle classes, whose school education had been limited, and who desired to continue their studies. The lower middle classes now contributed a larger proportion of the members than did the bona-fide operative classes. Many Manchester men who were subsequently well known for their public spirit and wide culture—George Milner, Charles Rowley, and others—after having received their school education at Bennett Street, Oldham Road, Manchester, during their early business career, spent their evenings in study at the Mechanics' Institute.

About 1837 the Manchester Athenæum, which had been opened as the social and intellectual meeting-place for members of the middle classes, began to provide evening instruction.

In 1840 the Manchester and District Association of Literary and Scientific Institutes was founded, with Edward Herford as Secretary, and within three months 2000 people availed themselves of the various Lyceums.

The London School of Design had been established by the Board of Trade as a result of the findings of a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the general inferiority that existed in the country, in the application of arts to furniture, pottery, metal-work, &c. Benjamin Robert Haydon was sent from London on a lecturing tour through the provinces to arouse interest in the matter, and induce other towns to establish Schools of Design in the locality. In his diary, 1837, Haydon writes :

‘Manchester is in a dreadful condition as to Art. No School of Design. The young men drawing without instruction, a fine anatomical figure shut up in a box. The house-keeper obliged to hunt for the key. I’ll give it them before I go.’

In October, 1837, George Wallis delivered two lectures at the Mechanics' Institute, Manchester, on the desirability of establishing a School of Design. The result of these efforts was such as to induce a number of manufacturers and others to take action. James Heywood, banker, F.R.S., M.P. for Lancashire, brother of Oliver Heywood, became president, and contributed largely to the funds. The Manchester School of Design was opened without ceremony in some rooms belonging

to the Royal Institution, Mosley Street, October 4, 1838. On the recommendation of David Wilkie, John Zephaniah Bell was appointed head master. A committee of the subscribers arranged the course of study. George Heys, Warwick Brooks, Henry Travis, Francis Chester were prominent among the first students, and a few young men from the Athenæum also attended. The school was supported by donations and subscriptions from Manchester merchants and others, and to a small extent by fees from students.

On January 15, 1844, George Wallis, on becoming head-master, delivered an introductory address. Lectures were given to the students twice a week. A definite plan of instruction was drawn up and approved by the local committee. Subscriptions soon fell off, and, in order to place the institution on a firm basis, the Committee made application to the Board of Trade for pecuniary assistance, and for its establishment as a recognised Government School of Art. An inspector was sent down from the Board of Trade who disapproved of the general cultural plan of instruction pursued at the College, and insisted, probably acting on specific instructions from the Board, that the training should be in immediate practical relation to the after career of the pupil. The use of the human figure or model was forbidden unless the study of this was necessary for subsequent occupation. As the Committee felt they were dependent upon Government aid, and could not continue the School without it, they adopted the Scheme of Study. George Wallis thereupon resigned in 1846, and the school continued as a Trade School under Government supervision.

Henry Johnson, the next headmaster, who delivered his introductory address, May 6, 1846, only remained a short time.

David Cooper, son of Abraham Cooper, was next appointed. At this time the school was removed from the Royal Institution to Brown Street.

James Astbury Hammersley, F.S.A., late Art Master at Nottingham, who succeeded in 1848, remained till 1862. He was allowed to restore the cultural method, for he taught landscape-drawing. Clarence Waite was one of his principal pupils. The title was now changed to The Manchester School of Art. It was during Hammersley's time that the Great Exhibition was held in Hyde Park in 1851.

The school was visited by John Ruskin in 1859.

In the spring of 1856 a meeting of Manchester merchants was held at which J. C. Deane, P. Cunningham, Thomas Fairbairn, and T. Ashton brought forward the project of holding an Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester. A Guarantee Fund of £70,000 was raised, and it was decided to erect a building similar in plan, but smaller in size than the famous Crystal Palace. There were ancient and modern paintings, sculptures, and many valuable objects illustrative of Ornamental Art and Handicraft. The Prince Consort himself not only secured a loan of collections from the Royal Palaces, but visited the Exhibition. Hammersley was president of the Artists' Committee, and as such drew up the presentation address.

We have already briefly referred to the Owens College. In 1846 John Owens, a Manchester merchant having no near relations, left a sum of nearly £100,000 in the hands of fourteen trustees to establish a University College which should be free from the religious tests which prevented many boys from going to Oxford or Cambridge. The trustees obtained suggestions from the recently founded London University and Durham University, and particularly sought advice from the Scottish Universities where the classes were attended by young men desirous of continuing their school education, but not necessarily intending to follow any one of the learned professions. It was recognised that there might be many men in Manchester who would ultimately engage in the business of commerce, but who would be very glad to study one or more particular subjects under competent tuition. A report of their conclusions was issued by the trustees to the public, Dec. 17, 1850. Premises in Quay Street, formerly belonging to Richard Cobden, were acquired and opened October 1851—sixty-two students attending during the session. The history of its early struggles and subsequent firm establishment is so fully told in Joseph Thompson's 'Foundation and Growth of the Owens College,' and the various departments and scope of its work so adequately treated in Dr. Philip Hartog's 'History of the Owens College' that it is not necessary to follow it here. From time to time allusions will be made to its relation to the Grammar School.

Valuable as were the educational efforts of the Owens College, the Athenæum evening classes, and the Mechanics'

Institution, they were in every case restricted by the same circumstances, the pupils were unable to benefit properly owing to the defects of their previous education, in spite of the increasing clarity of educational outlook and recognition of the value of sustained regular schooling. Progress was slow. It was not limited to the upper middle classes, but was extending among the lower middle and artisan classes who were attending the voluntary National and British Schools. From a report of the meeting of the supporters of the old Lancasterian School we read :

‘Until 1849 the system was the old Lancasterian, with which the school commenced, and which had become all but obsolete throughout the county, being generally superseded by that of the British and Foreign School Society which may be regarded as its offspring. At first about one thousand children of both sexes were collected in one vast room with two male and one female teacher for the whole. Anything beyond a general superintendence of this great body was of course out of their power, and the teaching was necessarily of a very unsatisfactory quality. The committee appointed in 1849 thought it their duty to endeavour to amend, in some measure, the defects of this arrangement, though with much reluctance to disturb rudely the existing state of things. Their first step was to erect a separate room for the reception of the higher classes of boys, with a view to their more thorough instruction, and consequently increased efficiency as monitors, and this room placed under the charge of a new master, trained in the British and Foreign Society School in the Borough Road. In 1850 they applied for Government inspection, and obtained the apprenticeship of several pupil teachers. The early reports of Her Majesty’s inspector, J. D. Morell, Esq., were necessarily of a qualified character, and in 1853 urgent representations from him, together with other circumstances to which it is not necessary now to allude, compelled the committee carefully to review the position of the school. They came to the unanimous conclusion that the attempt they had been making to combine the old with the new system was endangering the existence of the latter, and they could not hesitate in deciding which of the two should be sacrificed. They had accordingly superseded the old teachers, and divided the large room into four portions better adapted for the existing arrangements. The whole boys’ school is now under one headmaster, Mr. Seddon, and two assistant masters and eleven pupil teachers. The present number on the books is

585 boys, 117 girls, 214 infants—total 916. Of these children, the boys attend various Sunday schools in about the following proportions : 70 per cent. Church of England, 20 per cent. Protestant Dissenters, 5 per cent. Roman Catholics, 5 per cent. none—total 100.

‘The course of instruction includes reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, vocal music, drawing, and in the higher classes, the elements of algebra and geometry. . . . There are in the school the children of parents of various grades, some in easy circumstances, others in great poverty. The higher fee to the select class seems to answer well, and to raise the tone and character of the school.’

From the Report of 1858 we read :

‘About 900 scholars are now on the book. The number admitted during last year was 1233, from which, as will be seen, the average period of their school attendance is but short. . . . Instruction is given in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, vocal music, drawing and other useful subjects, according to the time at the command of the scholar. Drawing is taught by a master from the School of Art, and thirteen boys have received prizes from the department of Science and Art.

‘Besides the headmaster and mistress there are now employed in the boys’ school (about 450 pupils) three assistants and eight pupil teachers ; in the girls’ and infants’ schools, seven pupil teachers.’

It is evident that two parties with differing ideals were striving at the Manchester Grammar School for mastership. The one contemplated a curriculum of learning based on the old classical tradition, which aimed at preparing the mind of the scholar by a course of Latin and Greek grammar before allowing him to enter upon a specialised course of training in Science or Natural Philosophy, whether at Cambridge or elsewhere. The other, supported by those of the governing body associated with the Manchester Athenæum, Mechanics’ Institute, &c., desired the so-called practical education which had already found expression in the Mechanics’ Institutes, Schools of Design, Athenæum, &c., which commenced with the study of such modern languages as French and German, and attendance at lectures and demonstrations in Natural

Science. The training of the pupil by means of practical experiments in chemistry, and practical measurements in physics, had not yet been sufficiently organised for it to become part of the School curriculum till a much later date, though, as we have seen, Adam Martindale made practical surveying a method of teaching mathematics in 1665. Dean Bowers, the official Visitor of the school, and the coadjudicator with the high master in the award of University Exhibitions, believed that, if the classical boys spent more time in writing, in studying mathematics and foreign languages, their classical studies would suffer. He urged that the standard of examinations set by the Universities was rising year by year, and that the School could only maintain its reputation by increasing the efficiency of its classics. He also pointed out that the Owens College had recently been added to the other local educational institutions, and had already provided for the alternative and newer forms of training. The fact that higher training in Science needed as much school preparation as classics did not occur to him. It is because the Grammar School was for so many years the seat of such conflict of ideals that its history during this period is so instructive to students of education. Reconciliation between the two ideals was impossible while the outlook of the protagonists remained so limited. One preliminary lesson was being learnt from the (temporary) failure of Mechanics' Institutes and even of Owens College, and that was the need for great improvements in elementary training for the artisans and the lower middle classes.

At last we come to a period when the confusion was to cease. The turbulent forceful stream of the Irk, which for more than three centuries had turned the wheels of the mills, and thus provided the power which ground the malt and corn for the inhabitants of Manchester, and in so doing had provided the means for the higher education of a selected group of scholars, had now become a murky, sluggish stream. The head-waters were diverted into reservoirs and used for other purposes in other districts. The flood of February 2, 1852, was the last. What stream remained grew more and more unsightly, and more capable of doing mischief than conferring benefit on mankind. If the mills were still to grind corn and malt, a new force would have to be found. This the new trustees were called upon to provide in the form of steam-

engines and by the use of coal. It involved the outlay of large capital expenditure, but it was accomplished and the funds from the School mills again became available for school needs.

At this period, too, the stream of forceful boyhood, seeking various professional careers, which had been gathered from neighbouring counties into the boarding-houses of the masters, showed signs of entirely drying up. The reputation of the School for high scholarship was falling for want of able scholars. How was the vigour of this stream to be renewed? How was the reputation of the School to be again built up? There was plenty of boyhood available, energetic, enterprising, capable, but the pathways of commerce led to quicker advance than the School. The credit for the change in the School curriculum and the School management which solved the problem of attracting a new stream of boyhood to the School belongs to one man of great initiative, amounting to genius, Mr. Walker, the story of whose work at the School must be told in a separate chapter. It must, however, not be forgotten how well the trustees of 1849 had prepared the ground.

In October 1855, they made a third attempt to get the curriculum of the School on a more satisfactory basis, and appointed Alderman Watkins, Thomas Hunter, and Mr. Robert Barbour to visit the School and examine all its departments. In their report, dated April 9, 1856, they expressed the opinion that the present separation of the English and the Classical Schools, and the practice of the high master confining his attention to a superintendence of his own class, *i.e.* to 11 boys out of a total of 200, and not supervising the English or the rest of the Classical School, was inconsistent with the design of the scheme, as sanctioned by the Court of Chancery, and that the subject was one deserving the serious consideration of the Dean and high master. The latter was irremovable, even by the head of Corpus Christi who appointed him. With a view, therefore, to secure the high master's active superintendence of the whole School, 'they resolved that, considering the limited advantages of the Lower School, and the small pecuniary means at the disposal of the trustees, it appears very desirable to consider with the Dean and high master the expediency either of doing away with the Lower School, as preparatory

to the Classical School, altogether, or of materially reducing the salary of the master of that school.'

Mr. Peel, an old scholar and now a trustee, wished to revert to the old custom of allowing masters to take boarders, and gave notice of his intention to bring under the consideration of the trustees the serious injury which, in his opinion, the School had sustained by the masters being deprived of their former powers.

On hearing that Mr. Wadham, the second master, had placed his resignation in the hands of the President of Corpus Christi, who had the power of appointing the second master as well as appointing the high master, it was decided that a deputation of Messrs. Heywood, Rickards, and Barbour should wait on Dr. Norris, the President of Corpus Christi College and patron of the School, and discuss the present state of the working of the School with him before any new appointments were made.

On their return they reported that this interview had been very satisfactory, that Dr. Norris had expressed a warm interest in the success of the School as well as a desire to consult the wishes of the trustees in any appointment he had to make, and had offered to advertise for a man to take the second master's place. He pointed out the difficulties of getting an applicant, either for the headship or for the assistantship, on the limited salary the trustees could offer, without giving them the privilege either of taking boarders, or charging a capitation fee, or giving them some other pecuniary interest in the success of the School. He strongly urged the expediency of endeavouring, with the consent of all parties, to get the Scheme of Chancery so altered as either to authorise the masters to take boarders or to receive capitation fees for the boys, beyond their fixed salaries.

On April 13, 1859, a letter of resignation was sent to Mr. Barbour by Mr. Nicholas Germon. In the following October it was announced that F. W. Walker, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, had been appointed in the vacant place.

CHAPTER XIII

1859-1877

THE FABLE OF THE PHOENIX

‘Where there’s a will, there’s a way!’—*Old Proverb.*

F. W. Walker creates new ideals and traditions. He organises a new curriculum and incites the trustees and merchants to subscribe handsomely for new buildings.

✓ Recognition of the need for guarantees of efficiency in the learned professions and in the Civil Service leads to the establishment of qualifying entrance examinations—Preparation for these examinations affects the curricula of grammar and higher grade schools—Reforms at the English Universities widen the entry and throw open to public competition many hitherto close scholarships—This enables sons of many professional and lower middle-class Nonconformist families to enter—Many Manchester boys take high University honours—Harrison of Balliol—The Schools Enquiry Commission (1864-7) reviews English Secondary Education.

✓ The coming of F. W. Walker to the School—His early training; his qualifications for the task in hand; he solves the problem of the two schools by combining classics and modern subjects in one liberal curriculum—The effect of this apparent at the Oxford Local Examinations—Re-establishment of Speech Day, 1860—Class lists—The introduction of drawing, of physics, and of chemistry—The South Kensington Examinations—Mr. Walker induces boys to compete for Civil Service appointments.

The Trustees, under his inspiring influence, at length find a way of restoring the School to its rightful place as a nursery of learning in the town, by obtaining permission to add a number of capitation or fee-paying boys to the number of free scholars already on the Foundation, on condition of providing the proper buildings and equipment from specially subscribed funds—Total capital newly raised for extensions and endowments, £150,000.

THE fable of the Phoenix rising from its ashes was now about to receive a practical illustration in the restoration of the once famous, but now decadent, Manchester School.

Had the old School traditions of middle-class self-sufficiency not been so completely crushed, had the loss of resources not been so desperate, the resurrection of the new School would never have been so complete. The Classical and Mathematical scholarship, which had been high under Charles Lawson and Jeremiah Smith, was the scholarship of boys of good birth and circumstances, whose parents could afford the high fees charged for boarding and for private coaching in the houses of the masters, and whose University expenses would be well covered by the School Exhibitions, reinforced by close scholarships and Hulme Exhibitions at Brasenose. Social influence and patronage secured that their subsequent claims should not be forgotten nor their merits hidden. No wonder that many achieved good social status. The time had now arrived when the scholarship of the highly placed landowning and prosperous middle classes was to give way to the scholarship of the sons of hard-headed, energetic citizens of Manchester, often of restricted circumstances. Classics and Mathematics were now to share their University honours with Science, and to gain, not to lose, by the result. The change was accomplished because the grave financial difficulties of the School stirred the lion heart and the penetrating insight of one who has been called the Apostle of the Day School system, to call forth such generosity on the part of Manchester merchants that, within the next twenty-five years, all the invested funds that the School had previously lost were replaced, and its income duplicated and triplicated, while its scholars were multiplied even in larger proportion. Fresh University scholarships were founded to take the place of the lost exhibitions from trust funds, which were now devoted entirely to school purposes, and striving boys of good abilities were enabled to make their way in the Universities in spite of straitened circumstances. The spur of necessity provided them with an incentive often lacking in their more easy-going predecessors.

The substitution of competitive examinations for patronage and favouritism in State and Civil appointments was one of the valuable legacies of the French Revolution. It had been advocated by Jeremy Bentham, by John S. Mill, and still more convincingly by Edwin Chadwick, who particularly pointed out the disastrous results of patronage in the selection of officers for the Indian Army, as shown in the inquiries into

the causes of the Indian Mutiny. Political economists were profoundly influencing current English legislation, not only by discovering new political principles, but by pointing out the rightful solution of many social problems. It is significant to note that the realisation that efficiency was to be obtained by the training of those who had shown their superiority in competition took place at the same time that Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace were formulating the biological principles of progressive development through the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, as embodied in the 'Origin of Species.' It was, however, a long time before it was realised how profound was the light that Darwinian principles shed on social and economic problems. When at last the connection between biology and sociology was realised, the earlier attempts to apply principles were crude and misleading, owing to a very incomplete recognition of the complexity of human nature. Hasty conclusions have been drawn, and are still, which have debased the influence of competition in human life, yet the wise application of the principle of struggle and emulation is the very basis, not only of progress, but also of health.

The first calling for which it was found necessary to institute standards of efficiency had been that of teaching. The necessity for providing occupational training for those intending to be engaged in teaching had begun to be recognised in the Lancasterian Schools and National Schools by the foundation of Normal Colleges, though the career of teaching had not yet risen to its proper level as a profession. So largely did Normal Colleges loom in the minds of the official classes, that when a few years later the newly founded Owens College was threatened with extinction, Government Inspectors suggested making it into a Normal Training School for Teachers. The College of Preceptors was established, and instituted its preliminary examinations in 1846. The passing of the Medical Acts of 1858 and 1861 had led to the establishment of a Medical Council, in 1861, with duty to inquire into the qualifications of those practising medicine and surgery. The Law Society, established in 1823, also instituted its examinations, for none of these three professions relied on the English Universities to set standards to be demanded of entrants, either of general intelligence or attainments, or for the provision of a curriculum for the special

training desirable before qualification and licence. The proof of capacity which the governing bodies of the learned professions and the heads of the army now demanded of entrants was the passing of certain examinations, either those which they instituted themselves, or those held by other bodies such as the College of Preceptors, the examinations of the Oxford and Cambridge Delegacies (O. and C. Local Examinations), and the University of London (Matriculation Examination). These examinations thus became educational objectives in the more progressive and efficient middle-class schools, while the successful preparation for them became the best guarantee which the parent or guardian could get as to the teaching capacity of a school. Up to this time a liberal education had been regarded as one without a definite occupational objective, though the new examination statutes of Oxford, 1850, had recognised Physical Science as a branch of academic study.

In the Oxford and Cambridge University Acts of 1854–1855 the question of University Reform was, however, dealt with, and Lord Palmerston's Government then turned their attention to a consideration of the work which the Great English Public Schools were doing for education, and their adequacy to supply public needs. A Royal Commission, under the Chairmanship of Lord Clarendon, inquired into the revenues, management, and curricula of the nine chief public schools—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. Their report was published in 1864. In the same year another Commission was appointed to inquire into other public (Grammar) Schools. Dr. Temple and W. E. Forster were members, and H. J. Roby (subsequently Chairman of Governors of Manchester Grammar School) Secretary. Matthew Arnold and James Bryce (Lord Bryce) both collected evidence. In their report the Commissioners dwelt on the fact that there was on the part of many parents a desire for higher education in advance of the means to secure it. The seventeen volumes in which the report is contained are full of matter which still possesses profound interest.

The coming of Mr. Walker to Manchester is described in a semi-satirical autobiographical sketch written by one of the assistant masters to the School :

‘One day the whole of the School was thrown into a commotion by the news that the old Germyn (Mr. Germon) had resigned, and that we were to have a brand new Headmaster, straight from Bosphorus (Oxford). He was only 27, had been at Rugby, and had brought all the traditions of that great place and of his alma mater with him. He proved equal to his reputation. From the moment of his arrival everything was changed in the School. It began henceforth to compete with the great public schools of England, a hitherto unheard of ambition filled both masters and boys. A pass degree was no longer trumpeted forth as a great event. Essays, Original Latin Verse, Speech Days, Prize Days, even comparative Philology and Sanskrit date from his coming.’¹

Walker was ambitious, masterful, able, and far-seeing, and the stirring events of the times had exerted a powerful influence on a nature that was impulsive and generous. He was a true son of the people, for his father had come from Tullimore in North Ireland, where the family had been settled since 1689, when they had taken part in the defence of Londonderry. He was born in London, 1830, and after receiving a preliminary training in St. Saviour’s Grammar School, Southwark, he had become a day scholar at Rugby, under Tait. While there, he won an open scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1849. He gained the Vinerian Scholarship in Law, the Boden Scholarship in Sanskrit, the Tancred Scholarship in Law, and, after this distinguished career at Oxford University, went to Dresden to study philology. He was admitted a Barrister at Lincoln’s Inn, and joined the western circuit with the intent to follow Law as a profession. Though strongly urged to come and undertake the reformation of the Manchester School by Dr. Norris, the head of Corpus Christi, he declined until the case was more strongly put to him by John Matthias Wilson, the last of the Benthamites, whose influence shone through so much of Walker’s work. If his combative instincts were great, his human sympathies were even greater, and enabled him to maintain his hold on many who were otherwise social exiles. He wanted boys and men to be successful. Indeed, so overmastering was this feeling that he was intolerant of those who could not, or would not, succeed, though it was not so much the glamour of success that attracted as the squalor of failure that repelled him.

¹ *A Son of Belial*, by Martin Geldart.

He was once asked what was his greatest triumph in Manchester. After a long pause for thought, he finally replied by relating the incident of a son of a drunkard publican, of poor mental abilities and of untrained moral nature, whom he had finally settled on a Canadian farm. His University career had made him familiar with new opportunities for success which were thrown open by recent reforms. He therefore pushed his pupils for all they were worth to strive for high University attainment. His Nonconformist ancestry led him to watch with some interest the progress of the Schools of Design and the Mechanics' Institutes, which were so largely supported by the Nonconformists among his governors, for the High Church leanings of his early youth had been of short duration. In the reorganisation of the School he chose the first Art master, Mr. Evans, from the Manchester School of Design in 1859, and one of his Science masters, Mr. John Angell, from the Mechanics' Institute. The two other Science masters he chose from the Owens College. When one of the governors of St. Paul's School, London, on his application for the post of high master, asked him, 'Well, Mr. Walker, what do you do in Manchester?' he replied, 'Oh, I just walk about and hear everything.'

The method he adopted in planning a school curriculum, designed to meet the new educational needs of the middle classes and afford scope for many forms of talent, was remarkable. It included the throwing over of much evil school tradition, as well as the organisation of a time-table.

The teaching of Modern Languages and of Science had been an important part of the scheme drawn up for the Manchester School by the Court of Chancery in 1848, but it had never been put into execution. At the request of the School Committee, Mr. Walker set himself the task of realising the continued but hitherto unsuccessful attempts in this direction, as well as of assuming personal control of the unorganised and ineffective English School. A time-table for both schools was drawn up, and all the boys rearranged according to their mathematical attainments. He decided that Latin and French should be taught throughout the whole school. The old method of examinations of the younger boys by University tutors was discontinued, and the duty relegated to local educationalists, though the examination of the advanced classes by University specialists was continued. In 1865

Mr. Walker obtained permission to alter the date of class examinations from October to July, immediately before the midsummer examinations, so that boys could learn the results before leaving. 'Why don't you teach your boys the great English classics, Bacon and Locke and David Hume?' said a prominent merchant to him one day at dinner. Amid an expectant and uneasy silence, Mr. Walker slowly replied: 'If you had read the books, you would not have asked.'

Previously not only was the English School entirely separate from the Classical School, but the several masters in the English School were accustomed to work quite independently of each other. Different masters taught Writing, Mathematics, History, and perhaps Geography and French. These subjects bore no relation to each other, and boys were sent when it was convenient to the masters, who used the afternoons for private coaching. The English literature of the English School had nothing to do with the English teaching given on the classical side. In the former, it was vague and unorganised; in the latter, Morell's 'Analysis of Sentences' was used as their text-book. The boys in both schools were taught some elements of English history, such as learning the dates of English kings and English battles. Roman and Greek history were quite unknown subjects, even on the classical side. There must have been a great falling off from Lawson's time, for a number of well-used and worn History and Geography books of his date and inscription are in the School library. Some of the more advanced boys on the classical side were encouraged privately to study a little English literature of their own accord, and Mr. Richard Thompson was in the habit of setting occasional holiday tasks, such as reading some gem of English literature. When he was satisfied with the results, he presented the boys with a copy of other works of the particular author which he had urged the boy to read. So popular and helpful was he that, after his decease in 1862, a number of his old pupils and admirers collected a sum of money which was invested, and provides the annual income which is still devoted to the purchase of books for the Thompson History prize.

Under Mr. Walker's influence, a few boys in the upper part of the Grammar School had begun to take Mathematics and French in the English School, as these subjects were not taught in the old Grammar School buildings, but the lack

of system in the curriculum was as unsatisfactory to Mr. Walker as the lack of unity and control was to the trustees. A classical master, Mr. Warburton, was therefore called from his own side of the School to take some of the boys of the English School and give them some little instruction in Latin Grammar, while the French master was engaged to teach classical boys, as well as those in the English School. Arrangements were also made which enabled Mr. Slade to change his English classes with the Mathematical and French masters at hourly intervals, instead of letting them remain with one master during the whole of the school period. A time-table had therefore to be drawn up, which was the basis of the subsequent division into hourly periods, and ultimately led in the later sixties to the complete merging of the two schools.

The study of Mathematics had been introduced into the school curriculum for two widely different reasons. Firstly, because an aptitude for calculation and measurement was needed in various civil and mercantile employments such as book-keeping, surveying, architecture, &c.; and secondly, because since the time of Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz, it had been encouraged at the Universities, especially at Cambridge, as a method of exact inquiry into natural phenomena and the fuller elucidation of human experience. A sharp and illuminating controversy about its place in a liberal education had taken place between Whewell and Sir William Hamilton in 1838.

Failure to realise the essential limitations of purely academic mathematical study in a community lacking general intellectual enlightenment had nearly wrecked the newly founded Owens College about 1855.¹ The Department of Science and Art, newly transferred from the Board of Trade to a Committee of the Privy Council on Education, offered pecuniary aid in the teaching of geometry, with mechanical drawing and building construction, in 1859, and set up examinations (South Kensington) in 1860. It was, however, probably the offer of Whitworth Scholarships to the Grammar School in 1868 that first drew Mr. Walker's attention to the matter, for he was ever on the look out for Civil Service as well as for University opportunities for the boys. To assist them and to enable others to compete

¹ Cf. Joseph Thompson, *History of the Foundation and Growth of Owens College*.

TABLE to show how, by absorbing the English into the Classical School, improving the elementary teaching, and establishing Removes, Mr. Walker succeeded in filling the upper forms with able and enterprising boys.

Old Régime.	Easter 1859.	Mich. 1859.	Easter 1861.	Mich. 1861.	New Régime.	Easter 1862.	Mich. 1862.	Easter 1863.	Mich. 1863.	Easter 1864.
Upper School.										
1st Div. Class I . . .	8	5	4	15	Form VI .	14	12	16	13	10
Class II . . .	5	9	10	...		—	—	—	—	—
2nd Div. Class III . .	13	13	13	11	Upper V .	10	11	29	30	28
Class IV . . .	13	13	12	11	Lower V .	14	17	39	33	36
					Upper Rem.	—	—			
3rd Div. Class V . . .	12	12	11	10	Upper IV .	11	21			
Class VI . . .	15	11	10	12	Middle IV .	15	—	37	41	42
Class VII . . .	15	14	11	16	Lower IV .	19	21			
4th Div. Class VIII . .	11	15	14	16	Upper III .	13	25			
Class IX . . .	18	17	13	18	Middle III .	19	—	42	50	40
Class X . . .	16	17	16	15	Lower III .	19	23			
Total in Classical School	126	126	114	124		134	130	163	167	156
English School.										
1st Division	23	18	31	31	Upper II .	20	24	44	48	36
2nd Division	17	9	27	25	Lower II .	30	31			
3rd Division	26	24	22	21	Lower Rem.	—	—	43	38	47
4th Division	24	26	20	31	Upper II .	33	33	55	50	47
5th Division	21	26	—	—	Lower I .	30	35			
Total in English School	111	103	100	108		113	123	142	136	130
Total in both schools	237	229	214	232		247	253	305	303	286

for Science Scholarships, F. A. Aldis, of Trinity College, Cambridge (second Wrangler), and E. L. Balmer, of Magdalen College, Oxon., were invited to the School to organise a complete curriculum of mathematics suitable for all classes, as suggested by the Schools Enquiry Commission. A Mathematical and Physical Sixth was created, whence many boys were advanced in the study of engineering, mining, &c. Soon the boys were encouraged to enter for South Kensington Examinations in Mathematics and for the Oxford Local Examinations. Thus both applied and theoretical mathematics came to be acknowledged as educational objectives in the School.

In 1865 Mr. Walker gave evidence before the Schools Enquiry Commission :¹

‘ Before the new 1864 Scheme, the School was largely attended by children of the small tradesmen class, and really consisted of two separate schools, an elementary and a secondary. The children belonged to a slightly less prosperous section of the tradesmen. There were many private schools in Manchester whose masters were industrious, energetic, and thoroughly acquainted with their work, charging a fee of £14 14s. to £18 18s. a year. At the Grammar School, there was no drilling or gymnasium, though this was needed. All but the very lowest were learning Greek. At least as many boys were rejected as were admitted.’

In his zeal for efficiency, Mr. Walker soon seized on the opportunity afforded by the Oxford Local Examinations being held in Manchester.² In 1860 the Examining Board made Manchester one of the centres. At the first examination, several candidates from some of the private schools presented themselves, but none from the Grammar School. As soon as he had rearranged the school curriculum Mr. Walker intimated that he intended that some of his boys should compete. Mugleston, one of the assistant masters, afterwards of Cheltenham School, prepared a number of

¹ Cf. *Times* on Manchester Grammar School, June 23, 1865, p. 10, column 5; column 9.

² A public meeting had been held in the Mayor's parlour, Town Hall, March 11, 1858, to receive the reply of the Oxford delegacy in answer to a requisition that Manchester should be made a local centre for the examination of candidates. The Dean of Manchester was present, E. R. Langworthy and other School trustees, representatives of the Owens College, and other educationalists. See *Manchester Courier*, March 13, 1858.

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suitable text-books in history, geography, and other subjects. The following table shows the educational success that resulted from this merging of the two schools and the creating of a proper curriculum :

OXFORD LOCAL EXAMINATIONS.

Year.	Seniors.		Juniors.		Totals.
	Passed.	Honours.	Passed.	Honours.	
1863 . .	5	1	13	4	18
1864 . .	7	3	17	6	24
1865 . .	8	1	28	18	36
1866 . .	12	4	28	10	40
1867 . .	12	8	31	8	43
1868 . .	10	1	34	15	44
	54	18	151	61	205

After 1873, for some reason, the boys ceased to compete at the Oxford Examinations and began to compete at Cambridge Local Examinations instead. In connection with this a public prize distribution took place, June 22, 1873, when it was announced that six boys had passed.¹ At the examination held in December 1874, thirty-three passed in the Junior and six in the Senior division. At a public distribution and meeting held in the Free Trade Hall, November 27, 1875, Professor Max Müller spoke on the subject of the Local Examinations. It was during this year that all the upper classes of the School began to be examined by the first Oxford and Cambridge Examiners' Board, which had been established in 1873. Thirty of the boys obtained certificates.

Much credit for the high standard of classical work at this time in the upper part of the School must be given to Rev. George Perkins, an old pupil of Nicholas Germon, who had passed to Brasenose with a School Exhibition and later held a Hulme Exhibition, and had returned to his old School in 1848 in the humble capacity of junior assistant in the Lower School. He was moved into the Upper School as second master's assistant on the death of Lorenzo Smith, and suc-

¹ Dean Cowie, Visitor of the School in the Chair. After this the two delegacies combined for public prize distribution.

ceeded Richard Thompson as Second Master, a position in the gift of Dr. Norris, of Corpus Christi College, who, no doubt, acted on the advice of F. W. Walker. His ability, gentleness, and power proved invaluable when the School began to feel the effect of Walker's missionary enterprise. He resigned in March 1877. An appreciatory notice appeared in *Ulula* on his retirement, March 1877, and again in 1887, at his decease.

Under the inspiring influence and the capable handling of Mr. Walker, whose profound and ample learning seemed to have no limits, helped by the conscientious scholarship of Mr. George Perkins, the Grammar School boys began to assume an entirely new attitude to learning. The first boy from the School to compete for and to win an open Balliol scholarship was Joseph Wood, who passed a distinguished University career, and ultimately became headmaster of Harrow.¹

Of phenomenal interest is the career of Edwin Harrison, only son of a mechanic and mill-girl, who at the age of eighteen was studying Greek at the Owens College, where Walker held evening classes. Walker first met him when the lad was occupied in repairing some property. Entering into conversation, Walker soon detected the lad's merits, took him into the Grammar School at the age of nineteen, and had him prepared for competing for a scholarship. Harrison was admitted to Balliol, 1867, at the age of twenty-three, and became a most intimate friend of Benjamin Jowett. 'The best talker I have ever met,' said the Master of Balliol, who took him everywhere. He was introduced to A. C. Swinburne, whose appreciation and admiration finds frequent expression in his Letters.² Harrison unfortunately suffered from some brain trouble and never enjoyed proper health. 'One year of health, and Harrison will make his mark in Europe,' once said the master. Unfortunately this was not to be. Harrison died May 6, 1899, having left no other permanent remains of his genius than the effect of his conversation on his intimate friends.

The annual Speech Day, which had been dropped since 1848, was resumed, Saturday, October 4, 1860. Canon Clifton presided, R. N. Philips, R. Barbour, trustees of the School,

¹ Biographical notice, *Times*, November 4, 1898.

² *Letters of A. C. Swinburne, T. Hake, and A. Rickett*, 1918; also *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, 1897; *Manchester Guardian*, May 12, 1899.

being present, also Professor Greenwood of the Owens College ; Rev. Nicholas Germon alluded to some of the causes which had led to its discontinuance. It seems to have been held in the Grammar School, and not in the English School.¹

On the following Speech Day, the chair was taken by Canon Richson, who, after the decease of Dean Herbert, was the most prominent educationalist among the Church clergy in Manchester, and as such was asked to preach the sermon in the cathedral on the occasion of the second visit to Manchester of the British Association on October 4, 1864.² The meetings continued to be held in the School till 1872, when they were first held in the Free Trade Hall. In 1876 the custom of inviting some distinguished visitor to speak to the boys reappeared, a custom associated with the prize distributions for the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations. Dr. James Fraser was the first so invited.

I am unable to trace the origin of ' Founders' Day ' Sermon at the Collegiate Church, now the Manchester Cathedral. It was probably a very old institution and took the place of the ' obits ' for the souls of Hugh Oldham, Anne Bestwick, and the other founders. The earliest exact information I have refers to the sermon preached in 1872 by Rev. Thomas Marsden, Hulsean Lecturer and an old scholar.

An early innovation of great interest was the printing and publishing of the class lists, with each boy arranged in his proper place in form. Soon after Mr. Walker arrived, one of his staff showed an old Eton class list, which an old Etonian had picked up from a second-hand bookstall and perused with great interest, as it reminded him of his golden school days. The possibilities of thereby developing and cementing school life were at once apparent to Mr. Walker, and so strongly appealed to him that, in 1860, there began the issue of the Grammar School Class Lists, which, in 1870, culminated in the Green Book of Midsummer and the White Book of Christmas. The Honours Boards hung up in the Drawing Hall, recording University successes, also date from 1860, and were the gift of E. R. Langworthy.

The increased national attention which had been given to Art subjects since the Great Exhibition of 1851,

¹ ' Saturday's Proceedings,' *Manchester Courier*, October 6, 1860.

² Speeches reported in *Manchester Guardian*.

and the activity of the Society of Arts, which had instituted examinations in Arts in 1853, and had subsequently transferred them to the Science and Arts Departments of the Committee of Education of the Privy Council, had aroused the interest of many educationalists and had no doubt been still further stimulated by the Art Treasures Exhibition of Manchester in 1857. Rev. Canon Richson collected a large number of writing and drawing books, with the intention of using them in the National Schools. Finding most of them unsatisfactory for the purpose in view, he compiled fresh copy books and drawing books of his own. One day he brought some of the drawing books before the notice of Mr. Walker, who, passing them on to Mr. Warburton, asked him to distribute them among the boys and to see what power in this direction the boys possessed. The only manual employment at this time consisted in the wearisome writing lessons given to elementary boys by the assistant English master, otherwise the boys were employed in learning by rote dates in English history, or reciting their lessons during the din of school. It was, therefore, a considerable relief to the boys to have some change of employment. They entered keenly into the new subject, and showed such zest and spirit that their drawings were collected together by Mr. Walker and brought before the notice of the Governors of the School, who were willing for an experiment to be made on a small scale. They offered a small salary, which Mr. Walker and Mr. Thompson subsidised from their own pockets, and in March 1860 Mr. Evans from the School of Art began to attend three hours a week to give instruction in drawing to the boys of the Upper School. The work of the boys was collected and sent up to South Kensington, and prizes awarded. The experiment was so successful that the Governors allowed the teaching to be extended. In 1865, John Ruskin, who for the third time was lecturing in Manchester and was on intimate terms with Sir Elkanah Armitage, C. H. Rickards, Richard Johnson, and other governors, visited the School and gave an address to the boys.¹ In 1869, Mr. Zachariah Pritchard² was appointed Art teacher. In order to increase his salary he was allowed to have evening students, and the Drawing School of the M.G.S., both day and

¹ See collected writings of John Ruskin.

² Obituary notice, *Ulula*, December 3, 1883. The Pritchard Art Prize founded to perpetuate his memory.

evening classes, then became recognised by South Kensington as a Government Art School. It soon became, and continued to be for many years, one of the most notable Schools of Art in the North of England, and only surrendered its evening classes when their continuance was thought to be injurious to the prosperity of the Manchester School of Art in Grosvenor Street. A long series of awards of gold medals and certificates attested the high attainments of the pupils, though it must be remembered that these were largely evening students and not boys actually in the School. One of the early arguments for the extended use of drawing as a school subject, was that, by it, boys might learn control of the finer movements of the hand in case they took up such handicrafts as surgery. This would particularly apply to the Grammar School, for surgery was a career which had always attracted a considerable proportion of the scholars.

The master mind of F. W. Walker can also be seen in the method of his introduction into the School curriculum of physics and chemistry—subjects of which he knew and cared little. The teaching of physics or natural philosophy had long retained signs of its dual origin. On the one hand, there was its relationship to mathematics. This it derived from its University associations. On the other hand, there was its connection with popular educational movements, such as Mechanics' Institutes, which were endeavouring to arouse the interest and intelligence of the artisans and of the general public in the principles underlying their commercial and industrial occupations. The one method of study was disciplinary, and so was readily adaptable to the old ideas of school training; the other method, though still instructional, depended on the existence on the part of the pupil of a desire to understand more fully the outward circumstances and affairs of common daily life, a point of view to which few scholars or even schools had then arrived. The mathematical point of view included the study of the principles of mechanics. It was taught by two mathematical masters. The popular enlightenment was entrusted to Mr. Angell, who had been trained in the school of educational reform associated with such pioneers as William Ellis, Dr. Birkbeck, and George and Andrew Combe. It might well be described as Economic Realism, for it concentrated attention on the outward realities of daily life, especially

those of Physiology and that part of Political Economy which we now call Civics. Mr. Angell has often described his method of teaching as Socratic. He was in the habit of taking up some matter of common experience, *e.g.* vision, sound, respiration, &c., and, by means of questions, stirring the interest and reasoning capacities of the boys. When he had succeeded in eliciting some general statement or principle, he would illustrate this further by a practical experiment. The descriptive method of teaching science still appears to be the best way of teaching such subjects as Physiology, Hygiene, &c., where the performance of individual experiments by the pupil appears difficult or unsuitable. A recent attempt has been made to teach some portions of Hygiene by individual experiments on the senses, particularly those of touch,¹ but the method of Birkbeck, Ellis, and Coombe still appears most suitable for school teaching in Physiology and Civics. As regards the teaching of Physics, the descriptive and illustrative method was abandoned on the retirement of Mr. Angell in 1882, and replaced by the experimental method organised under Mr. Holme.

In 1867, *i.e.* two years before the appointment of Mr. Angell, Dr. Marshall Watts, previously lecturer at the Owens College, had been appointed Science Master. He soon found his time was fully occupied in organising the teaching of chemistry, and the only provision for teaching Natural Philosophy was that of the mathematical masters preparing boys for University examinations. Consequently Mr. Angell had been appointed to undertake the teaching of Physics. Dr. Watts left the School in 1872 to become Science Master at Giggleswick. He was succeeded by Mr. Francis Jones, who after forty-seven years' service, during which many boys have passed through his hands to occupy various posts of distinction and usefulness, still remains at the head of the department. He had studied at Edinburgh and Heidelberg Universities. He brought to the School the exact disciplinary method of teaching science by each individual pupil performing his own experiments, which was common in Germany but hitherto only adopted in England at the Owens College, Manchester, and the School of Mines, London. The text-book of practical chemistry which he drew

¹ *The Gateways of Knowledge*, T. A. Dell, 1912. Many other mental tests could be tried in class.

up in 1870, and which embodies his method of teaching, has proved the standard book for nearly two generations, and has directed the footsteps of many youthful scientists in the pathways of exactitude by following which signal success in science can alone be achieved. In 1874, several classes were grouped together so as to form a 'Science School' which should be under the control and direction of Government inspectors.¹ In the same year four Science and Art Scholarships were offered by the Committee of the Privy Council for boys in the School.

Mr. Walker was a great administrator as well as a great teacher, and as such was ever on the look out to further the interests of the masters as well as the boys.

The Science and Art Departments, which had been formed by the Board of Trade at the instigation of the Prince Consort, had been transferred to the Privy Council in 1858, though still constituting a department separate from that which dealt with Elementary Education. This duality remained till the formation of the Board of Education in 1899. In 1861 the Science and Art Department began to hold public examinations for students, and to make grants to the teachers and award prizes to the scholars. As these examinations grew in number and importance, and as the School became better organised, Mr. Walker took advantage of them, not only to encourage the special science teachers to present boys for physics and chemistry, but to encourage other masters to hold voluntary tutorial classes to prepare boys for other subjects. Thus Mr. C. F. Bourne started classes in biology, and, purchasing a microscope, became a keen naturalist and thus sowed the seeds of the School Natural History Society. Another master took up the study of geology and procured a collection of geological specimens; but, either from imperfect preparation or confusion of mind, he allowed the different specimens to be mixed up by some mischievous pupil, and thereby suffered such humiliation that the class was abruptly closed.

In December 1872, when Mr. Walker was in need of a new mathematical master, he received some 247 applications. From these he chose Mr. Start, who, in addition to his other qualifications, was able to teach book-keeping, shorthand, and

¹ *Ulula*, 1874, p. 59.

the mechanism and use of the steam-engine as extra out-of-school subjects, from which boys might compete at the Science and Art examinations. The steam-engine Saturday morning class was designed for boys intending to become engineers and was not discontinued till 1900, when Mr. Start retired from active work.

When the science classes at the School, which included for this purpose the mathematical classes, became an 'organised Science School' under the department at South Kensington, all the teaching, apart from that of boys preparing for University Scholarships, had for its natural objective the passing of the South Kensington examinations.

The organisation of science teaching at the School proved very successful. On Speech Day, 1874, Mr. Walker announced that 960 certificates and 320 prizes had been awarded as the result of the South Kensington examinations. On March 23, 1875, Col. Belfield, the official inspector of the Science and Art Department of South Kensington, met the trustees of the School and discussed the whole bearing of the Science and Art teaching then taking place at the School, more particularly as the Drawing Hall had been opened as an evening school in 1872 to qualify it for special grant. The educational value of these examinations has been severely discounted, but if we are to estimate them properly, the time at which they were instituted, and the prevailing attitude of the public towards education, should be taken into account. If their value as criteria of advanced mental discipline was small, the same could not be said of their value for mental enlightenment, and there can be no doubt that they were the cause of a general humanising of the curriculum in many schools. They prepared the way for the more exact methods that naturally followed when boys were better prepared to receive scientific training during their school life. In looking through the lists of medals and certificates gained from 1874 onwards, one is struck with the appearance in the Honours List of the names of many boys who subsequently became recognised science workers in various parts of the world, and who probably owed the early recognition of their particular talents to the Science and Art examinations.

The estimation in which Mr. Walker was already held by the educational world is indicated by the fact that in 1865

he was summoned to give evidence before the Schools Enquiry Commission.¹

In the report of the Commissioners it is stated :

‘The success of the School both in the Oxford Local Examinations and in obtaining Honours at the Universities deserves special mention. In three years, 87 juniors and 29 seniors passed at the Local Examinations, making an average of 29 juniors and nearly 10 seniors. In May 1867 there were 39 undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge, and of this the extraordinary proportion of 20 were holding open scholarships or exhibitions. As much as this cannot be said of any other school in England, and it is all the more remarkable because this School is purely a Day School. This success must be partly attributed to the ability and exertion of the Head Master, but partly also to the system of admission which fills the School with the boys who are best able to profit by the teaching.’

In an article appearing in the *London Times*, January 3, 1868, the following appears :

‘The Manchester Free School has during the past seven years sent up 70 boys to the Universities. The great majority of these have gained open or other scholarships. The School has offered a most extended course of instruction to those who are able to engage in commercial pursuits, and its immense success in passing boys at the University Local Examinations is a proof of this.’

During the time of Jeremiah Smith, a very strong class division between the well-to-do boarders and the majority of the day scholars had grown up, owing to the fact that the sons of well-to-do Manchester merchants were generally sent to boarding-schools away from the town, and even the sons of the less prosperous trading classes, who possessed clear ideas of the proper subjects and character of school education, attended the more modern day schools, unless they were prepared for a University career or otherwise needed training in classics. This left in the School a large residue of aimless boys content to accept the methods and opinions of the classes above them without any inquiry into their utility. This was hardly the kind of boy who would impress a school with new democratic ideas.

¹ See also above, p. 331.

The English eighteenth century middle-class home had never made any attempt to organise the upbringing of any but very young children. Owing to the superior advantages the boarders possessed from living in the houses of the masters, and from the definiteness of their aims, they monopolised the School Exhibitions and Brasenose Scholarships. The rare exceptions when day boys received such awards were loudly trumpeted forth to support the claim that the School was really very democratic in its policy, but the rarity of these occasions was itself condemnatory of the value of the system in remedying the social injustice of poverty. The occasions on which wealthy boarders received pecuniary assistance were too frequent to arouse comment. On the opening of the English School, however, a new form of caste spirit had appeared, which became more intense as the boarders became less numerous, so that the old social distinctions were less marked. The boys in the Classical School now regarded themselves as of superior intellectual and therefore superior social merit. 'The great majority of the boys are, and always have been, the sons of persons in the middle ranks of life, well-to-do tradesmen, upper clerks, clergymen, lawyers, &c.'¹ Intellectual snobbery had taken the place of social snobbery.

There were always two or three times as many applicants for admission both to the Classical and English Schools as there were vacancies, and consequently many boys who were capable of benefiting by a stay of several years at a good school were kept back at an early age, and were deterred from seeking admission later by a knowledge of the comparative uselessness of a short stay. Boys from neighbouring districts who particularly desired a classical training were frequently sent to lodge in Manchester, and so to qualify for admission to the classical department. Some of these would stay till they reached the upper classes, but they constituted a minority, for the majority left school at an early age. The upper classes of the School had become therefore very small indeed. During the early part of Mr. Walker's time the number of applicants who had to be refused each year amounted to 150. The age of admission tended to rise steadily from 10 or 11 to 12 and even 13, and, what was equally

¹ Statement of trustees in favour of proposed charge of capitation fee.

disadvantageous to school benefits was that the age of leaving continued to be 14 or 15 as before, so that the period over which traditions of study or intellectual purpose could act remained too brief to be of permanent value. This disadvantage was increased by the lack of discipline due to the large number of boys who were placed under the care of a single master. The problem of efficient teaching under these circumstances was very difficult. Much of the teaching in the English School was reduced to learning by rote from books of questions and answers, which enabled the master to keep some outward show of order, but the babel of voices of other classes and masters in the same room soon rendered lessons in reading aloud impossible. Consequently the major part of the time was occupied in ineffective preparation and time to test acquirements was necessarily limited. It therefore excites little surprise that the imperfection of the teaching in the English School was frequently pointed out by the University examiners in their annual visitations. Such inefficiency was extremely distasteful to men of any high ideas. This, combined with the inadequacy of the salaries which could be paid out of school funds to all except the high and the second master, caused frequent changes in the teaching staff, and the retention only of such as were of limited attainments or efficiency, or who could supplement their stipends by holding incumbencies or performing other duties. The constant recurrence of proofs of inefficiency and of failure again forced the governors to take action. On October 9, 1862, it was resolved that :

‘ Sir E. Armitage, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Mr. Philips, Mr. Barbour, and Mr. Langworthy be appointed a committee to consider and report upon the desirability or otherwise of an application being made to the Charity Commissioners in order to obtain their sanction to the establishment of a capitation fee to be hereafter paid by the boys attending the School, and under what regulations such fees should be paid and applied, and that the Headmaster be respectfully requested to attend the meeting of such committee and to afford to the members the advantages of his knowledge and experience.’

They conferred with Mr. Patrick Cummin, Inspector of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, and Mr. Hare of the Charity



FOUR OF THE TRUSTEES APPOINTED 1849, WHO ENABLED F. W. WALKER
TO REFOUND THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Commission, while the incidental talk which Rickards had with the Charity Commissioners in 1849, and the report of the deputation to Dr. Norris of Corpus Christi College in 1856, were recalled. Finally, in April 1863, the trustees decided to make application to the Charity Commissioners, who had been appointed under the Charitable Trusts Act of 1860 to deal with such matters, to be allowed to charge £1 1s. a quarter to all boys, with the exception of fifty free scholars. They were advised that this course would be less expensive than an application to the Court of Chancery, which could only grant an order against which any opponents might appeal.¹

As soon as the application was announced, a meeting of old scholars, who were not in sympathy with the new spirit of progress at the School, was summoned. Messrs. Leresche, Sowler, John Clough (surgeon), Walmsley, Adam Fox, T. H. Guest, and Samuel Cottam met and conferred with the trustees, May 16, 1863, and when they failed to secure their object they drew up a memorial to the Charity Commissioners. They claimed that the existing funds were quite adequate for the work to be accomplished, since £1713 had been saved in ten years to pay off past loans. They urged that a capitation fee even of £1 1s. a quarter would affect not only the poorer parents, but also the clergy, professional classes, tradesmen and many widows, who sent their sons to the School. Large numbers of the local inhabitants who were very imperfectly acquainted with the difficulties of the management, signed the memorial, though, in many cases, their own children had been excluded on account of lack of space. The list of signatories was a long one, and contained the names of some boys actually in the School. Signatures were also probably obtained by past members of the teaching staff who were strongly opposed to Mr. Walker. In June 1863, the matter was brought up in the Town Council. Alderman Goadsby moved that the Council memorialise the Charity Commissioners against the proposed capitation fees. The Council subsequently referred the matter to its Charitable Trusts Committee.

¹ The School was still encumbered by its mixture of a preparatory branch and a grammar school proper. In the first draft scheme the trustees proposed one-eighth of the free scholars to be between five and eight, four-eighths between eight and ten, two-eighths between ten and fourteen and one-eighth over fourteen.

A counter-requisition was prepared by those favourable to the scheme, and a request made for calling a public town's meeting. This meeting was held October 15, 1863. The majority present declared themselves adverse to the policy of the trustees, who were further embarrassed by the news that Mr. Walker had decided to apply for the headmastership of Charterhouse. While they could not help expressing their regret on behalf of the School, they felt that he deserved to occupy a much more extended sphere of power and of usefulness, and that it was unlikely they could offer him sufficient inducement to remain. Fortunately for the town, however, Mr. Walker did not leave at this time.

On March 28, 1864, the Charitable Trusts Committee of the Town Council, who had delayed their report in the hope of securing agreement between the two parties, made their full statement. They suggested a compromise by which the money of the Foundation should be reserved to support as many free scholars as were at present in the School, viz. 250, but that power should be sought by which the trustees could undertake the instruction of a further number of capitation scholars at a charge of £12 12s. per annum. Unfortunately, so much personal and political animus, directed particularly against Mr. Walker, had now been imparted to the matter that agreement was impossible. The Town Council refused their support to the suggestion of their own Committee, though they do not appear to have taken further action. On October 30, 1864, the trustees made an application, amended in accordance with the new suggestions, to the Charity Commissioners.

Another public meeting was held, January 25, 1865, at which Dr. John Watts proposed and Mr. W. R. Callender¹ seconded a resolution to support the application of the trustees. Mr. Samuel Cottam and his supporters made strenuous efforts to oppose, but the principal motion in favour of the scheme was carried. The public controversy was continued in the newspapers, and though a good deal of bitterness still remained, the public were becoming enlightened, and the School was advertised in a very extraordinary manner. Three of the trustees, Thomas Hunter, Thomas Armstrong, and J. C. Harter, junior, resigned.

¹ Hon. Secretary to the Athenæum, who died June 7, 1872.

W. B. Watkins had died July 1864. Four new feoffees, James Chadwick, Murray Gladstone, Richard Johnson, John Morley, were elected, more determined than ever, if possible, to secure the refoundation of the School. On January 11, 1865, application was made to Vice-Chancellor Wood. On February 15, 1865, a new scheme was presented by the trustees. In November 1865, the Vice-Chancellor delivered judgment. This was passed by Order in Chancery, December 11, 1865. The change of Ministry, which occurred in 1866, encouraged the opposition to make a further appeal in the House of Lords, April 27, 1867. Finally, the Lord Justices of Appeal suggested some minor modifications, and, in addition, decreed that the funds requisite for the erection of any additional room needed for the accommodation of the proposed 150 fee-paying boys, and for the payment of the additional masters required, must not come out of the funds of the trusts, but must be publicly subscribed. This had always been the intention of the trustees, for they were as willing to support their public action with their purse as with their time.

On the receipt of this decree, public notices were issued in the three Manchester newspapers, announcing twenty-five vacancies for free scholars and the new provision for the admission of paying scholars. There were one hundred and nine applications for the vacancies. Each candidate was required to name three references and afford information as to pecuniary circumstances. Sir Elkanah Armitage, Mr. Langworthy, and Mr. Callender attended at the School to elect the scholars for admission.

The next matter was the provision of funds for the new buildings required.

On April 8, 1868, Mr. Langworthy offered the trustees a suitable site in Long Millgate, valued at £1000, which he had bought to be in readiness for the extension of the School, together with £4000 towards the building expenses. This was gratefully accepted, and the other trustees present subscribed a further £3600. The high master was requested, November 17, 1869, to confer with Mr. H. J. Roby, then Secretary of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, with regard to making further desirable changes in the teaching curriculum, so that the School might be conducted on the most up-to-date methods.

Plans of buildings,^f which included a central hall (now

the Drawing Hall) and class-rooms above, were soon drawn up and decided upon. It was at first intended to make an immediate public appeal for further funds, but the issue of this appeal was delayed owing to anxieties about trade. Mr. Langworthy was, however, so determined the scheme should go through that he subscribed another £5000. A public meeting was thereupon called for May 10, 1870, in aid of the Building Fund; Dr. James Fraser, the newly appointed Bishop of the Manchester Diocese, took the chair.

To provide immediate accommodation for the influx of boys which resulted from the adoption of the new scheme, temporary arrangements for extra class-rooms were made by taking buildings at the corner of Cannon Street and Corporation Street, at a rent of £100. Other temporary school-rooms were erected between the English School and the schoolmaster's house (now the Cathedral Hotel). These were planned so that they could be utilised subsequently as stock-rooms by the tenant of the hotel—a purpose to which they are still devoted.¹

The new buildings were ready for occupation in 1871. They not only provided accommodation for 500 boys, and gave ample opportunity for the remarkable development of the Art teaching which now took place under Mr. Pritchard, but they also increased the efficiency of teaching by enabling the classical and mathematical classes to be held in separate class-rooms, instead of several of them being crowded together into large single rooms. The new class-rooms had the further advantage that they set free the old 1776 building. This was now fitted up as a chemical laboratory by Dr. Marshall Watts. Rooms were found for Mr. Angell in the English School. Mr. Pritchard had at length the satisfaction of seeing the teaching of drawing extended to all but the highest forms in the School. In 1872 he was allowed to establish evening classes for drawing, and their complete success was shown by the large number of his pupils who distinguished themselves in the examinations of the Science and Art Department.

The opening of the 1870 buildings was celebrated by a banquet at the Town Hall on October 25, 1871, at which the then Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby, presided.² In the

¹ Cf. Murray Gladstone, *Speech Day*, 1870.

² *Manchester Guardian*, October 1871.

course of his speech, he mentioned that out of the total cost of £28,000, one single donor, E. R. Langworthy, had contributed £10,000. Dr. Benjamin Jowett, of Balliol College, Oxford, was a guest, and spoke in the highest terms of all that Mr. Walker had done for the School. He showed, however, a curious lack of knowledge that the School had any important history previous to the coming of Mr. Walker, a lack of knowledge the less harmful because the Chetham Society had already undertaken to publish the School registers of 1730 to 1837, with the valuable biographical notes collected by Mr. Finch Smith. Another speaker at the banquet was Harrison Ainsworth, the novelist, who had been educated at the School. He was singularly qualified to speak of the many illustrious men who had benefited by their education there, since he himself owed to the School much of his antiquarian tastes, and incorporated in his famous historical novels much of the material he had acquired when studying in the Chetham Library.

In 1861 a number of gentlemen who felt an interest in the Manchester Grammar School, and also in the Owens College, and who were desirous that some bond of union between the two should be established, had undertaken to collect by subscription an amount sufficient to found one or more exhibitions which should enable boys from the Grammar School to continue their studies at the Owens College free of any expense on account of college fees. The sum of £1060 having been subscribed, three exhibitions were accordingly founded. These exhibitions, under the title 'The Manchester Grammar School Exhibitions,' were to be awarded, one in each year, on the nomination of the Principal of Owens College, the high master of the Grammar School, and the Recorder of Manchester, or any two of them, and were each tenable for three years. The first of these scholarships was awarded in 1861, and for a considerable number of years the holders used them to obtain University training in order to compete for London University degrees. With the amalgamation between the Manchester Medical School and the Owens College, which occurred at the opening of the new buildings in Oxford Road in 1870, the direct influence of London University on the Manchester Grammar School became for a time very marked. The natural approach to the higher ranks of the medical profession was now through a preliminary training

in science, and was no longer dependent upon a literary training at Oxford or Cambridge, and, in spite of great temptations to popularise it, a high standard of instruction in science was maintained by the professors in the Owens College, and the equally high standard of efficiency demanded by the London University, even for a pass degree, at once called forth strenuous effort from some very able scholars, to whom Oxford and Cambridge Universities offered little attraction.

As soon as the Civil Service appointments were thrown open for competition, Mr. Walker began to encourage his boys to compete. It was resolved by the Governors (April 1869) that the Chairman write to Mr. Bailey, M.P., requesting him to use his influence in the proper quarter to obtain permission for boys in this School to compete for clerkships in Government offices and to place nominations in the hands of the trustees. The Civil Service Form at Manchester Grammar School was created in 1869. Boys were encouraged to take special classes at the Owens College, in the case of subjects such as geology, mining, and engineering. An illustration of this occurred in the career of Edw. Crabb, C.B. Being too old to prepare for a University career, he began to study at the School, and subsequently at the Owens College, with a view to training in mining engineering. He showed such ability that he was induced by Walker to enter the Post Office, where he attained a high position. He was present at the dinner of the London Old Mancunians Association with other prominent Civil Servants of the Crown. He died December 16, 1914. Whitworth Exhibitions of £25 were offered in 1868 to youths under twenty-two years of age to enable them to prepare for the more valuable Whitworth Scholarships of £100 a year. Eight were tenable at the Owens College, two at the Manchester Grammar School, three at each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and one each at thirty-five other educational institutions throughout the country.

Plenty of able, keen, and ambitious boys were at this time entering the School, and another direction in which the master mind of Mr. Walker found expression was in procuring such financial assistance as would induce clever boys of limited means to remain at school after the usual wage-earning age of fourteen. Walker was well able to secure that, for to him was entrusted the duty of examining the candidates

for admission, choosing from them those whom he regarded as the most suitable, and recommending them to the Governors for the vacancies as they occurred. How wisely he used this power is indicated by the subsequent careers of many of the boys chosen. Regard was generally paid to family circumstances, and special comment was often made on deserving cases. Such free schooling, however, was not enough. Business prosperity constantly caused employers of clerks and warehousemen to offer tempting situations to bright boys of fourteen years of age, consequently even when family resources did not necessitate the withdrawal of boys from school at this age, the force of social tradition led the majority of parents to consider further schooling after fourteen as unnecessary, while, where family resources were limited, as was so often the case, and early departure from school was unavoidable, some pecuniary assistance to the poorest boys, and some counter-attraction to others on the border-line of need, had therefore to be found. One of the earliest methods of help consisted in employing senior boys to help the masters in the correction of exercises, or other paid clerical work. A striking instance of the value of this has been publicly narrated by one of the scholars who has recently received the recognition of knighthood¹ for public services at the hands of the Crown, and who, at one of the old boys' annual dinners, described his early struggles. Lazarus Fletcher entered the school at the age of eleven as a foundation scholar from the elementary school attached to St. Mark's Church, Hulme. He proceeded through the School to the Classical VI, when family circumstances rendered it necessary for him to commence earning at once. Mr. Walker was consulted, and gave the boy paid clerical work, which enabled him to remain. As quick progress towards earning was necessary, Walker encouraged his study of science, and the boy was brave enough to endure temporary degradation to a lower form on the science side and the loss of certain school privileges.² He soon exhibited his powers in the

¹ January 4, 1916.

² In 1874 the high master sanctioned a plan by which all scholars who obtained scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, or who obtained the certificates granted by the O. and C. Schools Examining body, should wear a commoner's gown while at school. Fortunately this does not appear to have been acted up to, for it indicated a separation between Sixth Form and other boys.

new direction and was made paid part-time helper in the chemical laboratory, the rest of the time working hard at mathematics.' He earned one small scholarship at the School, and soon after earned an exhibition at Balliol. His subsequent success fully justified the early efforts put forth on his behalf. He was elected member of the Council of the Royal Society, 1910; Hon. Fellow of University College, Oxon, 1911; Wollaston Medal of the Geological Society, 1912.¹ The career of Lord Sumner, though less dramatic, was also interesting. He entered the School as A. J. Hamilton in 1870 with a foundation scholarship, and soon distinguished himself by winning prizes and exhibitions, including the Lawson Gold Medal. He went up to Balliol College, Oxon, passing first class in the Classical Schools, 1881-2; and was president of the Oxford Union. He was called to the Bar 1883, and joined the Northern Circuit. In 1901 he was made K.C. He was appointed Judge of King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice 1909, and Lord Justice of Appeal 1912; received the title Baron Sumner, Oct. 20, 1913.

Casual and perhaps uncertain and insufficient support was not enough for Mr. Walker. He induced his merchant friends to found scholarships and bursaries tenable at the School. The kind of argument Walker used in persuading his wealthy governors to assist him may be illustrated by a story which one of them, Mr. C. F. Beyer, was not unwilling to relate. Mr. Beyer was at the time in actual conflict with his own employees. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Walker pulled a sovereign out of his pocket, and placing it in front of his opponent's eyes so as to block the line of vision, exclaimed, 'That's what prevents you seeing the position of the men.' So thoroughly did Mr. Beyer appreciate the force of the argument that, in addition to the large sum he gave to the Owens College, he left £10,000 for the Grammar School, and his thoughtfulness is commemorated in the name given to the chemical laboratory.

The School Exhibitions, originally awarded out of surplus school funds to boys leaving for the University, which had been part of the original foundation, had long been seriously curtailed before Mr. Walker came to the School. One had been given in 1859, two in 1860 to James Marshall and W. H.

¹ Cf. *Manchester City News*, Jan. 11, 1896, and *Uhula*, November 1911.

Keeling, and two in 1861 to W. J. Birch and Millington; after this they seem to have been stopped altogether. This naturally by no means satisfied the impetuous fervour of Mr. Walker, who not only seemed to possess an unerring eye for a scholar, but cared for his love of learning above all social qualifications. A mother who came to him for information as to the class of boys who frequented the School, received the following answer, 'Madam, so long as your son behaves properly and the fees are paid, we shall ask no embarrassing questions about your social status.'

Walker now set about getting help to send boys to the Universities.

The Manchester merchants at this time were flushed with their success in obtaining a repeal of the obnoxious Corn Laws. While demanding opportunity for their own individual advancement in wealth and social position as the result of energy and enterprise, they willingly made generous provision for the advancement of the less socially fortunate of the lower middle and artisan classes on the same terms. The general diffusion of benevolence which supported this was in part due to the continued spread of evangelical Christianity which had now thoroughly permeated Churchmen and Nonconformists of all shades of opinion alike. Its direction was guided by the great Lancashire sanitarians and educationalists, J. Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth and Edwin Chadwick, who were now directing the course of Parliamentary reform. Walker was surrounded by this influence, for his father-in-law, Richard Johnson, was a prominent member of Dr. Maclaren's congregation.

In 1869, in recognition of the public services of Mr. C. H. Rickards, governor of the School, a number of his friends and well-wishers presented him with a sum of £1100. He thereupon wrote to his co-trustees at the School and requested that the sum should be invested to found a scholarship in classics, tenable either at Oxford or Cambridge. The first Rickards scholarship was given to J. R. Broadhurst,¹ who has so long and so worthily served his old School and trained generations of scholars.

In 1870 Miss Brackenbury transferred £4000, subsequently increased by £2600, L. & Y. Railway stock, to found scholarships and exhibitions tenable at Oxford.

¹ Died July 21, 1919.

Four scholarships, of which two are of the value of £20, and two of £7, were founded to encourage the study of the English language and literature. They are available for boys under seventeen, and are tenable for two years, of which one must be passed at the School, and the second may be passed either at the School or at some other approved place. An exhibition was also awarded by the Early English Text Society. In 1872, £10,000 was left, free of legacy duty, by E. R. Langworthy to found twenty scholarships to enable clever boys to remain at school over the age of fifteen. Six were to be awarded for boys under seventeen, seven for boys under eighteen, seven for boys under nineteen; their value was £20 a year. None but the successive high masters of the School can fully realise what these have meant to striving boys 'of pregnant wits' for whom Hugh Oldham originally founded the School, many of whom are now occupying high positions in Church and State, who otherwise could never have found proper opportunity for the development of their talents. In 1874 the Philip Wright Scholarships were founded out of funds left in the hands of the executors of George Thorley.

On October 14, 1874, Mr. Richard Johnson, as Chairman, suggested as a matter for consideration at a future meeting whether it would not be advisable to offer, after a suitable examination, a free education in the School for three or four years to two or three of the best scholars from some of the elementary schools in Manchester, and to offer in addition an annual grant of £10 as an inducement to their remaining in the School. He intimated that he would be prepared to provide such allowances out of his own private funds. Something on these lines must have been attempted, for the School Receiver was instructed (November 30, 1874) to obtain from the clerk of the Manchester and Salford School Boards a list of the public elementary schools recognised by them, and the names of the principal teachers. The establishment of the first scholarships to enable boys of the elementary schools to continue their education elsewhere, by private subscription of members and friends of the Manchester School Board, followed in 1876, the first three School Board scholars to enter the Grammar School under these provisions being J. Bewsher, Percy Morton, and A. J. Sutton, all of whom subsequently took distinguished positions at the University.

Between 1874 and 1878 twenty-seven scholarships were founded at the School (Speech Day, 1898).

The last of the private 'University Examiners' reports,' which had been begun in 1840, was made in 1872, when R. B. Somerset thus expressed himself :

' I may perhaps be permitted to congratulate the trustees on the evidence given by my personal examination that the great extension in the course of studies in the School which has been effected since my first visit as classical examiner 1861 has not been purchased by the sacrifice of the older studies by which the School has so long maintained its great reputation, and by which so many of the scholars have of late years gained high honour and promotion in the University and elsewhere.'

After 1873, these examinations by private individuals were discontinued in favour of examination by the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Examination Board, whose first report was received in October 1874.

Although the efforts of Mr. Walker were all primarily directed towards securing the personal advancement of his pupils in whatever walk of life seemed to offer success—for great as was his ambition, it was always an ambition for others rather than for himself—yet the effect of these efforts was by no means confined to the boys themselves, but extended to the whole intellectual life of Manchester. The mere fact of the aggregation of many keen purposeful scholars caused many instincts and capacities to seek expression, many questions to come under discussion, many ideals to receive criticism, analysis; and purification, which could never have happened if the social exclusiveness and self-sufficiency of the past had remained. For social exclusiveness is largely fed upon ignorance and misunderstanding, and when different classes are brought into social intercourse, much of their antagonism and discontent disappears and their energies become united in a common aim. A sleepy school, or a sleepy community, is full of cliques and castes; an active busy school may be full of diverse and even opposing activities, emulation is rife, but antagonism has no time to crystallise into permanent prejudices.

Although endowed with an indomitable will and indefatigable in his efforts, there was another and tenderer side

which Mr. Walker showed only to a few. Soon after coming to Manchester he had become a privileged guest at the home of one of the governors, Mr. Richard Johnson, an active worker and deacon at the Union Chapel, Oxford Road. Always courteous and gentle to womanhood unless aroused by bigotry, he became attached to one of the daughters, and was married at the Cathedral Church in 1867. His married life, however, was a very brief one, for Mrs. Walker died after a very short illness in 1869, leaving an only son. The blow was a heavy one, but the only reference to it that I have come across is a single remark he made on returning to the School: 'I have never preached morality to you, but I urge you to remember that there are many things which we regret when it is too late. Never do or say anything of which the recollection may cause you sorrow.' As a memorial to his wife he presented a handsome pulpit to the newly erected church, of which others of her family were members. On the pulpit is the following inscription:

D.D.

FREDERICUS GUL. WALKER, A.M.
Scholae Mancuniensis Archididascalos

In Memoriam

dilectissimae conjugis Mariae
quae tenerâ adhuc aetatulâ
in societatem hujus Ecclesiae recepta
studio et caritate
candore animi morum innocentîâ
usque ad extremum spiritum comprobavit
quanto esset momento ad omnem virtutem
religio vere Christiana.

The inspiring influence that Mr. Walker exerted on many of the boys of the upper classes of the School was also shown by their varied out-of-school activities. As early as 1860 he was concerned with Mr. Rickards in procuring the use of a cricket field. A gymnasium instructor was first appointed in 1868. From 1873, we have a continuous record of the School activities in the pages of the School magazine *Ulula*. There had been two short-lived predecessors. The first appeared 1839-1840 and was called *The New Microcosm*; the other appeared in 1845, and was called *The Grammar School Miscellany*.

Neither contained school news or revealed any corporate activity, but both consisted of essays, poems, and an occasional letter descriptive of travel. In *Ulula*, on the other hand, we read of the attempts at the formation of football and cricket clubs, of a swimming and rowing club, of a musical society, together with general discussions on such contemporary questions as City *v.* Country School Life, the Danger of School becoming a mere Workshop of Knowledge, the Need for a Gymnasium, &c., the latter being strongly supported by an Oxford Committee, who had seen the work of Alexander Maclaren. A sum of £104 was collected in July 1874 for erection and equipment of a gymnasium at the School. Throughout all, there shines the vigorous personality of the high master. 'The chief requisite for success is a determined will, without which genius itself is powerless, but, armed with which, the dullest boy may achieve success,' was his message to the boys on Speech Day, 1873. What wonder that when twitted on his small stature but resonant voice, he replied, 'What I lack in inches I must make up for in sound'; or, when presented with an unexpectedly large bill for chemical apparatus, he humorously replied: 'Science is very expensive; I believe in Latin grammar and the cane. They are cheap and efficient.'

On Speech Day, 1873, it was reported that the numbers in the School were over 500. In 1874 they rose to 570; in 1875 to 700; in 1876 to 750. Still the reformer was not satisfied. He had put his whole soul into a new branch of social progress, viz., Education.

'The School Boards of Manchester and Salford were dealing with the difficulties of Elementary Education with energy and success. Secondary Education was not making a commensurate advance. Instead of one Grammar School, there ought to be in this city and environment, four or five, as large and important as their own. That had been the waking dream of his life for the past ten years. He cherished the hope that he had in some degree been preparing the way for its accomplishment, and he trusted that Manchester energy and Manchester munificence would one day convert the dream into reality.'

Meanwhile the financial difficulties were increasing as well as the size of the School. The high standard of teaching

demanding an expensive equipment. This was generously provided, but the balance-sheet gave new cause for anxiety. The year 1869 was the only one when income met expenditure.

A meeting of the trustees was held at which Mr. Fearon, one of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, attended to explain the views of the Commissioners and to confer with the trustees as to the best method of remedying the difficulty in which the trustees were placed by deficiency of funds. This difficulty, Mr. Fearon stated, the Charity Commissioners were anxious to overcome so far as practicable. They considered it must be done either by increasing the endowment of the School or by diminishing the number of free scholars, or by a combination of both. The Commissioners had before them two important claims in Manchester besides the Grammar School, viz., those of the lower middle classes and the education of girls. Mr. Fearon further stated that the Charity Commissioners desired to have only one governing body for the three trusts of William Hulme, Humphrey Chetham, and the Manchester Grammar School. Failing the union of the three, thereby making adequate provision for the higher education of the district, the Charity Commissioners wished to amalgamate the Chetham Hospital and the Grammar School trusts. This suggestion the Chetham feoffees refused to entertain. A discussion took place as to the claims of other lower middle class schools, already existing in various parts of the town. Mr. Fearon then said that the Commissioners wished to keep up a first-class education at the Grammar School, and proposed to reduce the number of free scholars to 100. Several of the trustees, and Mr. Walker himself, considered this inadvisable and unnecessary.

In March 1874 the Conservative party again returned to power, and, as usual, the change in ministry involved a change in educational outlook. This manifested itself in the proceedings towards the Reports of the Endowed Schools Commissioners.¹ A new Endowed Schools Bill was brought before Parliament in July 1874. A meeting of trustees was called to consider the effect which this Bill would have on the interests of the School, and, as it was thought that some of the provisions, if not altered, would be prejudicial, Lord Sandon was requested to receive a deputation from the trustees

¹ See H. J. Roby's evidence before the Secondary Schools Commission, 1894.

in order that they might lay their objections before him. After considerable discussion, a scheme was agreed upon by which the governing body of the Charity was extended and the number of boys on the Foundation became limited in accordance with the income available from the Foundation funds, and, to avoid a repetition of the variance which existed in Germon's time, the future high masters were to be appointed by the governors instead of by the President of Corpus Christi.

The antagonism against the new spirit evidenced by the opposition to the 1864 scheme had not entirely ceased, and a number of old boys of the preceding generation were still ready to take alarm at any further change. Consequently, when the scheme was presented to the Charity Commissioners in 1876, 'a meeting of the gentlemen interested in the subject' was held at the Mitre Hotel, May 28, and a requisition was signed to request that a town's meeting be called. Such a meeting was held in June. It reflected little credit either on the organisers or their adversaries. An appeal was made for funds to extend the School buildings, dated August 5, 1876, but the Town Council, contrary to the advice of Sir Joseph Heron, the Town Clerk, resolved to petition against the scheme. A fresh series of letters appeared in the Press during August, and finally on August 31 a petition against the scheme was drawn up for signature. Fortunately, with greater knowledge, better counsels prevailed, and on April 12, 1877, Mr. Croston stated at the Town Council that, before the deputation of opposers went to London to lodge their protest, they had had an interview with the governors of the School and found that they were entirely in accord with the Town Council, and that mistakes had arisen from attributing to the governors certain objectionable clauses put in by the Charity Commissioners, which the governors were themselves opposing.

In July 1876, Mr. Walker decided to apply for the headship of St. Paul's, London, and on December 13 a farewell meeting was held in the School at which Bishop Fraser took the Chair. The function was double, for it was also the leave-taking of Rev. George Perkins. There were many of the most prominent educationalists of Manchester present at the meeting. The opinion expressed by the governors on this occasion was to the following effect :

‘Mr. F. W. Walker has been for seventeen years the able, energetic and successful Highmaster of the Manchester Grammar School. When he was appointed in 1859 by the President of the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, there were on the foundation not more than 250 boys, all free. A comprehensive scheme of instruction ordered by the Court of Chancery in 1849 remained almost a dead letter. Spirit and power were wanting to give it effect. Mr. Walker breathed a new life into the School, and while zealously urging the advantages that would surely follow upon the consent of the Court of Chancery to the admission of other than foundation scholars, he at the same time inspired the trustees with confidence to erect new buildings which are now crowded with 750 boys. Mr. Walker’s success in training pupils for the Universities is proved by testimony stronger than can be expressed in any words of ours.

‘To the teaching of science, of modern languages, of English literature, he had devoted an attention not less careful and assiduous than that given to the study of classics and mathematics.

‘It is not possible to speak too highly of what Mr. Walker has done for the School, and it is only just to state that his work has been accomplished in the face of many difficulties and at a cost of personal anxiety and toil for which the trustees have never been able to offer any adequate reward. It is a pleasure to add that their intercourse with him has always been of a most friendly and cordial character. The assistant masters of the School have recorded in their own words the opinion they entertained of their Head. With the boys Mr. Walker was deservedly popular. Their physical comfort and well-being had always been objects of his constant consideration.

‘The trustees cannot too strongly express the sense of the loss the School would sustain by the removal of Mr. Walker. They are unable willingly to contemplate such an event, but his long and invaluable service demands from them the highest testimonial which it is in their power to offer.’

Mr. Walker wrote the following reply :

‘DEAR MR. HEYWOOD,—I desire to tender my warm acknowledgments to the trustees for the generous testimonial they have been kind enough to accord me, and to thank you personally for appending your signature, an honour which I value highly. What may become of my application

I do not know, but of this I am sure, that wherever I go I shall never find a body of gentlemen from whom I shall experience the same personal kindness or who will exhibit the same disinterested earnestness in the cause of education as the trustees of the Manchester Grammar School.

‘ With sincere regards and acknowledgments,

‘ I am, dear Mr. Heywood,

‘ Yours very truly,

‘ FRED. W. WALKER.’¹

¹ The bust of Mr. Walker at present in the School is a copy of one by Bruce Joy, and was presented by Colonel M. Clements in 1907. See also obituary notices, *Times*, December 14, 1910, and *Ulula*, February 1911.

CHAPTER XIV

1877-1888

UNDER REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

' Yet because in time to come many things may and shall survive and grow . . . which at the making of these present acts and ordinances were not possible to come to mind . . . the above named feoffees and others hereafter to come, where need shall require, calling unto them discreet learned counsel and men of good literature . . . will have full powers and authority to augment, increase, expand and reform all the said acts, ordinances, articles, compositions and agreements '—*School Statutes*, 1524.

The trustees, guided by Mr. Walker's ideas, plan the extension required for the gymnasium, chemical laboratories, lecture theatre, and classrooms—The new board of governors, sanctioned by the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1876, secures the representation of various public interests: this involves an alteration in status of future high masters—The new buildings favour the growth of a public school life and traditions—The creation of a separate modern side—The housing and reconstruction of the School Library—The foundation of Victoria University induces more parents to enter their sons at the Owens College for further study—This coincides with an increase rather than with a decrease in the number passing to Oxford and Cambridge—The foundation of Higher Grade Board Schools, on a Continental plan, establishes new educational traditions in the city towards technology, and at first diminishes the number of able boys coming from elementary schools to compete for the foundation scholarships at the Grammar School—Efforts to increase the applicants by further subsidising selected boys—Value and limitation of selection by examination at such an early age—The establishment of the Hulme Grammar School—Resignation of Mr. Samuel Dill.

AFTER the resignation of Mr. Walker, the progress of the School, though less volcanic, was no less certain. His inspiring influence and clear-cut ideals had impressed themselves so deeply on the governing body, and their approval of them

was so whole-hearted and complete, that they determined to do all in their power to secure the realisation of his plans. The course was the more difficult as the governors had to work against the opposition to all active progress which had come over the country in 1874, and which was expressed in the altered political opinion that had placed Disraeli and Lord Derby in power. Many of the reforms in higher education which had been suggested by the Schools Inquiry Commission, appointed by Gladstone in 1864, and which had been so favourably reported on in 1867, were quietly put aside. Among them was the project for the amalgamation of the three great educational charities of Manchester, the Hulme Trust—whose phenomenal growth had already caused it to be the subject of several Acts of Parliament—the Chetham Trust, and the Manchester Grammar School. Owing to the failure to secure co-operation, all three educational movements suffered a set-back in ideals. The Grammar School ceased to maintain the prominent position it had previously held as a 'seed plot' for the clergy, who thereby lost that intimate contact during adolescence with boys intending to follow other callings which is so necessary in a democratic community. Thus both their religious and scholastic teaching became prematurely specialised. Nor does it appear that until the pupil-teacher system was evolved there was any compensation for this in an increased association with other forms of public teaching except perhaps that of the Nonconformist preachers who now found a high level school without tests or traditions of exclusiveness. Hulme Trustees,¹ it is true, made a donation to the funds of the school. They founded and equipped two other Grammar Schools, one at Alexandra Park, Manchester, and one at Oldham, and they undertook to set apart £1000 annually to the funds of the Owens College, which the authorities devoted to the support of Professorial Chairs in Greek and History, but they made no provision to secure co-operation and to prevent overlapping. All these projects left secondary education in the district scattered and not a little of its resources wasted—a condition which remains even to this day, if we are to judge by the proportion seeking higher training subsequent to school life. The Chetham feoffees

¹ Reformed under a new and liberal scheme about this time.

also missed the opportunity of carrying out the full educational aims of the founder, Humphrey Chetham, who included in his vision the oversight of the training of his boys beyond the age of thirteen and fourteen and throughout their apprenticeship. Changes in industrial methods had practically abolished apprenticeship to an individual master as a complete method of learning a skilled trade, but it would seem to have been the natural prerogative of the Chetham Trust to lead the way in founding a high-level Craft School, associated with the liberal education which the Grammar School was affording to other poor boys from the elementary schools of Manchester, Bolton, &c., who were already competing for the foundation scholarships. Had an understanding between the charities been reached at this time, some of the technological efforts to be described in the next chapter might have been materially expedited by experience gained from the working of a clearly thought-out educational policy, and might have had a much ampler and more satisfactory issue.'

The creation of a new governing body¹ at the Grammar School was the expression of a new principle in English legislation by which attempts were made to arouse and preserve general interest in charitable and educational endowments by providing for the representation of outside authorities on the governing body. It secured such endowments from the danger of exposure to sudden gusts of temporary and ill-informed public opinion, to which they might be subject if they had been placed solely under the control of a public not fully acquainted with their value and importance. It undoubtedly had a great effect in securing for the advanced secondary education of the district a very prominent part in the public educational schemes, and in enabling the Grammar School to maintain its standards of learning amid circumstances which threatened its stability, by interfering with the sources from which its scholars came. These dangers were still more completely removed when the School was formally related to the local organisation in the national system of public education put forward in 1902. The scheme also involved the altered status of the high master, who no longer held a life tenure of his position, but was

¹ The names of the new governing body are given in the Appendix.

removable by the decision of the governing body. Henceforth he became the chief officer, with wide executive powers, whose duty it was to carry out their agreed policy.

Sir Elkanah Armitage, who had so successfully dealt with the opposition organised in the Town Council against the 1867 scheme, now resigned his post on account of failing health. Mr. Oliver Heywood, who since 1849 had acted as Treasurer, was appointed Chairman in his place. This position he occupied till his decease in 1892. His active benevolence was manifested everywhere, while his courtliness and charm of manner enabled him to tide the School over the new difficulties which now began to surround it. The public appreciation of his numerous services to Manchester has been commemorated by the erection in Albert Square of a statue to his memory by his fellow-townsmen. E. R. Langworthy, who might be called the second founder of the School, had died in 1874, and Robert Barbour had retired on account of age.

Abraham Haworth¹ was appointed Treasurer; Richard Johnson, Vice-Chairman. Among the many important representatives of public bodies added to the Board of Governors at this time no one was more helpful in maintaining the high state of efficiency in the School training than H. J. Roby. He had already gained a unique educational experience by serving as secretary to the Endowed Schools Commissioners from 1865 to 1872 and subsequently as one of the Commissioners from 1872 to 1874. The Rev. James Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, had visited the school as examiner in 1847. He also possessed a great experience in educational administration. Many other governors worthily upheld the past traditions of the town, for Manchester merchants had always taken an interest in the School. The Bestwicks had shared the expense of its foundation, the Mosleys had furnished it with scholars, and one at least had left legacies to assist poor scholars to the Universities. The Chetham family had provided it with a high master, several feoffees, and many scholars. A number of the Byroms had been educated there, and the celebrated Dr. John Byrom, though not a scholar, was the personal friend, though occasionally the critic, of its high master, William Purnell. William Hulme

¹ 'A tower of strength to the School.'—F. W. Walker.

had left endowments for its scholars to continue post-graduate studies at Oxford, and, at a much later date, C. H. Rickards and John Peel, after being educated at the School, had served on the governing body. It was natural, therefore, that the mayors of Manchester and Salford should be included among the ex-officio governors. Presumably Justices of the Peace were elected to see that no malversation of funds took place. Herbert Birley and Richard Radford were also of great value in maintaining the channel of supply from the elementary schools, for they were the representatives of the Manchester and Salford School Boards.

The first duty which confronted the new governing body was to find the funds necessary for defraying the cost of the new gymnasium block of buildings, the plans of which had already been passed at an estimated cost of £30,000. The liberality of some of the citizens of Manchester towards education at this time, as shown by their contributions to the Owens College and the Grammar School, seemed inexhaustible. It was only equalled by the increase in number of scholars and students attending these two institutions, for the direct and indirect effects of the Public Elementary Education Act of 1870 and its successors had begun to tell on the mental outlook of the community.

A public meeting was held at which the following speakers urged the claims of the School. Bishop Fraser moved the first resolution. It was seconded by Alderman Joseph Thompson, who was elected to represent the Manchester Town Council and was also a Governor of the Owens College and subsequently the writer of 'Its Foundation and its Growth.' Joseph Heron, Principal Greenwood, and Dr. John Watts were also among the speakers. An extension committee was formed to raise the money. Mrs. Langworthy, who had previously contributed £5000, now offered another similar sum. A timely legacy of £10,000 from C. F. Beyer, and a donation of £5000 from Richard Johnson and a similar one from Thomas Wrigley, of Bury, afforded very material help towards meeting the cost of the extension, which ultimately amounted to £52,000.

The new chemical laboratory, which was named after C. F. Beyer, at first caused some anxiety to one of the governors, who was interested in the Owens College, lest there should be some educational overlapping, but this anxiety

was not shared by its official representative. The munificent gifts of Edward R. Langworthy caused the governors to associate his name with the new gymnasium. Perhaps it was owing to personal wishes that the names of Richard Johnson and Thomas Wrigley were not connected with other portions of the new buildings.

Mr. Walker's resignation took place before the new scheme, which included the duty of appointing a new high master, was in operation; consequently his successor, Mr. S. Dill, Dean, Senior Tutor, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, was selected by Dr. Fowler, the patron of the School, who followed the usual course of previous conference with the trustees. Under the new scheme of administration the high master became the executive officer of the governors. On him devolved the duty of organising the entire School curriculum and appointing or dismissing assistant masters.

The new buildings were opened for school work in October 1880. The high master held a public reception in them, on December 10, 1880. The gymnasium was one of the best in the country. It was 120 feet by 135 feet and 30 feet high. The floor consisted of a 6-inch layer of sawdust overlaid with a foot of hair, and covered with one huge sheet of canvas. The apparatus equipment consisted of 100 pairs of dumb-bells, varying in weight from 7 to 24 lb., also 100 bar-bells and other fixtures, including a ladder, prepared walls for climbing, horizontal and parallel bars, horses, &c., and a large dressing-room. Both equipment and curriculum of physical training were thoroughly thought out in accordance with the views held by leading authorities of that time. The gymnasium was able to accommodate 500 members of the school at one time for mass physical training.

On Speech Day, 1883, Mr. Dill referred to the marked tendency of the School towards modern languages and science, and reported that out of 940 boys, 400 were on the modern side, 295 attended classes in which chemistry was being taught practically, and 158 attended classes in physics, while 50 were in classes devoting the greater part of their time to science. Mr. Dill added :

‘It is in this direction that the recent expansion of the School has mainly taken place, and it is here that there is still the greatest room for fresh effort and adaptation. The classical system, in schools as old as ours, rests on a tradi-

tion of more than three and a half centuries. During that time the teaching has been conducted by a succession of highly educated men who communicated or improved upon the training they had received themselves. That system has justified itself by results. It needs no defence, provided that it does not, in the altered circumstances of our time, claim any exclusive rights; but the needs of the great commercial societies like our own, with ramifications extending all over the globe, and the increasing number of subjects which claim attention, now imperatively require us to provide for a large number of boys an education which, while it does not sacrifice the training of the faculties, shall have an immediate and direct bearing on every-day life. To shape and develop such a curriculum is the task of the schoolmaster in the great industrial centres. Very much has to be done. Many years of effort and experiment must pass before perfect adaptation and completeness are attained. In the meantime, that we at the Grammar School are making real progress will, I think, be clear to you, when I read you the judgment of two eminent examiners in modern languages who have just reviewed the work of the higher forms.

‘Dr. Buchheim, professor of German in University College, London, writes: “I consider the result of the examination at your school in both French and German most satisfactory, far more satisfactory than is generally the case at large public institutions. I was particularly struck by the uniform good work of the boys, and I may mention as a proof of the efficiency of the instruction that, out of 83 boys, only 28 failed to obtain 50 per cent. of the maximum marks allotted for their performance in French and German.” Mr. York Powell, who has examined the modern side for three years, permits me to say, “I wish first to note the fact that a very distinct advance is being made in the subjects which come under my tests in each form. Believing as I do that these subjects, if properly treated, afford a most excellent educational training, I look for a really good outcome being attained in this school on the modern side—first because I see the care with which they are taught, and secondly because I am sure that a clear and steady progress has been going on in them ever since I was first able to look into the work three years ago. Manchester School in my opinion bids fair to have the most complete and best organised modern side of any school in England.”’¹

¹ Quoted in *Ulula*, October 1883.

The rapid increase in the number of boys, particularly on the modern side, necessitated a complete change in the existing time-table and a large increase in the teaching staff.

‘The many difficult problems that consequently arose in the recasting of the curriculum Mr. Dill faced and settled one after another by his clear-sighted intelligence and his marvellous grasp of detail, and that indomitable capacity for hard work for which he had already gained a name at Oxford. Nor in any of the alterations which he introduced did Mr. Dill ever show rashness, or a disposition to make changes simply for the sake of change. Where an old custom could be retained, he retained it. He often acted with a quickness which to some might seem rashness, but those who knew him well knew there could not be a more cautious man. If his action was quick, his deliberation was long, and he had fully estimated even the remote consequences of every change he made. From Lent term, 1879, to Midsummer, 1888, the numbers of the modern side rose from 279 to 411. The Modern VI form was established out of the old Civil Service form, and arrangements were made for this part of the School to be included in the regular examinations conducted by the Universities Board.’¹

In his speech at the prize distribution in July 1886, Mr. Dill said :

‘There is nothing in the period of my connection with the School which I regard with so much satisfaction as the steady improvement in scholarly habit and range of knowledge among the senior boys of the modern side. They have the best training we can procure for them in French and German, History, English Literature and Philology, Mathematics and Physical Science. The courses have been carefully planned to meet the growing demands of modern commercial life. If we have not succeeded fully, I still believe that success is only a matter of a few years, and that you will soon have in Manchester what has long been regarded as unattainable, a modern education which shall be at once thorough as a discipline and complete as a preparation for commercial life.’

On July 23, 1887, the high master reported his intention

¹ *Uthula*, 1888.

of opening evening classes in foreign correspondence, modern languages, précis writing, commercial geography, book-keeping, shorthand, commercial arithmetic and writing.

The long list of honours won by the School at Oxford and Cambridge not only indicates the excellent training of the boys in classics, mathematics, and science, but also the signal success of the method of attracting large numbers to the school and selecting the best by repeated tests, subsidising those who needed pecuniary help and sending them forth to the older Universities. Their high records in subsequent University tests show the mettle of which they were made. The successes obtained by science pupils and the record of subsequent high scientific work, which is, after all, the true measure of the success of any training, afford eloquent testimony of the value of the method of combining practical with theoretical instruction as adopted by Mr. Francis Jones, first in the chemical laboratories which had been set up in the 1776 building by Dr. Marshall Watts in 1870-71, when the Drawing Hall building was opened; and more fully developed (by Mr. F. Jones) on the opening of the Beyer Laboratory in the gymnasium buildings in 1880. It had very forcibly impressed Mr. Dill with the need for making provision for practical instruction in physics. He decided to use part of the old English School, built in 1835, for a physics laboratory, as it had now been vacated by Mr. Hall, who had taken charge of the Hulme School. The planning and furnishing were entrusted to an old pupil of the school, W. W. Haldane Gee, B.Sc., demonstrator and assistant lecturer in physics at the Owens College, in whose 'Text Book of Practical Physics,' published 1887, a description of the recently erected Physics Laboratory at the Grammar School appears. The organisation of the teaching and curriculum was placed under the care of another old pupil, A. E. Holmes, later headmaster of Dewsbury School.

The effect of the opening of the roomy buildings and the wider outlook of the curriculum on the actual life of the boys was very striking.

The ample space provided by the new gymnasium and the new lecture theatre, for the first time afforded scope for the natural creative instincts and activities of boyhood to manifest themselves. The social gathering which took place in the new buildings on December 10, 1881, was intended to inaugurate

this new era of school life. All the organised school societies into which the past informal gatherings of boys had now developed were represented. The Debating Society planned part of the entertainment. The Philosophic Society, organised among the science boys, perhaps in emulation of the title of the Manchester Literary and Philosophic Society, showed chemical and physical experiments. There were exhibitions of drawings by pupils of the School and a gymnastic display by a squad of twenty boys. A Natural History Society was also formed from among the boys who attended Mr. Willis's classes in botany. It still maintains an active existence.¹ Arrangements were made in Michaelmas term, 1882, for the delivery of public lectures in the new theatre, which was calculated to hold 600 people. To these parents were invited. The first was given in March 1883 by Professor Boyd Dawkins on the 'Dawn of History.'

Athletic life became more vigorous by the holding of swimming contests on October 7, 1881. A Rifle Corps was formed with fifty-eight members, a cricket field was rented at £30 a year, and the question of a special school recreation ground began to be mooted by the Football Club in 1882. The Glee Society was formed, which gave concerts at the annual school soirées. To develop still further the corporate school life, these were continued by the high master on December 11, 1885, and December 10, 1886; while in order to satisfy the new and increasingly desire for unity, a Junior Old Boys' Dinner was held in 1884. It was followed by a second, held on December 23, 1885. Subsequently the committee which managed it amalgamated with the dinner committee of the boys of an older generation. Nor were amusements and recreations the only bonds of union that began to spring up. A movement was set on foot to establish a Working Lads' Club in Ancoats. It was the expression of the awakening consciousness of responsibility towards the neglected artisan youth of the city, whose rioting and scuttling and savagery were at this time prominently before the public. As the financial difficulties and need of

¹ This is now (1919) replaced by Nature Study classes under Mr. F. A. Bruton, under whose care an exceedingly valuable Natural History Museum is growing up in the School.

permanent interest and support came up for discussion, some one suggested that if the Manchester Grammar School boys would take the matter up and support it, not only with money but with the personal interest of its boys, some of the difficulties would be solved. Mr. Alexander Devine, the originator, consulted Mr. Dill. A letter appeared in *Ulula*, June 1887, asking for help. A public meeting of governors, old boys, and present scholars was held January 18, 1888, in the lecture theatre. Mr. Dill, from the first, took a very active interest and aided the scheme by his sympathy, advice, and money. He felt its evident power for good, not only to the working lads but also to the Grammar School boys. It was therefore decided that a club for the working lads of Oldham Road and Rochdale Road be established on lines suggested by Mr. Dill, and that it should be worked as far as possible by Old Mancunians and friends of the Manchester Grammar School. A suitable building was found in Livesey Street, Oldham Road, and the club was formally opened, as one of a group of working lads' clubs in Manchester, by H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, on October 20, 1888.

Another expression of school activity that took place in the new building, though of high initial purpose, was for several reasons of less striking immediate as well as ultimate result—the rehousing of the School library. Perhaps the relation of a school library to a complete school life varies from time to time. In an age of reflectiveness and individual study, great use is made of its books for reference. In an age of hurry and bustle and outdoor activity, the needs of the more reflective and less active boys are apt to be overlooked, and a school library becomes neglected, especially if its housing is cheerless, and its comforts limited. We have already mentioned the seventeenth-century volumes whose inscriptions reveal some of the thoughts and occupations of our Puritan predecessors. We have also noted the eighteenth-century library collected by William Purnell and the later collections by C. Lawson, and how his distinguished pupil William Arnold, the senior wrangler of 1766, left £100 to be expended on the purchase of books.¹ We have observed the prominent position assigned to the provision of books

¹ Cf. Nicoll's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 579; vol. ii. p. 704; vol. vi. p. 499; *Grammar School Register*, vol. i.

by the 1833 Chancery scheme. In 1876 Miss Thompson presented to the School 1900 volumes which had belonged to her brother, Richard Thompson. About this time also the Rev. Finch Smith, son of Jeremiah Smith, the former high master, presented a large number of portrait prints of old scholars, feoffees, and friends of the School, together with a number of works written by old scholars. They had been collected by Jeremiah Smith and had been extensively referred to by Finch Smith in editing the School register. Unfortunately, for some years prior to 1882, the library had been little used. Many of the books had fallen into disrepair, and valuable sets of books had been broken up and lost. Largely at the instigation of Mr. Henry Lee, one of the governors, a large attic at the top of the new gymnasium buildings was appropriately furnished. Mr. Oliver Heywood, the treasurer, gave £1000, Mr. James Chadwick, vice-chairman, gave a donation of £500, and for some time, attempts were made by the sixth form boys to use the room as a nucleus of school life. Mr. Joseph Hall, the master of English literature, undertook the post of librarian, but, soon after his departure, the library again began to fall into disuse and neglect, and its books into disrepair, owing to its position and lack of adequate control. Complaint was made in the pages of *Utula* that the library was practically non-existent, except as a place of reference for a few of the masters and sixth form boys. The growth of special form lending libraries, with their many modern works and novels, also withdrew school interest, while the Old Mancunians' Association, which might have taken an interest in the preservation of the works of past scholars, had not at this time been called into existence. The valuable books described by John Harland in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*¹ are fortunately still in the School library and have been carefully preserved and re-bound by the present librarian, Mr. J. R. Broadhurst. The whole question of the relation of this valuable school asset to the current life of the School, and its influence in preserving school traditions, needs fresh consideration.

We now come to the consideration of the effect which the power of conferring University degrees, granted to the Victoria University, with which the Owens College was now

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, August 19, 1856.

incorporated, had upon the progress of the School. Though the original charter of incorporation was granted in 1880, the power of granting medical degrees was reserved till 1883. Provision for the housing of the Manchester School of Medicine had been made in the Owens College buildings opened in Oxford Road in 1873. The combined institutions thereupon offered greatly improved professional, as well as scientific and other training, to boys who, for various reasons, would not have passed into the older English Universities. Many boys began their studies at the Owens College, and qualified themselves for competing at the London University examinations, or, after a brief period of study, passed to Edinburgh, Glasgow, and elsewhere. Others, intending to follow the career of engineering, consulting chemist, &c., sought special training in geology, physics, &c. With the rapid development of the Owens College that followed the opening of the new buildings, the number of boys passing from the Grammar School greatly increased. Some idea of the relative number of those following the learned professions in Lancashire may be gained from the 'Court Guide' for 1884, which contains the names of 1211 clergy, 133 barristers, 1417 solicitors, 55 notaries, 1481 practitioners of medicine, 727 actuaries, 402 architects, 289 civil engineers, and 322 surveyors, out of a total population of three and a half millions.

On Saturday, June 19, 1884, an important conference of educationalists, professors, and others, was held at the Owens College, to see how far the local schools could be brought into more intimate relationship with the new University. This was held with the more confidence in that the application for a charter had been signed by representatives of the chief schools in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Dr. Greenwood, the Vice-Chancellor, remarked :

'It was unnecessary to say that they neither expected nor desired, and they would regard it as nothing less than a calamity, that the ties between the old School and the older Universities should be weakened, but experience showed that there was a large number of men who could not go to the University unless there was one identified with their own district as in Scotland and abroad. The Victoria University would be at a great disadvantage because of the lack of endowments. Aberdeen had 250 entrance scholarships and exhibitions, tenable for four years, of the annual

value of £4500, so that more than 60 were offered each year. The Owens College had a few entrance scholarships, but the Victoria University was entirely without any.'

Professor Roscoe pointed out the difference between the teaching University which was established in Manchester, and the examining University of London. Professor Ward spoke of the Courses of Studies. There was a preliminary entrance examination for those who desired to prepare for courses of study in Arts, Sciences, and Law, which was intended to be somewhat higher than the entrance examination demanded of other students, but it was of such a nature that any boys of good school education could pass. There were to be pass degrees and eleven Schools of Honours.

Mr. Dill was present at this meeting, and on the following Speech Day, July 30, 1884, stated that friends of the Grammar School

'would observe with pleasure that they were establishing a close connection with all departments of the Owens College, especially the scientific and medical departments, and that a fair proportion of Manchester boys occupied places of distinction in the first-class lists of Victoria University.'

An attempt has been made to estimate the number of such boys in order that they might be compared with the number who passed to Oxford and Cambridge, and also to classify them according to the special courses of study they followed, in order to gain some impression of the ultimate result of the work of the School.¹

Although the fuller consideration of the provision made in Manchester for technical education will be left to the next chapter, it is necessary, if we are rightly to understand the progress of the School at this point, to make some reference to the Technical Education Commission, which was appointed in 1880 and which issued its report in 1884, and also to the work which Mr. Mundella was accomplishing as Vice-President, 1880-1885, of the Committee of the Privy Council which dealt with education, for both these events were indirectly the cause of some concern to the Grammar School. The work of the Manchester and Salford School Boards, under the enlightened chairmanships of Herbert Birley and Richard

¹ See Appendix.

Radford, had revealed in many Board Schools the presence of a considerable number of boys of such ability and keenness that it seemed desirable to make provision for their further educational advance than was included in the six standards. Consequently a seventh standard was established in 1882 and was soon followed by an extra-seventh. Prominent among the schools where many of these scholars were found were the Peter Street School and the Lower Mosley Street School.¹ These schools had long competed in friendly rivalry for the palm of excellence, and for many years both had sent many of their most promising pupils to compete for foundation scholarships at the Grammar School. The Manchester School Board decided to merge these two schools into one, and to accommodate the pupils in an entirely new building, capable of holding 1200 children, with special provision for the teaching of Art and Science. There was to be a drawing studio for 200 pupils, a lecture theatre for 120 pupils, and a chemical laboratory for 80 pupils, and an ample and well-equipped gymnasium. It was to be called the Manchester Central Higher Grade School.

Mr. Mundella, whose business firm had established a branch factory at Chemnitz, had in his early life made personal and close study of the German system of technical education. He must also have been brought into touch with Manchester needs by his association with Professor Henry E. Roscoe and A. J. Slagg in the Technical Education Commission, and have realised the desire of the Victoria University to be brought more closely into touch with the public system of education. He accepted an invitation to come to Manchester on July 5, 1884, (1) to open the new Museum at Queen's Park, Harpurhey, (2) to open the new Central School. The occasion was taken to present to Manchester men some of the new educational ideals. In his speech, Mr. Mundella also drew attention to the contrast between the English and Scotch attitude towards national education, and gave point to his speech by describing the fears expressed by the Scotch peers in the House of Lords lest their own national system of education should be dragged down to the level of English public education by English educationalists.

‘They won’t have the term elementary education men-

¹ See p. 248.

tioned in connection with Scotland. In their poorest schools they claim the right to teach Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and hundreds of men are sent direct from the public schools of Scotland to the Universities year by year. It is to that fact that Scotland owes her pre-eminence.'

Mr. Herbert Birley, Chairman of the School Board, added :

'They might reasonably hope that many of the elder boys would compete, as successfully as before, for the foundation scholarships at the Manchester Grammar School ; but the principal and perhaps the most important part of the instruction to be given would be such as would prepare the pupils for the highest and more precise instruction, perhaps in the Technical Schools, or for responsible posts in the commercial and manufacturing establishments in the city and neighbourhood.'

The establishment of higher-grade schools in 1882 led to an extension of school age beyond 14 at the Public Elementary Schools, which extension was now organised as a ' Science School ' under the supervision of South Kensington, as was also the Science, Mathematical, and Art teaching already carried on at the Grammar School. The passing of Standard V was regarded as a minimum for entrance to the higher-grade schools which were opened at Ardwick, Hyde Road, St. Luke's (ultimately Cheetham Hill Higher Grade), Waterloo Road, Cheetham Hill ; Birley St., Beswick ; and Ducie Avenue (1885). The numbers of elementary school pupils who used these schools were :

In 1884-5, 1106 children in standards VII and Extra VII.

„ 1887-8, 1543	„	„	„
	(over 500 being in Extra VII).		

The teaching of higher grade subjects in the Board Schools was a serious matter to the Grammar School, for it threatened to dry up the stream of the most promising boys entering from the elementary schools, as the number of such boys ready at this time for secondary education was very limited, though the number of middle-class boys desiring a liberal education was increasing. Probably this was the cause of Mr. Dill saying on Speech Day, 1885 :

' The School hardly succeeded in winning from the general public and from the leaders of public opinion in Manchester

that measure of support and solicitude for its future which it might fairly claim on the ground of its connection with the general well-being of the district . . . yet there were many signs of late that its place in our educational system was little recognised and its capacities for service to the community were quietly ignored. . . . It rested with them (the leaders of public opinion) to say whether the School should become the property of a single class, or remain the meeting-ground of all classes; whether it should be cramped and crippled, or have further scope for the development of its capacities for usefulness. It would be lamentable if, under the influence of well-meaning but narrow theories, existing agencies should be ignored and splendid resources wasted. This city was great and rich and powerful, but its educational authorities might yet find that it was easier to pull down than to build up an institution which had done honourable and useful work for nearly 400 years, and which had at once the associations of antiquity and the energies of youth.'

There can be no doubt that the original intention of Hugh Oldham had been to provide the highest form of education available, free to all, rich and poor alike.¹ For 150 years this free education consisted entirely in a training in classical languages. As soon as it was evident that other subjects, such as mathematics, were equally essential, extra teachers were privately employed by parents and privately paid to give lessons out of school hours. In 1833, the Court of Chancery decreed that all school tuition was to be made free, and it was to include several other subjects. When the funds proved inadequate to provide teaching for all applicants for admission, as it speedily did under Mr. Walker, a selection of the applicants had to be made. It was made by the governors with the assistance of the high master. Such selection was capable of abuse, and it is believed that merchants of established position occasionally exerted influence on the governors to secure recommendations for their sons. There was no definite financial bar to the holding of a foundation scholarship, and, though the governors could exclude any boy whose circumstances seemed to render him an unsuitable recipient, it was difficult to refuse these recommendations, particularly when made on behalf of a promising

¹ 'The State does not want poor men, but able men, whether they are rich or poor.'—*Educational Commissioners' Report*, 1852.

boy. An entrance examination of all candidates was held to see if they were fit for the School. This became utilised for the selection of the better candidates, and was finally the sole method adopted. There is no reason to believe that the selection made was other than perfectly fair and according to merit, and it is certain that the School benefited very profoundly by the selection of the ablest boys for foundation scholarships. There were indeed a few instances in which parents expressed their desire to pay the school fees after their boys had achieved the honour of winning a scholarship in open competition, but the number of scholarships was limited, and it is highly probable, particularly at certain periods, that many deserving boys of restricted means and limited social influence did not always obtain the educational assistance which they both needed and deserved, at the hands of the school authorities. The fees derived from the capitation boys under the 1867 scheme, had enabled the governors to pay better salaries to masters, and so retain the services of the more highly trained men, but they did not pay for an increased number of free scholars. When in 1875 it was evident that, in spite of the capital cost of the 1870 building having been defrayed by public subscription, the income of the School from all sources would not meet expenditure, it became necessary to restrict the number of foundation scholarships to such a number as could be paid for out of the existing foundation funds, that is from 250 to between 150 and 160 boys. The Court of Chancery stipulated that half of them should be preferably offered to boys of public elementary schools. The first election of foundation scholars under the new scheme took place early in 1878, when there were already 600 capitation boys in the School, and as there were 154 candidates for 24 vacancies for foundation scholarships, the competition was keen. In the following September there were 144 candidates for 21 vacancies.

The restriction of half the scholarships to boys from elementary schools was evidently an attempt to redress any adverse educational balance against poorer boys that may have been created by social position. Its possible drawback was that boys of inferior merit might be preferred to abler ones as a consequence. This, however, very rarely occurred, for, as a matter of actual fact, a considerable majority of the foundation scholarships had, from their first creation in 1867,

been awarded to boys from public elementary schools, because several elementary schools provided an education distinctly in advance of that provided by most private venture schools, and such elementary schools were often frequented by many boys already possessing good family traditions, including that of the appreciation of higher education. Among such schools the Peter Street and the Lower Mosley Street Schools ranked high, and there were others of considerable merit. Had such an adequate preliminary training at good elementary schools not existed, the restriction of half the foundation scholarships might have resulted in lowering the intellectual standard of the School. There is, on the contrary, every indication that it raised it considerably except at the particular period which now comes under consideration.

On Speech Day, July 1886, the high master, Mr. Dill, reported that the competition for the restricted scholarships had, within the last three years, seriously fallen off in quality, and that the best boys from the elementary schools were no longer competing for them. He reported that the governors, thinking that the offer of a free education alone was not strong enough to induce the parents of such scholars to allow their children to prolong their education at school, and so forgo the benefit of the wages they would have earned if they went early to business, had decided to obtain the necessary powers to offer bursaries of £12 12s. in addition to the free education, even though this would necessitate diminishing the total number of restricted scholarships.

In order to understand the scholarship system of the Manchester School Board, which had now come into competition with that of the Grammar School, it is necessary to retrace our steps and study the early phases of its growth; for as soon as the injurious effects of the competition were realised, measures were adopted to harmonise the two systems.¹

In 1875 the members of the Manchester School Board, in order to obtain eligible candidates for subsequent apprenticeship as pupil teachers, formulated a scheme for establishing a fund to enable promising scholars in public elementary schools to continue their studies in more advanced

¹ Cf. Chap. xv, p. 416.

schools. These exhibitions were not only ample enough to pay school fees and provide books, but also included a money maintenance grant. Special advantages were offered to those exhibitors who intended to become teachers. One condition was that candidates should be between eleven and thirteen years of age, and should have attended a public elementary school for at least two years. The first three exhibitions were awarded in 1875, and all the winners entered at the Grammar School :

James Bewsher, admitted at Balliol College, Oxford.

Percy Morton, admitted at Exeter College, Oxford.

Alfred Hughes, admitted at Corpus Christi College, Oxford,
and late Professor of Education, Birmingham.

Between 1876 and 1886, thirty of these exhibitions were given by the School Board, and were mostly held either at the Manchester Grammar School or at the Manchester High School for Girls. At the end of the period, half of the recipients were either actually engaged in teaching, or were preparing to do so.¹ In 1887 it was reported that since 1875 the Manchester School Board had awarded 37 exhibitions of the annual value of £25 for three years tenable at the Grammar School and at the Girls' High School ; 45 of the annual value of £15 a year, and 120 of the annual value of £10. These exhibitions were also tenable at other centres of higher education. R. L. Taylor, who had been assistant to Mr. Jones at the Grammar School, was placed in charge of the science teaching at the Central Schools, which now became very efficient. Consequently many boys preferred to stay at the higher-grade schools rather than enter the Grammar School or the High School for Girls, and this process naturally became more marked as the scholarships rose in value.

The Science and Art Scholarships of the School Board developed out of the School Board exhibitions when they had been augmented by grants. The Science and Art Department of South Kensington offered to subscribe an equal sum for every £5 subscribed by living donors. This condition was added to rule out the use of old charities. The new scholarships could be held either at the higher grade schools

¹ Cf. Watts, *Fifteen Years of School Board Work*, Manchester Statistical Society.

or elsewhere, and were open to all children from public elementary schools.

In 1887 the rules of the Science and Art scholarships were altered, and a new scheme introduced, which raised the total value to £9 for the first year, £12 for the second, £15 for the third. Of the total sum the Government contributed £4, £7 and £10 respectively. This certainly retained many of the best boys at the higher grade schools and other educational centres, and the Grammar School was now regarded by the working classes mainly as an entrance to the professions and universities, an object which few boys from elementary schools then had in view.

In order to overcome some of the difficulties associated with the rival systems of scholarships, an arrangement was made between the Grammar School authorities and the School Board to hold a joint examination for the School Board scholarships for boys aged twelve to sixteen, and for the Grammar School scholarships for candidates aged ten to fourteen.

The first joint examination was held December 1887, the last in April 1889. While there were 250 candidates for the School Board scholarships available at higher-grade schools, there were only 100 candidates for the Grammar School scholarships, which seemed at this time to possess insufficient attraction for parents of the classes who had hitherto sent their children to the School. Consequently the suggestion was made that bursaries of £7 10s., £10, and £13 10s. successively should be given from the Langworthy funds to holders of the Grammar School foundation scholarships, so as to render them equal in value to the School Board Science and Arts scholarships. The following rule was finally adopted :

‘ Bursaries not exceeding thirty-six in number may also be maintained out of the foundation, and may be awarded to foundation scholars on the results of the examination for such scholarships. Each holder of a bursary shall be entitled to such money payments, not being less than £10 or more than £15 per annum, as may be determined by the governors. In the award of the said bursaries and of one-half of the foundation scholarships, preference shall be given to boys who are, or have been, not less than three years scholars in any elementary school. The governors shall make such arrangements for the election to the scholarships and bursaries to be

so preferentially awarded as seem to them to be best adapted to secure the double object of attracting good scholars to the School of the said foundation and of advancing education at the public elementary schools.'

The difficulty was not yet overcome. A larger volume of well-prepared boys was needed as well as a curriculum of training more suitable for boys intending to enter a business career. The success of any process of selection of scholars by examination at such an early period of life—say under twelve or thirteen—depends upon a variety of circumstances, among them the health and vigour of the boy, his previous intellectual training, the earning capacity, social position, moral qualities, and family traditions of his parents, and the effect of these in arousing at an early period the desire of the child to make use of educational opportunities. Moreover, before it could be decided whether the educational training at the Manchester Grammar School would suit the ultimate as well as the immediate interests of a child from the elementary school and would therefore be in the best interests of the community, it was necessary to know the general conditions of the children attending the elementary schools of the district. It was quite possible that the time of the pupil might be more usefully employed in some other school than in beginning a course of training in the Grammar School, and prematurely cutting it off before a definite stage of attainment had been reached. No doubt as to the value of the free-place system ever arose, as far as the Manchester Grammar School itself was concerned, until the establishment of the scholarships at the higher-grade schools diverted the stream which had hitherto provided the Grammar School with many of its best pupils, and threw its particular scholarship system into confusion. It was at first intended that the Grammar School should represent an intermediary stage, and that the course of national education should be from elementary to secondary school, and from secondary school to schools of science and design. The higher-grade schools carried the education of the brighter boys of the elementary school to a seventh and an extra-seventh standard, and passed boys direct to the local University, which thus occupied the place of an occupational technical school. This rendered necessary a clearer

understanding of the essential difference of educational aims between the Grammar School and the higher-grade schools. The establishment of the higher-grade schools was a distinct educational gain to a certain type of child, for it carried his training along a line which gave immediate success. The training provided did not, however, include a knowledge of any foreign language or even of any considerable amount of English literature. A pupil was thus able to make considerable progress along the few lines of a limited education, but if he did seek admission to the Grammar School, at the age of thirteen or over, his linguistic deficiencies placed him at a very decided disadvantage. At first neither pupils nor parents, nor even the masters of many elementary schools, realised the educational advantages of the Grammar School system of humanistic studies, and it was this that caused the numbers and attainments of the candidates for the restricted scholarships at Manchester Grammar School to fall so very materially about 1885-1888, when the restricted scholarships had to be given to boys who, neither by personal ability nor by family tradition, had any other object than an early entrance into a business career at fifteen years of age—an object for which the curriculum of the Grammar School was not suited.

We must now briefly review the methods adopted to enable clever poor boys to remain at school sufficiently long to be able to compete for the 'open University scholarships.' We have seen that Mr. Walker had made great efforts to secure financial assistance of various forms to enable clever boys to remain at school till they were ready for the Universities, who otherwise would have been compelled to become wage-earners before they had received the full benefit of school opportunities, and that in 1874 twenty Langworthy Scholarships were founded with this object. In announcing the foundation of the Walker and the Armitage Scholarships on Speech Day, 1878, Mr. Dill, who had caused a complete list and description of the scholarships tenable at the school to be drawn up and published (see *Ulula*, November 1878), mentioned that new scholarships had been added to the list of scholarships already existing, making a total of 54 scholarships now tenable either at the School or University, exclusive of the 162 free admissions. The total value of the 54 scholarships was £1750 a year. Twenty-nine of these could be held in the Grammar School, and 25

were tenable at the University or some place of higher education. Forty of these had been founded since 1862—that is, within the last fifteen years, and 27 had been founded in the last four years.

Mr. Dill pointed out that the School was open to all classes and creeds in the kingdom, and by means of these scholarships any boy of distinct ability and good conduct might make his way from the humblest elementary school to the oldest University. He believed that Grammar Schools did much more in this way to popularise education two hundred years ago than forty years ago, but they were all now turning to the Grammar Schools, as the principal means whereby they could follow out in spirit the wishes and intentions of those old founders to whom they owed so much.

The question of the disposal of the accumulated excess funds of the Hulme Trust also came up for reconsideration about this time. A summary of the history of this trust had been given to the Charity Commissioners in 1833, and in 1852 by Mr. Alexander Kay to the Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to report on provision for education in Manchester and Salford. We have mentioned the attitude taken towards it by the Charity Commissioners of 1867–74. A scheme for the disposal of its further accumulations was produced about 1876, and the consideration of this scheme came before the Governors of the Manchester Grammar School in April 1879. A deputation consisting of the Bishop of Manchester, the Chairman, Vice-chairman, Mr. Richard Johnson, Mr. Roby and Mr. Haworth waited on the Charity Commissioners to request them to revise the scheme so as to make the boys' school or schools which they contemplated preparatory to the Grammar School, rather than make them of a similar level. They pointed out that by endowing a rival school with an annual income of £1000 it would compete unduly with the old Grammar School, which was financially handicapped by the necessity of providing 150 free places out of its limited funds. I have not the means of knowing how far the divergence of opinion between the two bodies was a factitious one created by the legal advisers of the Crown, or how far it was due to divergence of local opinion, but it is necessary to remember that some of the Hulme Trustees regarded their fund as belonging entirely to the Established Church, and that

therefore 'representative' governors on behalf of the public educational interests would be out of place. For some undeclared reason, they declined to take over the Commercial Schools, established in 1847 by the Church of England Educational Society. It might have seemed a dereliction of their duty for the Hulme Trustees to amalgamate with the Grammar School, though it is not evident why they would not support the Commercial Schools, which were sinking from the lack of endowment. Perhaps they thought they could best serve the interests of public secondary education by purchasing ample grounds, and erecting such good buildings as would attract a full stream of well-to-do boys from a more prosperous middle-class suburb, as, after considerable discussion, they ultimately decided to build a large school at Alexandra Park at the south side of Manchester to accommodate 300 or 400 boys. Dr. Joseph Hall, M.A. (Dublin), who had been a most valuable lieutenant to Mr. Dill, particularly in organising the English part of the school, the gymnasium, and the library, was invited to take charge.

The development of this school has a very profound interest to all connected with the Manchester Grammar School. Although quite an independent organisation, it was called upon to do somewhat similar work in the provision of high-class education among a population favourable towards education, but not discriminating in its aims. Many of the problems which confronted this school were, and still remain, similar to those which have always faced the governors of the Manchester Grammar School. Both institutions, though endeavouring to meet public needs, were necessarily at times considerably in advance of public demands in their strivings to supply a liberal training when many parents wanted a purely technical one. This must be a condition of all first-rate institutions. They are bound to lead the way and to forestall public opinion. They educate the community. In this, as in so much else, supply actually creates demand. Their justification comes when they have shown how thoroughly the school training they provide combines with, and completes, the work of the home, in affording an adequate preparation for the deeper problems of life that await the scholars after leaving school. Only so can the directors of the school expect to meet with the appreciation and understanding they deserve. Probably even then, only the most

thoughtful of the community will fully understand their aims, but fortunately public opinion is based on the instincts of the herd and follows its leaders somewhat blindly. The Hulme Grammar School, with its ample buildings, generous provision of playgrounds, its healthy atmosphere, its admirably equipped science department, and its guidance by an able headmaster, at once attracted a number of sons of well-to-do residents in the south part of Manchester.

In 1887 Mr. Dill resigned his position of high master at the Grammar School. The governors expressed their appreciation of his services by presenting him with the following testimonial :

‘The governors hereby place on record their high appreciation of the zeal and ability with which Mr. Dill has for eleven years performed the important duties of the highmaster-ship of this School. They are glad to recognise in the numerous successes obtained by the scholars in University and other examinations proof of the excellence of the teaching and discipline maintained and developed by Mr. Dill and his assistants, and they have pleasure in acknowledging that the agreeable relations which have existed between the high master and themselves have greatly assisted them in the discharge of their duty as governors.’

In his farewell address, July 1887, the high master thus spoke :

‘You must not estimate our work merely by the numbers and importance of successes in competition. Great developments in music, athletics, literature, and social life have taken place, the full result of which can only be seen after some time. If these schemes prosper, as they seem likely to do, the change in tone and character of your School in the next ten years will be more striking than any change you have yet seen. The position of the School as a competitor in examination is already assured. Its great weakness, the absence of a common life outside the class-room, is in process of being ended. If you can overcome the difficulties completely, the last reproach against day-school life—that it fails to form the boy’s character—will be wiped out, and your Grammar School will stand even higher in its influence and in its distinction than it does to-day.’

CHAPTER XV

1888-1903

MUSIC, ART, AND TECHNOLOGY.

'First therefore, among so many great foundations of Colleges in Europe, I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to Arts and Sciences at large.'—*Advancement of Learning*, Book II. 6, 8.

'The ultimate end of education is not a perfection of the accomplishments of the school, but fitness for life.'—*Pestalozzi to T. P. Greaves*.

Music restored to its former place in education—Gradual recognition of some of the limitations in education—National movement for improving Technical Education in England—Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1880-1884—Formation of the National Association, 1886—T. H. Huxley in Manchester, 1887.

Mr. Glazebrook, 1888-1890, introduces development in Arts and Handicraft—The Proctor Bequest—Sir Henry Irving and the School dramatics—The Gymnasium—Increased attention to Modern Languages, Mathematics, and Science results in increased number of high University honours—The Teachers' Guild, established in 1887, causes the profession of teaching to receive more public recognition—Masters' Pension Fund founded at the Grammar School—The Mechanics' Institute becomes a Technical School, 1888—J. H. Reynolds Director (1879 to 1912).

The Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891 create new Educational Authorities and educational overlapping results—*The Manchester Concordat*—Reasons why the technical scholarships failed to attract the more highly educated boys.

J. E. King (1890-1903)—Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1894—F. E. Kitchener's evidence concerning the School. Re-organisation and amplification of entrance scholarships at Victoria University encourage more boys to attend the local University—Opening of the New Central Schools by the Duke of Devonshire, October 15, 1900, and opening of the new School of Technology by A. J. Balfour, October 15, 1902—Resignation of Mr. J. E. King.

GREAT as were the intellectual benefits conferred on national

life by the establishment of Grammar Schools in the sixteenth century, there was at least one serious drawback: it emphasised the separation which had already begun to spring up between book learning and handicraft as a means of mental cultivation. The evil results of this separation have lasted in this country for centuries. Not only has the proper development of our civilisation on its artistic and imaginative side been arrested, and no small proportion of the incentives to learning lost, but many unnecessary and still unrecognised obstacles have been placed in the way of a national system of education by limiting its fullest benefits and honours to boys and girls of one particular type, and neglecting, when not actually discouraging, the creative artist and craftsman.

The incentives to all forms of creative activity lie deep in the imagination and often do not appear till later adolescence. Artistic capacities are therefore often more difficult to recognise at an early age than are linguistic or mathematical capacities; yet the cultivation of the creative imagination, and the training of incentives, are far more satisfactory proofs of the permanent value of education, to the individual as well as to the State, than the obtaining of school and University honours. A further restriction of the physiological amplitude of learning, owing to the increased use of manuals, occurred with the extension of cheap printing in the nineteenth century.

While speech and song constituted the predominant part in Grammar School education, the major appeal of the schoolmaster was to the ear and the subject-matter of knowledge was auditory. Of all the senses, hearing possesses the most profound emotional associations. It follows that the imagination of a large proportion of human beings is more readily stirred through the power of sound and the spoken word than through sight and the written page. One illustration of this is found in the high value of the cultivation of music, dialogue, and declamation in Elizabethan and early Puritan times, while another illustration is found in the power of the preacher and the orator—a power which, when used upon the ignorant, is greatly liable to abuse. When, therefore, owing to the cheapening of printing, text-books became general, their indirect appeal to the imagination was made through the medium of sight. They favoured the growth of a special sensitiveness to language often described as taste or refine-

ment, which did not eventuate in action.¹ Oral teaching was for a time displaced, though, to some extent, ultimately restored by the 'direct' method, and the difficulty of stirring the imagination of those who could not readily translate written words into thoughts was frequently forgotten or unobserved. With such pupils, school progress was more limited than it need have been, and the proper development of the intelligence was left to the chance effects of after-life.

Such 'audiles' constitute a large proportion, if not the majority, of ordinary boys. No doubt some gain in accuracy has resulted from the change, for the practice of written composition, like all training of activities, increases the power of discrimination; but there has also resulted a restriction in the number of successful scholars, as well as a limitation in the scope of school education, for the proportion of those capable of responding quickly to visual verbal appeal and replying in action is smaller than those capable of responding quickly to an audible appeal.

Reading maketh a full man,
Speaking maketh a ready man,
Writing maketh an exact man.

Some restoration of balance of training frequently took place after school life, and, though other forms of art languished for long periods in our history, music at least never became entirely neglected. In 1680 the fellows of the Manchester Collegiate Church made a grant of £100 for the purchase of an organ, and in 1685, the organist was instructed to make arrangements for teaching music to boys. The beginning of the eighteenth century is generally regarded as the period when school and college education was lowest, yet it was the period when English books were first placed in the school library and humanitarianism appeared. In 1733, E. Betts, then organist at the Manchester Church, published a book of Instructions for Singers. Concerts and musical gatherings were held in the buildings of the Manchester

¹ The cultivation of visual imagination by pictorial art and by the study of the concrete is also a return to fundamentals of physiological mental growth. As regards school life its scope seems to embrace the increased power of discrimination, memory, and judgment rather than the cultivation of the will, by impelling action and habit and so creating character.

Exchange, erected in 1729, and, though there are no books on music mentioned in Charles Lawson's library catalogue, Finch Smith notes that more than one of Purnell's scholars became distinguished musicians (e.g. Joah Bates). In 1824 the first public concert was given in Manchester.

The reappearance of music as a school recreation under Mr. Dill was therefore of considerable moment. It implied the recognition of another educational movement which had been aroused by the attack on the formalism and exclusiveness of the old classical learning by writers in the *Edinburgh Review* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which had received unexpected and powerful democratic support from George and Andrew Combe (1788-1858). Impressed with the efforts of Spurzheim and Gall to find some interpretation of the real capacities of individuals by an actual study of the brain, while sympathising with the general agitation in favour of popular education that was then universal in England and in Scotland, the brothers Combe desired that education should take into account many valuable human faculties which the prevailing methods of education either simply ignored or actually suppressed.¹ The artificial phrenological classification of faculties which they adopted quietly disappeared before increased knowledge of the real character and use of the brain, but their services to general education were very great and enduring. At their own expense they caused many generous educational experiments to be conducted and many mechanics' institutes to be founded, which created some new educational traditions as potent and as helpful to the artisan classes as the renaissance of book learning in the sixteenth century had been to scholars. Their early influence in Manchester has already been indicated. They were now to receive fuller attention.

An important deficiency in English education had been pointed out as early as 1867 by Dr. Lyon Playfair, who had directed the attention of the Schools Enquiry Commissioners to the matter. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, many observers began to realise that, though England still retained the possession of most of the instruments and machinery of

¹ *The Constitution of Man in Relation to Natural Laws*, by George Combe, 1828; *The Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education*, by Andrew Combe, M.D., 1838.

manufacture, yet the training of her mechanics and artisans was being neglected in the elementary schools as well as in the workshops, and that our commercial supremacy, already challenged, was being seriously threatened by other nations who were taking more pains to secure the proper educational training, efficiency, and inspiration of their workers. International and other exhibitions had been held in England, but the Government had failed to apply the lessons they taught. At the International Health Exhibition held in London in 1884 considerable space was devoted to educational exhibits. The French Government were able to show what great efforts it was making in regard to the application of new views to education, and issued a handbook full of wise descriptions of their practice. The Belgian Government also figured prominently. The English Royal Commission (1881) appointed 'to inquire into the Instruction of the Industrial classes of certain foreign countries in Technical and other subjects and the means of improving the Education of the corresponding classes in England,' in their Report, published in 1884, recommended that technical education, instead of being regarded as the sole concern of artisans and mechanics, and following an ordinary elementary school training, should receive its natural place in secondary education. They insisted that increased training in the scientific and artistic principles that underlie industrial occupation should be accompanied by increased training in mathematics, modern languages, history, and geography. From this time onwards the term 'technical instruction' was extended to cover the whole field of mathematical and physical science and some departments of history and geography.¹ They also recommended that scholarships should be more liberally founded, so that pupils from the higher elementary schools should be able to proceed to higher technical schools and colleges. As we shall see, these scholarships were not at first understood, and it was some time before their proper influence was noticeable.

The National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, founded in 1886, was an educational missionary society 'to encourage educational reforms that would improve capacity in the broadest sense.' Lord Harting-

¹ *Technical Education Commission Reports*, vol. i. p. 43.

ton was the President, and T. H. Huxley undertook to act as one of the secretaries in order to promulgate its aims. Its main objects were 'to develop increased dexterity of hand and eye in the young seriously threatened by the decay of the old apprenticeship system, to encourage the principles of Art and Science which underlie the industrial work of the nation, and to encourage the effective teaching of foreign languages.' It proposed to stimulate public opinion on these matters by consultation, discussion, conference and other forms of meetings. It started a propagandist movement throughout the country of great force and effectiveness; and on November 29, 1887, at a time of family bereavement, Professor Huxley paid a visit to Manchester.

'I am glad I resisted the strong temptation to shirk the business. Manchester has gone solid for technical instruction, and if the idiotic London papers, instead of giving half a dozen lines to my speech, had mentioned the solid contributions to the work announced at the meeting, they would have enabled you to understand its importance.'¹

Michael Glazebrook, who succeeded Mr. Dill, was the first high master to be appointed by the representative governing body. He thoroughly realised that the new movements did not aim at merely occupational training, but desired to exert a humanising influence, and although no purely technological training was then, or subsequently, undertaken by the School, considerable modifications were made in its curriculum. They began in the following way.

Soon after taking up his work as high master, Mr. Glazebrook noted that one of the boys, through being second in his form, became ineligible for a foundation scholarship for which he applied, though he would have been very noticeably first if mathematics or any other of his subjects had been taken into account as well as Latin. Mr. Glazebrook therefore requested the governors to allow him to make such alterations in the examination of boys for scholarships as would enable him to judge them on their general merits rather than the single subject of classics. The governors thereupon awarded a scholarship to the boy in question, and asked the high master to report on the prominence and value

¹ Letter to Sir M. Foster, December 1, 1887.

to be assigned to the several subjects of examination in both entrance and Langworthy school-maintenance scholarships. As the result of his report, mathematics, modern languages, and English literature were assigned a more important part in the school curriculum, and a system of assigning appropriate values to each several subject was initiated. Discussion led to a general revision of the form places, and brought into prominence the need for reconsideration of the educational value to the School of the certificates gained in such large numbers by the boys in the South Kensington Science and Art Examinations. Mr. Glazebrook also introduced the method of assigning places by means of fortnightly lists, and arranged that each boy should take his fortnightly report with the mark of his master to his parents and have it signed by one of them.

Mr. Glazebrook established regular masters' meetings for the discussion of the internal organisation of the School, and encouraged the form masters to accept responsibility for boys and to interview parents, a privilege previously rather jealously regarded as the prerogative of the high master. He arranged for form masters to have some general supervision over all the home work of the boys, and an attempt was made to break down the overwork which often resulted from each boy being accountable to four or five independent masters. He brought modern language classes under the Oxford and Cambridge Examinations Board, and appointed a chief modern language master to supervise the whole of the modern language teaching: even an Old Mancunian Modern Languages Society was formed. He allotted special form masters to the several forms on the modern side, similar to those on the classical side, and he broke down the isolation which separated the sixth form boys from the rest of the school. Previously they had had prayers in their own room: now they were induced to mix freely with the rest of the school, and Glazebrook chose a number of prefects from among them to take special duties. A distinct school cap was adopted. He also made some attempt to introduce literary and religious training into the science forms. By organising the punishments and arranging a handbook of Customs and Curricula for the masters, he was able to claim that the discipline improved while the punishment diminished. He had some share in developing still further the School

athletic ground, for, in his time, some £400 was collected to level the piece of ground already rented for the School, and which was subsequently purchased for the School during the time of his successor. The School Harriers Club and the Hockey Club were started. *Ulula* entered upon a freshly invigorated term of its existence. The Cambridge Old Mancunian Society was revived under the presidency of Mr. Barnes-Lawrence, formerly assistant master at the School.

Mr. Glazebrook's influence was particularly marked among the junior assistant masters, many of whom subsequently carried out some of his ideas in other schools. Alfred Hughes became assistant master at Liverpool Institute, and subsequently Professor of Education at Birmingham, Lancelot became master at Rochester and Liverpool College, Watson at Maidstone, A. T. Pollard at the City of London School, Harrison at Newcastle-under-Lyne, Holmes at Dewsbury, Urwick, head of the Pupil Teachers' College at Durham, and H. L. Withers at Isleworth, and subsequently at Victoria University. During 1890 Mr. Glazebrook introduced ambulance work and hygiene teaching into the School, Dr. G. H. Darwin undertaking the work.

Apart from these school activities, Mr. Glazebrook took an active interest in the progress of the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club, of which he was chairman of committee, his lantern lecture at the club on 'A Visit to Norway' being much appreciated. He also shared in the work of the Manchester branch of the Teachers' Guild, which was formed in 1888 with the object of promoting and safeguarding the interests of the teaching profession. Four hundred members were soon enrolled, and the meetings, which consisted of social gatherings, conferences, and debates, soon became very popular. He was President in 1890, when he gave an address on 'The Universities and Specialisation' and entertained the members at an 'At Home' so as to give teachers of different types opportunity of meeting each other.¹

In 1889 the trustees of the late Daniel Proctor desired to make a donation of £2000 to the School funds, and consulted Mr. Glazebrook as to the most suitable form for the gift to take. He suggested that it should be devoted to :

¹ See also 'The Teaching of English Literature,' by M. G. Glazebrook, in *Thirteen Essays on Education*.

The encouragement of reading by the establishment of reading prizes.

The foundation of prizes for the modern side of the School.

The proper equipment of the physical laboratory, recently instituted by Mr. Dill.

The purchase of a school organ.

The establishment of a workshop for instruction in manual training.

To these suggestions the Governors readily agreed. Considerable impetus was also given to the study of music at the school, both instrumental and vocal, as well as to the other subjects. Early in 1889, the Rev. R. M. Parkes of Harrington offered to the Governors for the School Library some seventy volumes of music, which had previously belonged to his brother, the late R. J. Parkes, formerly a member of the School. About this time Mr. H. Stevens, Mus.Bac., Cambridge, organist, was appointed to instruct the younger boys of the School in singing. Mr. John Farmer, the famous organiser of school music at Harrow, paid several visits to the School between April 1889 and December 1891, and helped very considerably in arranging the work for the Glee Societies. He was also present at the School Speech Day 1899. Mr. Glazebrook collected a number of school songs, some of which (*e.g.* 'Dr. Gym') he wrote himself. They were set to music by John Farmer, who was definitely appointed director of the school music in 1890. Foremost among all those who rendered service to school music was Mr. George Broadfield, who, with the assistance of Mr. Alfred Hughes, Mr. J. R. Broadhurst, and Mr. Florian, maintained the school singing and orchestras at a high level for many years.¹ A public recital was given May 1, 1891, by Mr. W. Rowley, to celebrate the formal opening of the Proctor organ.

We may continue our study of the progress of musical education and the development of fine art and of the drama at the School in this place, though it extends beyond the period of Mr. Glazebrook's high mastership.

On May 9, 1894, the School Glee Society was sufficiently strong to undertake, under Mr. George Broadfield and Mr. Hughes, the performance of the first part of Mendelssohn's

¹ Some record of Mr. Broadfield's 'Ten Years' Work,' *Ulula*, 1901, p. 275, and 1905, Oct. 5.

'Elijah.' In 1894 the Orchestral Society started, and subsequently both musical societies participated in School concerts and soirées. This activity in the School was a reflection of the musical activity in the city outside.

As soon as the desirability of standardising attainment in music had become recognised, various institutions had begun to hold local examinations. On January 11, 1880, Trinity College, London, had begun to hold musical examinations in Manchester, and attention was drawn to them in the current number of *Ulula*. The establishment of local examinations by the Royal College of Music and the Royal Academy of Music, founded in 1850, soon followed, and it was to raise funds for the extension of the latter that H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh visited Manchester in 1883. The Proctor school organ showed the spread of the movement in the School.

The Royal Manchester College of Music was established in 1892 by Sir Charles Hallé. It was a teaching institution, providing a three years' curriculum which prepared for such careers as that of organist, music teacher, instrumentalist, &c. It awarded a Diploma of Association after a three years' course of training. There are a few special, but no municipal, scholarships, though municipal support is given to the whole expenses by way of a grant to the College. For particularly gifted students, scholarships for further study are awarded both at the Royal College and the Royal Academy of Music in London. As there is no qualifying entrance examination in general knowledge, even for the London scholarships, in any other subject than music, no organic connection has hitherto existed between the College of Music and centres of secondary education, such as the Grammar School, yet there can be no doubt that a preliminary general education of a liberal character would be of as great value to a musician as to any other professional man. In 1900, E. W. Horrocks gained an organ exhibition at Pembroke College, Oxon., and in the same year, E. M. Isaacs gained the Hallé Memorial Scholarship of the Royal College of Music, Manchester.

We have seen how art training was restored to a place in the School curriculum, after the Manchester School of Design had outgrown the narrow utilitarian purposes of teaching designers for calico printing and pottery by the rule of thumb, which was at one time imposed upon it by the Committee of the Privy Council, and which only at a

much later date had begun to recognise its cultural possibilities. John Ruskin's missionary zeal in this cause had brought him to the Grammar School to speak to the boys in 1864, and his address is printed in the collected volumes of his works. His conversation with Mr. Walker no doubt influenced the latter in his introduction of drawing to an important place in the School curriculum.

From 1874, annual exhibitions of the work done, by day and evening pupils, were held at the School before the work was sent up to South Kensington to be adjudged. These exhibitions were largely attended, and spread the fame of the day school. In 1879, the Art School held at the Grammar School stood first in the number of individuals successful in the second grade, Birmingham School of Art being second. On July 11, 1883, the School governors voted a further sum of £100 for the purchase of more plaster casts. About this time Mr. Pritchard, chief art master, was elected Associate of the Academy of Fine Arts in recognition of his services to Art education. In September 1883, the Council of the Royal Institution of Manchester offered special Art prizes of £10 to be competed for by the students of the School of Art at the Grammar School. Having further funds at their disposal, they repeated their offer in 1889. Art questions were again receiving much attention in Manchester. In 1878, Ford Madox Brown had been commissioned to paint the frescoes for the New Manchester Town Hall. The Royal Jubilee Arts and Treasures Exhibition at Old Trafford had been held in 1887. It had done much to arouse further interest in Art, and the promoters and guarantors devoted a generous sum of £8000 for the building of a Museum of Art in connection with the City School of Art. A further grant from the Whitworth trustees enabled Art teaching in Manchester to be put on a firm footing. The School of Art was taken over by the City Council on the advice of the Technical Instruction Committee and opened as a Municipal School of Art in 1890. In 1892, the governors of the Royal Institution of Manchester presented their Art collections, together with their buildings, estimated to value about £80,000, to the city on condition that the Council should spend an annual sum of £2000 for twenty-five years in enlarging the collection.

The Art classes of the Grammar School continued to be

maintained at a high level. In 1892, a special room was provided for teaching the boys to model in clay. At the following South Kensington examination, five first class and eight second class certificates were awarded to boys in the School for proficiency in this particular subject, the greatest school Art triumph being the occasion when J. Knight received a National Scholarship at South Kensington, being fourth out of 500 competitors. At this time Mr. Lilley, an old boy, who had been assistant drawing master at the School between 1881 and 1893, left on receiving the appointment of head master to the Poole Art School. Mr. J. Knight now came to assist Mr. Jackson in the Art teaching at the School, helped by three student teachers. Mr. Fred Garnett, who had left the school in 1894, came to work as an assistant in 1897. In 1901 Mr. C. C. Marsh, an old boy who had become a student teacher—then a natural outlet for artistic ability in the School—obtained the silver medal in the National Art Competition.

Hitherto the only recognised 'Art Masters' certificates had been those granted from 1852 by South Kensington. In 1902, the Royal Manchester College of Art began to award diplomas. In 1911, the Board of Education issued 'Teachers' certificates' for Art students, who, after giving proof of such preliminary general training as the possession of the school-leaving certificates, &c., had passed through a three years' course of Art training, and showed their proficiency. Thus, although the successful prosecution of Fine Art demands a high standard of general culture, and professional artists of the highest attainments have generally shown evidence of liberality of training, it was Applied Art in the form of Art teaching which first assumed the status of a learned profession. Art scholarships of the Technical Education Committee of the Manchester City Council were now frequently awarded to successful candidates, particularly those who wished to follow such careers as that of Architecture or the Fine Arts.

We have noted that dramatic performances had been given by the boys at the annual Christmas soirées held in the gymnasium and other buildings. They were a revival of the Commemorations of 1641 and the plays of 1724-31; a few ordinary rehearsals, one dress rehearsal for the boys, and one public performance were regarded as affording sufficient exercise for their talents. Some additional zest

was imparted when, on December 9, 1891, Sir Henry Irving came to the School, offered suggestions to the players, and spoke to the boys. On December 7, 1894, Mr. F. R. Benson showed similar interest.¹ After a time the performances increased in number. This involved greater preparation, and a school stage was erected and equipped, though the School Dramatic Society was not founded until some years later. This Society was the outcome of an effort to keep together during the winter all those who were interested in dramatic art, with a view to reading plays and papers on the Drama. Among the recent dramatic writers the following old boys, Stanley Houghton, Harold Brighouse, Gilbert Cannan, L. du G. Peach, and H. Bestwick, had some awakening of their Art at the School, while B. Iden Payne, for some years director of the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester, made his début on the School stage.

A very important part of any liberal training in craftsmanship depends on the proper use of the hands, yet manual work in schools is generally relegated to a subordinate position. The successive efforts to make it a cultural subject at the Manchester Grammar School are of interest.

The cultivation of these artistic and other activities at the School was not accompanied by any failure to cultivate the more severely intellectual pursuits. They seemed rather to act as an incentive if we are to judge by the records of boys at Oxford and Cambridge.

The School had long enjoyed a high reputation for the excellence of its teaching in mathematics, and we have noticed the reorganisation that took place under Mr. Walker in 1868. In the development of the teaching and in the preparation of boys for Oxford and Cambridge, foremost must be mentioned Rev. John Chambers, who came to the School in 1871, and remained on the active teaching staff till his resignation in 1890. It was then said of him that he had kept an accurate record of the mathematical progress of every boy in the School during the whole time of his stay there, and that it was continued for some years after he left. On his

¹ Many great actors have shown their interest in the efforts of school-boys to delineate character by dramatic art. On March 27, 1847, Macready wrote to the boys his deep regret that he could not redeem his promise to come and see them perform.—See *Manchester Guardian*, April 3, 1847.

resignation, a farewell meeting of past and present members of the Mathematical Sixth took place, at which Mr. Chambers was presented with a theodolite, an instrument which he kept frequently in use till within a few days of his death, which took place some seventeen years later, when he was seventy-seven years of age.¹

The place of master to the Mathematical Sixth was next taken by Mr. Joseland, and the mathematical successes at Oxford and Cambridge became even greater than before. Owing to the reorganisation of the scholarships at the Victoria University, clever mathematical boys were also attracted to the Manchester University and showed their grit and training there also. Mr. Joseland continued at the head of the mathematical department until 1897, when he was appointed head master at Burnley. He was succeeded by Rev. A. Taylor. The following indicates some of the successes at Cambridge :

- 1888. R. H. D. Mayall, of Sidney Sussex, 2nd Wrangler, 1891.
- 1888. H. Hirsch Kowitz, of Gonville and Caius, 14th Wrangler, 1891.
- 1889. R. Sharpe, of Christ's, 2nd Wrangler.
- 1892. E. T. Whitaker, of Trinity, 2nd Wrangler, 1895.
- 1895. J. R. Corbett, 20th Wrangler, 1895. Astronomer-Royal for Ireland.
- 1897. Percy Fogg Lever, of Christ's, 1900.
- 1900. H. Bateman, of Trinity, bracketed senior wrangler, 1903.

We have mentioned that Mr. Glazebrook proposed that some of the Proctor bequest should be used for further equipment of the physical laboratory, and for a time a number of boys distinguished themselves in that subject at the Universities. Mr. Holme, physics master, left on being appointed head master at Dewsbury. One of the junior physic assistants of the physics department, Mr. Parrott, was sent to Sweden to study the Sloyd system of manual training. On his return this system of manual training was adopted, and for a while a voluntary class served as the basis for the training of young boys in the use of tools. It was extended to benefit

¹ Cf. *Ulula*, October 1890.

a larger number of boys as a 'carpentering' class under Mr. King, but though of some value for boys under thirteen, it was subsequently found to be not sufficiently developmental to be applicable for boys of older growth, for Swedish manual training, at this time, apparently corresponded to the grammar or accidence stage which formerly was the beginning of a classical education. The whole system of training was reorganised, and further extension had to be devised in order to enable it to become more virile. Owing to the generosity of Sir William Mather, a metal workshop department has recently been added, the ultimate relationship of which with Learning seems to lie partly in the direction of further Art training and partly in elementary engineering.

The level of classical and of modern language scholarship at this time also continued high. The former was kept up by J. R. Broadhurst, who has proved such a worthy successor to Mr. Perkins. He was helped by men of energy and enterprise such as Wilkinson, while modern language training attained an ever-increasing value under the direction of Mr. Morich, the first head of the modern language department.

The following extract from Mr. Glazebrook's speech on Prize Day, 1890, illustrates the University successes achieved at this period :

'It is also worth mentioning that nine first classes at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is greatly above our average, while eleven open scholarships and exhibitions is exactly our average for the last ten years. Almost all these and other distinctions have been won by boys who were originally placed on the classical side of the School. Ten years ago the classical side was twice as large as it is now, for slowly and steadily the modern side has been gaining, and is now considerably the larger of the two. It is obvious, if this state of things continues, many of our ablest boys being excluded from University competition, we cannot expect to maintain the average of University distinctions. Now what are our feelings about this possible change? No doubt it is a schoolmaster's greatest pleasure to teach boys who have a talent for science or literature, and the honours of his pupils are his most tangible reward. But the main business of a school like ours is, after

all, to do the best for ordinary boys—to train them to be good and useful citizens, and if our commercial side (for that is what our modern side really is) is successful in turning out youths who can play their part well in the commerce and manufactures of this great city, then I for one shall be consoled if there should then be a shrinkage in our list of honours. During the past year we have devoted much time and thought to the development of the modern side. Of course the effect of our changes cannot be felt at once, but already there has been a distinct improvement in the work done in that part of the School, and a diminution of punishment. The energy and ability of the Form Masters, together with the admirable organising power of Mr. Morich, who is the director of the Modern Language teaching, has already done much, and will in two or three years produce still better results. Nor must I omit to mention another cause which has contributed to this improvement, and which I earnestly hope will continue to do so in an increasing degree. Many of you will remember that last year I made a special appeal to you that the home might co-operate with the school, that we masters might feel that we had the support and sympathy of you who are parents. To-day I thank you for the generous spirit in which very many of you have responded to my appeal.’¹

The reforms instituted by Mr. Glazebrook during the short time he held office have had a permanent influence on the School, though he did not remain long enough to see their results. His standard of work was high, and he had the courage to institute the practice of rejecting a number of candidates for admission to the School when, owing to the competition of the Higher Grade Schools and the Hulme Grammar School, Alexandra Park, the total number was already falling. Thus there were in the School in July in 1887, 815; in 1888, 815; in 1889, 781; in 1890, 761, at which latter date he reported that ‘the decrease was more than accounted for by the rejection of thirty boys’—a novelty in practice but ‘required by the scheme and necessary in the best interests of the School.’ He was distressed at the long railway journeys many of the boys took, and encouraged the improvement of Grammar Schools in the neighbouring towns to obviate this, though such might seem against the immediate interest of his own School. His last service to

¹ *Ulula*, 1899, p. 100.

the School was his invitation to his old head master at Harrow, Dr. H. Montagu Butler, then Master of Trinity College and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, to distribute the school prizes. Dr. Butler gave an address to the boys 'On the Need for the Preservation of Greek and Roman Thought in School Life by means of English Translations.' He urged that if the English nation had woven the thought and ideals of the Jewish nation so thoroughly into their lives by translations of the Hebrew Scriptures as to give an impress to their national character, there was no reason why the lucidity and nobility of the best that was in Greek and Roman thought should not also be available for the same purpose by English translations, particularly for those who would never study classical authors in their original language.

On the resignation of Mr. Glazebrook in 1890, Mr. J. E. King was appointed high master. He had been educated at Clifton College and Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he was appointed Fellow in 1882. He had served as assistant master at St. Paul's School, London, under Dr. F. W. Walker, and he had been appointed tutor of his old college in 1890. He was therefore singularly well able to maintain the high reputation for scholarship the School had attained. In addition to this, he was called upon to face an extraordinarily confused, yet very active stage of educational development, whose centre was in Manchester, where the movement in favour of increasing the public opportunities for technical training for industrial and other classes had become very active. New educational authorities had been created with little experience of educational administration, though with intimate knowledge of industrial requirements. These authorities had large sums of money at their disposal and they were full of zeal in the new cause. During the second administration of Lord Salisbury (June 1886-1892), the authorities at Whitehall had been stirred into fresh activity by the realisation of the enormous industrial efficiency of Germany and France. They began to make efforts to recover their lost ground and to cultivate friendly relationships. The Emperor William II visited England and became a guest of Lord Salisbury at Hatfield in 1891. Sir Philip Magnus, one of the Technical Education Commissioners, had successfully organised the City and Guilds of London Institute.

Sir Henry Roscoe, Professor of Chemistry at the Victoria University, had entered Parliament to promote the cause. Huxley was willing to put forth every effort to serve it. The most enlightened of the merchant classes also took active interest in the matter. The Whitworth Trustees placed funds at the disposal of the proprietors of the Mechanics' Institute, which had been reconstituted in 1887 as the 'Whitworth Technical Institute.' It had been steadily growing in scope and influence under the direction of an enterprising and able committee and the leadership of Mr. Reynolds, who, after having received some very rudimentary instruction in the old 'English School' of the Grammar School, received the real inspiration of his life at the Lower Mosley Street School and later as an evening student at the Mechanics' Institute, of which he subsequently became director. The Technical Instruction Act of 1889 gave local authorities the power to levy a small rate for technical instruction in addition to their rate for elementary education, and the Act of 1890 placed £800,000 (whisky money) at the disposal of local authorities throughout the country for the same purpose. Unfortunately the governing bodies to which it was entrusted knew little about education, and much competition and confusion resulted. In Manchester the new committee appointed—the Technical Instruction Committee—soon received offers from the Whitworth (Technical) Institute and the Whitworth School of Art¹ to place their institutions at their service, an offer they gladly accepted, and wisely co-opted on to their own committee the members of the old committees, who were qualified by experience and position to advise on the matter. The Whitworth Trustees thereupon offered a valuable site in a central part of Manchester, consisting of 6400 square yards, to enable a suitable building to be erected. To this the Corporation added another 900 yards. The first sod was turned July 20, 1895. A celebration was held October 15, 1902, at which Mr. Balfour took part, and the buildings were opened for use July 20, 1903. The history of the organisation of this work, contained in the reports of the Committee between 1890 and 1903, constitutes a striking chapter in the spread

¹ The Whitworth Technical Institute was the outcome of the old Mechanics' Institute and was steadily rising in efficiency and requirements of its pupils. The Whitworth Art Gallery had succeeded the Manchester School of Art and was making great efforts to rise to higher levels of work.

of Technical Instruction in England. The reports record Continental visits, numerous conferences in Manchester and elsewhere, the establishment of scholarships to attract able scholars, informal meetings and discussions with various educational bodies, including the leaders at the Manchester Grammar School where the scholarships were not as eagerly competed for as had been anticipated; indeed, every form of intellectual activity which manifests itself when a democracy seeks to find methods of self-education. Mr. Balfour, who represented a Manchester constituency, then, as always, in close touch with Manchester interests and Manchester needs, no doubt received a great deal of help from these conferences in the elaboration of his plans for the 1902 Act. Whether the founders and supporters of the National Society for Promoting Secondary and Technical Education were the originators of Government action or not, they certainly enlightened and very profoundly stirred up public opinion by their conferences held in London, September 11, 1896, and at the Owens College, Manchester, on July 9, 1897, and again on December 3, 1899.

In spite of much good will and desire to co-operate with other bodies, the creation of a new and independent educational authority was for a time the cause of some confusion, overlapping and even distrust. The Technical Instruction Committee of the Manchester Corporation, which was formed on April 2, 1890, was primarily entrusted with the duty of distributing the 'whisky money.' It made grants to several centres of Secondary Education, including the Grammar School (£250), the Owens College (£1000), &c., and, in addition, offered scholarships tenable at secondary schools. It further offered four day scholarships of £60 a year, tenable at the Owens College, in order to encourage boys from Manchester Grammar School, the Hulme Grammar School, and the Higher Grade Schools of Manchester. They were particularly planned for those scholars from the last-named schools who were entering for the National Scholarships restricted to those willing to study at the Royal School of Science and the School of Mines in London. Sir Henry Roscoe had made unsuccessful efforts to persuade South Kensington to allow these to be tenable at Owens as well as at London, for the Victoria University was developing its technology. So well were the boys of the Central Schools trained

that of the first four city scholarships offered, they secured three, and, being well equipped in French and mathematics and science, were able, with a few weeks' extra study in English literature and history, to pass the Matriculation Examination in September, which allowed them to enter for University courses. The total number of applicants for these city scholarships was at first limited; this caused considerable disappointment, which is confessed in the evidence subsequently given to the Royal Commission of Secondary Education 1894, by Sir James Hoy and Mr. Reynolds. Probably the Grammar School boys who were intending to follow skilled industrial and textile pursuits passed into business life directly they left school. If they desired further technical instruction, they attended evening classes in special subjects instead of taking day classes. There was as yet no tradition of boys preparing for highly skilled industrial careers by a previous training in technology. The fact that the Grammar School by means of scholarships continued to pass its best boys to Oxford and Cambridge was rather adverse to their competing for local technical scholarships. There was also at that time no demand from employers for highly trained experts, and there was no desire on the part of the parents for their sons who were not intending professional careers to remain at school till they were adequately prepared to take advantage of the scholarships offered by the newly established Technical Education Committees. A new intellectual outlook among employers, parents, and pupils needed to be created, perhaps a new generation needed to arise, before it became generally recognised that careers in the applied arts and in manufactures needed to be prepared for by a systematic course of study in scientific principles.

Another factor which for a while limited the popularity of technical training as an objective for those leaving the higher-class schools at this time was the increasing popularity of the teaching profession, owing to the encouragement of residential and day training colleges by Sir William Anson at the Committee of Education at Whitehall, as a result of the findings of the Royal Education Committee, 1886-1888. Professor Bodington of Leeds University, who had at one time held a post as assistant master at the Manchester Grammar School, and was familiar with the new problems, brought forward a scheme for the affiliation of training colleges

to local Universities, since the training for this profession was readily grafted on to educational methods already in existence. The local branch of the Teachers' Guild, established in 1888, under Glazebrook's encouragement became the centre of some missionary activity, and the active support first given to it by Mr. Glazebrook was continued by Mr. King. The Owens College opened a Day Training Department in 1890 for 25 men, and in 1893 another department for women, offering diplomas in teaching for those who, after having passed an intermediate examination in Arts or Science, had attended certain specified courses on Logic, Psychology, Ethics, Method of School Management, &c., and showed their proficiency on examination. This department was constituted a complete Faculty of the University a few years later. Pupil teachers' centres provided a more elementary training for the teaching profession, and many students passed from them to the Universities to qualify for degrees.

In 1890, a pupil teachers' centre was opened at Roby Chapel, Grosvenor Street, where evening classes had been held from 1876, and in 1893 a second centre was opened at the old Commercial Schools, Stretford Road. There were then 392 pupils, of whom 80 were boys. Ten years later, on the opening of the Municipal Day Training College, which took the place of these two pupil teachers' centres, there were 801 pupils, of whom 135 were boys. This new movement at once exerted a stimulating effect on Secondary Education, particularly as pupil teachers' bursaries were given to children of the age of 14 to induce them to remain in secondary schools till 16, and then to present themselves for qualifying examination and become Queen's Scholars, with annual subsidy of £25, to enter the centres and be prepared for matriculation or other further qualifying examinations for teaching.

That the early stages of this movement succeeded so well, not only in increasing the number of scholars seeking higher education, but also in linking up the secondary and elementary schools, and thereby accomplishing social aims of exceptionally high value, was largely due to the energy and activity of the Manchester branch of the Teachers' Guild and the way in which it was supported by all local educationalists. It was a powerful missionary agency.

The causes which led to the complete failure of so promising an educational movement as the connection of elementary school teaching with the Grammar School, and the diversion of a stream of earnest, intellectually keen and enterprising boys into other employments, will be considered in the next chapter, where figures will be given to illustrate the force of this movement, and the period and causes of its decadence.

In September 1891, the Annual Conference of the Guild was held in Manchester¹ under the presidency of Professor Wilkins, and discussions on general problems connected with Secondary Education took a prominent place. In 1892, when Mr. J. E. King served as president, Sir Henry Roscoe gave an address explaining the aims of the Technical Instruction Commission, and on November 4 a reception and social gathering was held at the Grammar School. Many subsequent meetings were held to consider bills in Parliament, details of the various educational schemes and school problems. In April 1897, another conference was held in the Grammar School. On March 3, 1898, Mr. J. E. King again being president, Mr. J. H. Reynolds opened a discussion on Technical Education.

We now come to a consideration of the exact nature of the opportunities offered by the Grammar School to those who were carried forward on the rising flood. Perhaps it is best expressed in the words of H. J. Roby (1830–January 1915), educational reformer and administrator, scholar and teacher, author of works on Jurisprudence and Latin Grammar, cotton-spinner and Member of Parliament, who as chairman of the governors of the School, 1893 to 1905, gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1894. He seems to have regarded Secondary Education as a social adornment or equipment available for members of the middle and upper classes who were willing and able to pay for it. Other classes, with less economic status, had naturally less money to spend on education and would have to do without such a luxury. If, however, a boy of exceptional ability and industry appeared among the artisan or lower middle classes, then it was only right to lift him out of his class. ‘I should be most sorry that any boy who really

¹ See *Journal of Education*.

had the capacity and industry should not obtain a very high education, but I do not think such boys are very common.' 'Educational ladders,' advocated by Huxley, were regarded as sufficient instruments for removing any existing social injustice.

The same idea is expressed by the high master (J. E. King) on Speech Day, 1892, who took occasion to speak of the intermediary position of the Grammar Schools of England between the elementary schools and the Universities and technical schools, and of the advantages they offered to clever boys :

'The chief distinctions in the University lists [from Manchester Grammar School during 1891-2] had been gained by scholars who had come to them from the elementary schools of the district. . . . If the best pupils from the elementary schools went to the Grammar Schools, a larger future was open to their industry and ambition than would otherwise be the case. Grants had been made to various educational institutions in aid of Technical Education. Hereafter this School had the opportunity of serving as a link ; first came the elementary education, then the more general training in languages, mathematics, and the principles of science, and lastly the more special technical training. In this way all the chief educational institutions of the city would have an opportunity of playing the part for which they were severally fitted. The place of the School stood midway.'

It was Gladstonian liberalism, inherited from the benevolent Whigs of the eighteenth century who had done so much for education ; it was also the political doctrine of the Manchester School. As a principle of social organisation it had done, and was destined to continue to do, great things, but it was incomplete as a measure of social amelioration, for it paid no heed to those who did not happen to be quick-witted and precocious enough to outstrip their fellows at an early period of life, or did not happen to have the favouring early surroundings which stimulated intellectual growth, or whose independence of mental outlook prevented them submitting to a course of educational training that was not adapted to their method of thought. Higher education was to be had for those who could pay for it. It was to be as efficient as school committees and high masters could make it, but there was no need to provide for it out of

public funds. Private benevolence and old endowments were sufficient to look after the deserving poor. H. J. Roby, when giving his evidence at the Secondary Schools Commission, said :

‘ I do not think that the desire to have it [superior education] is a test of the utility for the public supplying it. Even the education provided by the Higher Grade Schools should be kept in check by a central authority. The fees already charged were too low. Such schools had their proper place, and there was no reason why those scholars who proved themselves capable and hardworking should not pass from these schools direct to the Universities, but the study of the humanities was more likely to unfit them for their future sphere than to help them to rise out of their present sphere.’

The ‘ Secondary Education ’ which was offered by the Grammar School at this time was undoubtedly both generous and highly efficient. It continued to send to the older Universities a stream of boys, self-contained and self-restrained, who took high honours at the examinations and conferred distinction on their School, and whose intellectual equipment was of the highest order, as is shown by their successes at the older Universities.

Between 1878 and 1894, that is, in sixteen years, the School had gained at the older Universities :

- 8 Fellowships.
- 16 University scholarships.
- 5 *Prox. accessit*.
- 117 First classes.
- 186 Open scholarships and exhibitions.¹

The table on p. 410 also illustrates the use made of the ‘ Education Ladder ’ by boys at the Grammar School about 1894.

Between 1888 and 1894 the entries into the Manchester Grammar School were as follows :

From Public Elementary Schools .	688, i.e. 40 per cent.
Endowed Schools . . .	201
Private Schools . . .	741
Private Tuition . . .	60
	<hr/>
	1690
	<hr/>

¹ Cf. *St. James' Budget*, July 20, 1894.

TABLE AS TO THE EXTERNAL OR ENTRANCE SCHOLARS ELECTED AT THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1887-1893.—*Sec. Schools Com.*, 1894, vol. vi., p. 123.

Schools from which boys entered the Grammar School.	Absolute Number.								Percentages.					
	Elected.	Completing Three Years' Training at School.	Not completing Three Years at School.	Reaching Fourth Form.	Still in School.	To University.	Obtained Scholarships at College.	On Modern Side.	Completing School stay.	Not completing School stay.	Reaching Fourth Form.	To University.	Winning College Scholarships.	On Modern Side.
Elementary Schools in Manchester .	358	167	139	35	52	19	9	160	46½	39	10	6	3	44½
Elementary Schools in Salford .	96	36	41	13	19	5	4	55	37½	42½	13½	6½	5	57
Elementary Schools outside Manchester and Salford .	42	26	11	11	5	10	10	10	62	26½	26½	30	30	34
Endowed Schools .	20	16	3	12	1	7	7	2	80	15	60	37	37	10
Private Schools and Private Tuition .	166	105	26	46	34	28	22	39	63	15½	27½	21	16½	23
Total numbers .	682	350	220	117	111	69	52	266	51	32	17	12	9	39

Since, however, scholarships were offered by the Technical Education Committee of the Town Council (Technical Education Acts, 1889-1891) and tenable at the School, the high master endeavoured to make some special provision for them.

‘Boys came to the School with scholarships under the new technical instruction scheme, and the School received a grant from the Technical Education Committee of the Manchester Corporation. They were therefore extending their workshop (from 16 benches for voluntary workers, to 32 benches, to become an organised part of the School curriculum) and they had further this year fitted up the old and disused chemical laboratory as a room for teaching modelling in clay. In different ways then, by their workshop, their modelling and drawing classes, and their chemical and physical laboratories, they would be able to give a general training, consistently with the scheme and character of the School, which would serve as a preparation for subsequent special extension.’

Another matter that materially affected the flow of boyhood to the Victoria University was the reorganisation of its Entrance Scholarships.

‘No fewer than ten scholarships at Owens College had been won this year by Grammar School boys, and six of them were entrance scholarships. This was interesting as showing that without, he hoped, lessening the number of those who proceeded to the old Universities they would also find scholars who would go with distinction to the University College of Manchester. Another pathway to the local educational institutions was provided in the technical scholarships and exhibitions offered by the Lancashire County Council and the Manchester Corporation. Since the last prize-giving, five science, six commercial, and three art scholarships and exhibitions had been won by boys from the Grammar School. He was glad to say that these scholarships had been won with but little preparation and without disturbance of the regular school course. It would be a misfortune if preparation for the examinations had a tendency to cramp a boy’s general education, by turning him to special studies before the proper time, particularly when he was intending to proceed to a University College. The number of the technical scholarships which the School had obtained, as

well as the Owens College Scholarships, and the long array of distinctions in the Victoria University lists afforded, so he thought, good proof that they were playing their part in that co-ordination of the work of the Educational Institutions in Manchester of which they heard so much.¹

In 1894 also, just after the reorganising of entrance scholarships, Principal Ward and Professor Wilkins stated :

‘ We are of opinion that poor and meritorious boys may without difficulty pass from the public Secondary Schools and the highest classes of Board Schools, into the University, with a prospect of covering their expenses, so far as classes are concerned, by scholarships gained on entrance. There are, however, occasional instances where maintenance is beyond the power of young men at this College, but this cannot be remedied except with the aid of special funds.² As to students requiring technological instruction, the correlation has hitherto remained inadequate, and we are very decidedly of opinion that a more satisfactory correlation might be secured if the grant of technical scholarships by the interested public bodies were confined to persons who give evidence of passing satisfactorily through courses of technical sciences definitely laid down and pursued. A fair proportion of our graduates, both in Arts and Science, take up the work of teaching in Secondary Schools after graduation.’

The numbers actually proceeding from the School to the various Colleges and Universities for further study, arranged in quinquennial periods, are as follows :

Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	London.	Victoria.	Technological College.
1893-1897 .	41	24	49	131	23
1898-1902 .	53	18	?	91	34
1903-1907 .	32	24	30	134	37
1908-1912 .	49	29	12	146	58

While the several subjects for which students entered with a view to completing a full course at the local University were as follows :

¹ *Ulula*, Speech Day, 1895.

² Evidence before Secondary Schools Committee, 1894.

Year.	Arts.	Science, including Technology.	Law.	Medicine.
1875-80 . .	8	13	5	12
1881-85 . .	18	17	6	39
1886-90 . .	4	8	3	39
1890-95 . .	7	24	6	53
1896-1900 .	10	23	6	38
1900-95 . .	14	21	6	32
1906-10 . .	41	87	1	27
1910-15 . .	15	41	2	16

The entry for commerce and teaching accounts for most of the increase 1906-10; also the new regime at the Grammar School. The last quinquennial total is very incomplete on account of the deficiency of records.

Another way of showing how slow were the stages by which the Grammar School was linked on to the scheme of technological education is shown by the small proportion of its candidates who gained the scholarships. Between 1891 and 1899 the Manchester Education Committee awarded 272 scholarships, available either for Higher Secondary Schools or for technical or University careers. Of these, 108 were awarded to pupils from Higher Grade Schools and assisted them in their further study at the University, while only 67 were awarded to those who entered from other schools.¹

Out of 100 scholarships to the Technical School which had been awarded before June 1894, only 18 had been awarded to candidates from local Grammar Schools, 11 from the Manchester Grammar School, and 7 from Hulme Grammar School. The reason for this failure was possibly in part the prejudices of the middle classes, who confused the new policy of the Technical School with that of the old Mechanics' Institute out of which it had sprung. They did not yet realise that both the Technical School and the School of Art were now preparing for careers which required a higher standard of preparation than the elementary schools afforded. They now offered preparation for future high-level employment, in which neither technological, art, nor musical training by themselves could take the place of a liberal preparation at school. The reason for the failure of the Higher

¹ *School Board Gazette*, November 1900.

Grade Schools to provide the number of candidates expected of them was shown by Mr. Wyatt to be the limited number of scholars who remained in them till fifteen, which was the age of entry demanded by the Technical Schools. Prolonged stay at the Higher Grade Schools spoilt many of these boys for the humanistic forms of secondary education and did not inspire them to pursue the higher branches of technical education. Moreover, commercialism and the prospect of immediate wage-earning still tempted many parents to withdraw their children too early from school, for the enormous business prosperity of Manchester caused merchants to make tempting offers of well-paid immediate occupation to the brighter boys and diverted them from continuing their intellectual training to a higher level, the advantages of which they had not sufficient knowledge to see. An analysis of the subsequent careers of the boys from these Higher Grade Schools shows that the majority became imperfectly trained clerks and employees of the Manchester warehouses, few really attaining a complete knowledge of any art or trade which amounted to a mastery. They no doubt helped the merchants to make the money which they did not share.

It was particularly in the Modern and Science sides of the School that increased expansion in numbers and efficiency of work became most noticeable, where those who passed to the Owens College were helped by the Dalton, Hulme, Kay-Shuttleworth, and many other entrance scholarships after these had been placed on a satisfactory footing. The study of Chemistry continued to be pursued with vigour. This is shown by the fact that in 1893, in the list of Fellows of the Chemical Society, there occurred the names of twenty-three old scholars. Of these all but five were graduates of a University.

At the Old Mancunians' Dinner in 1896, Dr. Lazarus Fletcher stated that, since the accession of Mr. Jones to the Chemistry department, *i.e.* during twenty-four years, no fewer than ninety-two open scholarships and exhibitions in science had been won at Oxford and Cambridge. Forty-four Mancunians had been placed in the first class in science, fifteen in the second, and only ten in the third. Nor was Art neglected, each boy receiving on an average three hours' instruction in drawing per week.

The following table shows the extended use of the Science and Art facilities throughout the School at this time :

—	Science.		Art.	
	Day.	Evening.	Day.	Evening.
Gross total of Students under instruction, 1898 .	940	9	974	—
No. of separate Students presenting themselves for examination . . .	143	4	559	—
1899 gross total . .	935	10	974	65
No. for examination . .	140	5	299	35
1900 gross total . .	920	8	934	60
No. for examination . .	47	—	227	21
1901	—	—	700	—

Meanwhile every effort was being made officially to prevent the wasteful overlapping. To clear up the confused mass of conflicting opinion, and to establish definite principles for the guidance of educational authorities, the Prime Minister induced the Crown in 1894 to appoint a Royal Commission of Enquiry into Secondary Schools. Manchester was again well represented. Dean Maclure, who had entered the School 1844 and was now Deputy Chairman of the Governors, was one of the Commissioners. The Lancashire evidence was collected by F. E. Kitchener, who stated :

‘The Manchester Grammar School stands far ahead of any other Secondary School in my district. The advanced character of the education given, the largeness of the area from which it draws its boys, and the extraordinary number of boys which it sends up annually to the Universities, not only distinguishes it from other Lancashire schools, but give it a foremost, and in some respects, the foremost place among the great Day Schools of England.’

Other Manchester evidence was given by Sir James Hoy, Chairman of the Technical School ; J. H. Reynolds, Director of Secondary and Technical Education ; Professor Ward,

Vice-Chancellor of the University; Mr. Wyatt, Director of Elementary Education, and H. J. Roby, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Manchester Grammar School. Michael Glazebrook, though he had left the School four years previously, evidently used much of his Manchester experience when describing his views of the relation of a school to its local University.

A conference of School Boards was held in Manchester in 1893, of which a full account was given in the *School Board Gazette*. In 1894-95 a conference was held between the Manchester School Board, the Technical Education Committee, and the Manchester Grammar School, the latter being represented by Oliver Heywood, H. J. Roby, and the high master. They drew up what was known as 'The Manchester Concordat.'¹ In 1896, the several positions of the Manchester Grammar School, the School Board, Higher Grade Schools, the Technical School, and the University were further defined, and the Manchester Concordat was adopted. On July 10, 1897, a public meeting was held at the Owens College still further to clarify the issues.

In 1896 the movement for the actual purchase of the playing fields, then only rented by the School, took form. A fund was opened with a donation of £500 and with two others of £50. It was thereupon decided to form a committee, with Sir William Bailey, an old scholar, as chairman, and to make a public appeal for funds. A public meeting was held on April 30, 1896, Sir William Bailey in the chair. It was decided to raise the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of purchasing two playing fields for the Manchester Grammar School boys, one field to be on the north and one on the south side of the city. A committee of old boys and friends was formed to raise the money. The boys themselves raised £650. By January 1, 1897, the total which had been raised only amounted to £4500, so it was decided to restrict the scheme to the purchase of one field on the Clowes estate on the north side of Manchester, the purchase price being £2500 in cash, and a promise to pay a further £1200

¹ Memorandum of arrangements (a) between the Manchester School Board and the Municipal Technical School, (b) between the Owens College and the Municipal Technical School, with regard to technical instruction adopted by the City Council, January 8, 1896.

in four years. The ground was drained, levelled, and sodded at a cost of £782, and a pavilion erected which cost £1125. The committee, however, realised that, owing to the unexpected popularity, the ground was often inconveniently crowded. They urged that it was desirable to purchase a further and adjoining piece of ground, necessitating an increased outlay of £950, but, as there was already an outstanding liability of £1923 on the field, and the fund had been practically stagnant for two years, the committee felt considerable anxiety about increasing their liabilities. The grounds were formally opened on August 1, 1899, by the Lord and Lady Mayoress of Manchester, who were welcomed by Sir William Bailey. The outbreak of the South African War now entirely diverted public attention, and the story of the full completion of the scheme must be left to the next chapter.

In the spring of 1903, J. E. King, on his appointment to the post of head master of Bedford Grammar School, placed his resignation in the hands of the governors, who thereupon recorded the following resolution :

‘The Governors recognise his scholarly attainments, his insight into the needs and conditions of every department, his unfailing zeal and tact, the value of his personal influence on the teachers and scholars which have done so much for the success of the School during his term of office.’

At the 108th Old Boys’ Dinner, held April 16, 1903, Mr. J. E. King gave a valedictory address, and stated that in his opinion the success of the School in the past had depended on three things :

(i.) Its freedom to all comers. (ii.) Its adaptability to changing conditions, maintaining its classical traditions while giving attention to modern languages and the teaching of science. (iii.) Its aims : the pursuit of learning and good manners.

Articles appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, July 17, 1903, giving a summary of the work which the School had accomplished in building up the ladder of education. And another article, in the *Saturday Review*, June 11, 1904, stated :

‘No Secondary School in the country is doing so much to bridge over the gulf between the Board Schools and the University. Its successes are not selfish and individual. They are genuine democratic triumphs, which, if we may be allowed to employ a much abused word in its broader and truer sense, possess social and political, as well as scholastic importance.’

CHAPTER XVI

1903-1915

THE BROAD HIGHWAY

'A heart to resolve, a head to contrive and a hand to execute.'—
E. GIBBON.

Unification of educational aims under the Board of Education (1899) confirmed and extended by the Education Act (1902)—Local Authorities called upon to make more adequate provision for higher education—The Manchester Grammar School enters the national scheme and reserves 15 per cent. of all its vacancies for 'free-placers,' or selected boys from elementary schools—It secures its channels of supply of middle-class boys by establishing a preparatory school in the suburbs—J. L. Paton appointed high master: he creates a new attitude—He modifies the curriculum at the request of the Board of Education, which had succeeded the Endowed Schools Commissioners as supervisors of Trust Funds, and the Education Committee of the Privy Council as supervisors of the character of its Science, Mathematical, and Art teaching in all forms except the sixth—Advantages and disadvantages of the Board of Education thus exercising control over all forms of instruction at the School—Further development of corporate life at the School by encouragement of all forms of public service—School camps, social gatherings, rambles, scout meetings—Photographic and Natural History Societies—Formation of the Old Mancunians Association—Appointment of School medical officer—The Call to Arms and the Public Schools Battalion.

TOWARDS the end of the nineteenth century many of those who had been closely observing the growth of English education had begun to realise that the so-called ladder from the elementary school to the technological college and the University, provided by scholarships and bursaries, was far too narrow. They realised that favouring social circumstances, good health, home interests, and good family traditions at an early period of school life, had so much to do with school capacity that the selection, by scholarship examination at thirteen, or even later, failed to catch many whose after

careers showed they would have greatly benefited by more thorough school training than they had gained at the elementary schools. They urged that boys and girls must be admitted to the secondary school not by right of exceptional capacity, but by right of desire for knowledge. It was evident a wider understanding of adolescence had yet to be found. As regards Manchester, Hugh Oldham had founded the School for the industrial lower middle classes, not for the specially clever nor for the specially favoured, but because

'he had often taken into consideration that the youth, particularly in the County of Lancaster, had for a long time been in want of instruction . . . and that the bringing up in learning, virtue, and good manners of children in the same county is "the key and ground to have good people there."'

By the Education Act of 1902 the obligation of making adequate public provision for higher as well as for elementary education was placed on the local authorities. The nature, as well as the adequacy of such provision was to be decided, after consultation, between the Board of Education, which had been created in 1899 and the local committees. Both nature and provision varied greatly in different districts. From the national point of view, the new Bill required a very greatly increased supply of educational opportunity for all classes. With the increased supply, there soon arose an increased demand. The demand was primarily in the direction of seeking the preparation needed for teaching in public elementary schools, for it was evident that teachers must be educated in advance of their pupils. In addition to this the lower and middle classes, inspired by the Workers' Educational Union and similar movements, had shared in the progressive general enlightenment due to the multiplication of libraries, art galleries, concerts, cheap popular newspapers, &c. A new spirit of responsibility and a recognition of need for further social service was abroad. It was consequently generally realised that school education, conducted through the period of adolescent life, was as beneficial and desirable for the child of the artisan and small tradesman as for the child of the merchant and professional classes. In the presence of an advancing wave of public reform, it is easy for critics to point to particular drawbacks, and illustrate

these by quoting a number of cases where such higher school education during adolescence was probably less valuable than apprenticeship to some skilled handicraft. Some drawbacks of this character will appear later. At present we are only concerned with chronicling the events so as to understand the new conditions created. These may be summed up in the statement that the educational ladder from the Board School to the University created by scholarships and bursaries, and available for a few selected and exceptional children, had now become so crowded that it needed to be replaced by a highway open to all who could show their ability to make proper use of it, and whose guardians were willing that their children should surrender the tempting benefits of immediate wage-earning for the sake of the ultimate moral and material advantages to be obtained by availing themselves of the new opportunities. For some, the Technical and Technological Schools became the objective. For the rest some other, perhaps new, educational objective had to be created. An important one was found in training for the teaching profession.

Although, with the exception of drawing, it has never been the duty of the Grammar School to train pupil teachers in the technique of their ultimate life work, yet many educational authorities have recognised that it would be a great advantage if their intending teachers gained some experience of the life of a large public school with great traditions. The Manchester Education Committee early offered bursaries tenable at secondary schools to a number of scholars in their elementary schools who signified their intention of subsequently entering the teaching profession. Pupil teachers' bursaries were also granted by the Education Committees of Salford, of Lancashire, and of Cheshire.¹ In November 1904, application was made to the Board of Education for the recognition of the School as providing preparation for bursary holders of these Education Committees. I have endeavoured to discover their number.

¹ In order to attach the School still more closely to the public bodies which were sending boys to it, application was made to increase the number of representative governors by adding two from the Lancashire and two from the Cheshire Education Committees, and additional ones from Manchester and from Salford, thus increasing the total number of governors representing Local Education Authorities from nine to fifteen, in addition to the four University representatives, one ex-officio and eight co-optative governors, making a total of twenty-eight.

**MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL SCHOLARS REGISTERING
AT VARIOUS TEACHING CENTRES**

Year.	LOCAL AUTHORITY.					
	Manchester Education Committee.	Salford Education Committee.	Lancashire County Education Committee.	Cheshire County Education Committee.	Manchester Pupil Teachers' Centre.	Education Depart- ment Man- chester University.
1904 .	9	1	—	—	2	—
1905 .	7	3	—	—	4	2
1906 .	7	—	—	—	10	3
1907 .	8	3	2	—	5	5
1908 .	3	2	—	—	3	11
1909 .	—	2	—	—	2	4
1910 .	—	—	—	—	1	3
1911 .	1	—	—	—	—	5
1912 .	—	—	—	—	—	2
1913 .	1	—	—	—	—	3
1914 .	2	—	—	—	—	4
1915 .	1	—	—	—	—	—
1916 .	1	—	—	—	—	—

A considerable number of the above were assisted by the Thomasson Trust of Bolton. I have not been able to get the figures for Lancashire and Cheshire.

The figures represented in the last two columns have been extracted from the admission registers of the Manchester Pupil Teachers' Centre and the Education Department of the Manchester University, and give the number of boys who had received their previous training at the Grammar School and might be supposed to be able to do something towards breaking down the barriers between primary and secondary education.

The existing buildings of the Grammar School had been erected in 1881 with a view to accommodating 1000 boys. There were only 720 on the lists in July 1903. The Municipal Secondary School in Whitworth Street was opened in 1904. It made provision for 500 boys as well as 400 girls. The Salford Secondary School made provision for 300 boys and 300 girls; the Hulme Grammar School, Alexandra Park, for 300-400 boys. The Lever family had restored the old Grammar School at Bolton, and had equipped it with ample

playing fields and all modern needs. Other neighbouring towns, such as Bury, were extending their own secondary schools, or were erecting new ones. For the more opulent middle class, private and public boarding schools were also rapidly multiplying. Many of them gave high-class training, and were admirably adapted for providing that moral and intellectual stimulus and training in class tradition during adolescence, which the upper middle-class home had ceased, if it had ever been able, to provide, and which it did not care to entrust to the public day schools.

How long would the Manchester Grammar School be able to retain the high position it had acquired from its long tradition of good scholarship, its staff of able masters, its well equipped laboratories; from its perfected organisation as an instrument of higher education; from its admirable scholarship system arranged for the selection and retention of clever boys of limited means, and for securing their advancement to the Universities? All these things might be of little avail if there was no sufficient stream of boyhood to fill the School. If it was to hold its own under the new conditions created by the 1902 Act, it needed to be alive at every point of modern life. Were its traditions sufficiently clearly established and appreciated by the public for the School to retain its hold on the middle-class boy of a good home, whose parents desired an earnest and strenuous life for him? And were they sufficient to stir the imagination of the increasing number of boys from the elementary schools to whom university honours, established social status and social obligation, meant little, but who desired learning, and whose parents were willing that they should postpone the period of their wage-earning till certain advantages had been fully assured?

To answer this we must study the channels of supply.

Within a few years of its inclusion under the Board of Education, the School again became filled, even to the extent of overcrowding. Its hold on the middle-class boy, seeking professional or high-level commercial training, was made more secure by the rapid growth of its preparatory schools, which had originally been established in order to obviate the necessity of sending, at an early age, young boys by railway or other long journey into Manchester, or boys who were inadequately prepared for the somewhat strenuous intellectual curriculum which it was always

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intended the Grammar School should offer. The Chorlton High School—a middle-class preparatory school established in 1839 by Dr. Merz, and carried on in Dover Street by Mr. Adams and Dr. Hodgson and Mr. Fuller successively, had been removed to Withington some years previously. It was taken over in 1897 by a special committee acting in association with the governors of the Manchester Grammar School, and opened in January 1898 as a preparatory school. The connection between it and the Manchester Grammar School gradually became more intimate, though it was some little time before the new traditions sprang up, which caused it to become a natural feeder for the central School. Another preparatory school was opened at Higher Broughton in 1905 by well-wishers in the district and placed under the care of Mr. Dennis, who had already served twelve years as assistant master at the Grammar School. At the request of the Cheshire County Council the Sale High School was taken over as a third preparatory school in 1908. All the buildings and goodwill of these schools were, with the consent of the Board of Education, made integral parts of the Grammar School property in 1908.

On February 7, 1906, Mr. Fuller reported to the governors that there were 117 boys in the South Manchester Preparatory School, that 40 were new boys and 17 had been passed on to the Grammar School during the year, two of whom had gained Foundation Scholarships. On March 18, 1908, he reported that during the preceding ten years 126 boys had proceeded to Manchester Grammar School.

The following table of the number of boys attending the preparatory schools from 1908 (Michaelmas) to 1916

Year.	North Man- chester School.	South Man- chester School.	Sale High School.
1908	114	124	43
1909	124	119	48
1910	126	126	62
1911	124	138	71
1912	139	153	75
1913	150	165	80
1914	171	166	104
1915	176	179	122
1916	183	179	130

(Lent) also gives some indication of the growth of the preparatory schools which were now taking their place as natural feeders to the central Grammar School.

Free Secondary Education, assisted in some necessitous cases by bursary or maintenance exhibitions, was, however, provided on the School Foundation for 150 boys, half the places being restricted to boys from elementary schools and the other half open. A number of maintenance bursaries were also given by outside authorities to pupils who expressed their intention of preparing for the teaching profession, and who, in return for their training, undertook to serve the community by engaging in teaching in elementary schools for a certain length of time. It was decided that the number of Foundation scholars, now largely consisting of Free Placers, i.e., of boys from elementary schools, with a privilege of free education during the whole of their school life—should be increased till they amounted to at least 15 per cent. of each year's admissions. If both Foundation and Capitation boys remained at the School for the same length of time, there would then be 150 Foundation scholars.

Experience soon showed that the Foundationers were more serious about their education than the capitation boys, and as they often came at an earlier age, the average length of their stay at the School was longer.¹ The lengthening of their school life caused their proportion to increase, and, though they were only 15 per cent. of entrances, they gradually amounted to 25 per cent. of the total number of boys actually attending.

Every boy who does not hold a scholarship, whether he comes from an elementary or other preparatory school, pays £15 a year, if entering under 14. This fee by no means pays the full cost of his education, for the buildings and equipment were given by public subscription. The fee has not been an absolute bar, though it has probably acted to some considerable extent as a deterrent to the boy from an elementary school who fails to secure an entrance scholarship. In 1894 they constituted 38 per cent. of the School—that is, there were 285 boys from elementary schools out of 750,

¹ *The Physique of the Modern Boy*, Manchester Statistical Society, December 1912.

and at the Hulme Grammar School, Alexandra Park, with 300 boys, there were at the same time about 36 per cent. from elementary schools. There were 160 Foundation Scholarships.¹ If all the Foundation Scholarships had been awarded to boys from elementary schools, there must have been at least 125 more such boys paying fees. In 1915, with over 1000 boys, there were 750 capitation boys, of whom 250 were fee-paying boys from elementary schools. It follows there was an increased number of parents of children attending elementary schools who were able to pay the school fees. It would, however, be unwise to deduce from this that the economic factor is not a serious deterrent in many cases, for it is a remarkable fact that 40 per cent. of the capitation boys were 'only sons,' and only 38 per cent. of the scholarship boys have no brothers. In lower middle-class families, it is to be feared that the failure to obtain a Foundation Scholarship has in some cases served as a deterrent from entering the Grammar School. Such deterrence may be expected to increase in times of bad trade.

Year.	Capitation.	Additional Free Places.	Foundation.	Total.
1905 . . .	710	—	148	858
1906 . . .	747	—	149	896
1907 . . .	734	—	158	892
1908 . . .	690	—	171	861
1909 . . .	683	—	201	884
1910 . . .	677	—	204	881
1911 . . .	686	—	208	894
1912 . . .	701	7	242	950
1913 . . .	722	23	252	997
1914 . . .	716	36	249	1001
1915 . . .	747	42	259	1048
1916 . . .	756	43	252	1051

The free placer of the Manchester Grammar School

¹ Every boy whose education is paid for out of public funds, whether elected as a Foundation scholar at the School or supported from other public funds, if he comes from a public elementary school, is a free placer. He has a right to attend the complete course of training at the School unless his behaviour is such as to earn dismissal.

generally comes from a home which, in spite of somewhat restricted economic circumstances, possesses moral and intellectual traditions of no mean order. A comparison between the free placer and the capitation scholar at the Manchester Grammar School brings out several suggestive facts.¹ In order to avoid misinterpreting these facts, we need to remember that the free placer (a term which is synonymous with the foundation scholar from an elementary school) is now, though he has not always been, a highly selected boy, since between ten and twenty are chosen out of 200-250 candidates. He is of quick apprehension, and his early childhood, though devoid of luxury, has usually been singularly free from such retarding or devastating influences as frequent colds, sore throats, rheumatism, and infectious illness,² and bad health in early life is a serious handicap to school progress before adolescence, though its influence steadily diminishes after fourteen. He is therefore generally of good physical, as well as of mental, stability. He generally comes from a home which possesses a moral thoughtfulness. The capitation boy is usually also from a good home, generally with wider opportunities for social enlightenment and unfortunately at times for social luxuries as well as dissipation of energy, but he is less highly selected from his companions as regards his intellectual abilities, for the qualifying entrance examinations which all boys must pass is not a stiff one. Any intellectual difference between the capitation boy and the foundation scholar on entrance is constantly being accentuated with each successive year of school life, because each year a number of the best capitation boys, owing to their school attainments, get school exhibitions and so get placed on the Foundation list; while the less able (or less precociously intellectual) capitation boy does not obtain a Foundation Scholarship, and remains to accentuate the intellectual difference between the Foundation and the Scholarship holder. The test of ability and attainments at an early age on entrance examination, though valuable as a test of innate power of discrimination amplified by proper training, has serious drawbacks. The different organic

¹ Manchester Statistical Society, December 1912—*Some Physical Factors necessary in Higher Education*, North of England Education Conference, Bradford, January 1914.

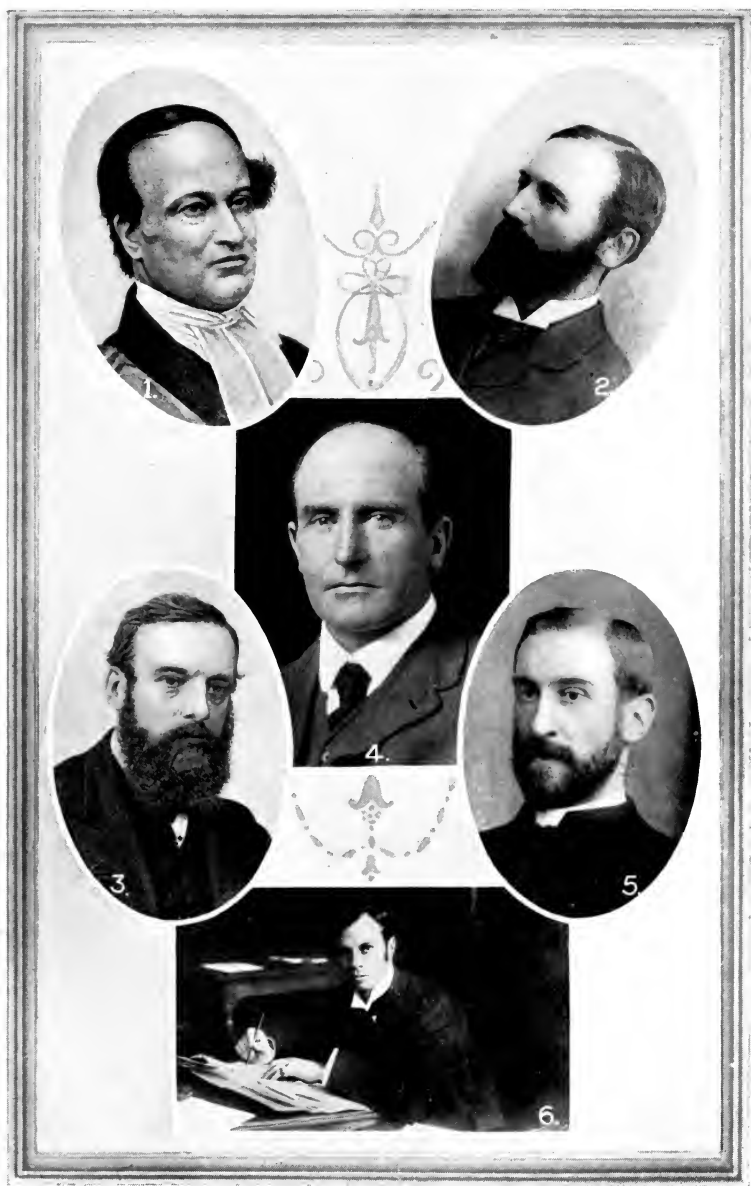
² Transactions of the Clinical Society of Manchester, February 1912.

systems of which the human body is composed are the nervous, the osseous, the muscular, the cardio-vascular, and the nutritive and digestive systems. Each of these passes through several stages in its growth, and the rate of development of one system is not necessarily the rate of another, so that a boy may be mentally precocious and muscularly delayed, &c. The width of this range of variation to be detected among these boys is as much as four years, so that one boy of ten is frequently as matured as another of fourteen. Moreover the social conditions which profoundly influence mental and bodily growth, such as hours of retiring to bed at night, opportunity of social diversion, and even dissipation of energy, differ in different homes, and so affect the attainment previous to and during school life.

PREVIOUS SCHOOL TRAINING OF BOYS OBTAINING UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS.

Free-placers who are either Foundation Scholars or boys sent from Elementary Schools by other Educational Authorities or Charities who pay the School Fees.				Capitation or Fee-Paying Boys.		
Year.	Oxford and Cambridge.	Manchester.	County Council Scholarship.	Oxford and Cambridge.	Manchester.	County Council Scholarship.
1910-11 .	8	3	11	6	3	6
1911-12 .	4	4	4	10	0	4
1912-13 .	6	1	7	8	3	4
	18	8	22	24	6	14
	Total 48			Total 44		

At a Conference on Secondary Education held at Victoria University 1897, Mr. King had pointed out the harmfulness of the uncertain position in which the School stood, owing to the fact that some parts of its curriculum—Science, Mathematics, and Art—were under the Science and Art Department of the Privy Council (South Kensington) and the others—Classics, Modern Languages, and English subjects—still under the Endowed Schools Commissioners who had succeeded



1. N. GERMON.

3. F. W. WALKER.

5. M. G. GLAZEBROOK.

2. S. DILL.

4. J. L. PATON.

6. J. E. KING.

Six recent High Masters.



to the educational work of the Charity Commissioners. In 1900, the first part of the School organisation passed under the Board of Education which succeeded the Science and Art Department of South Kensington: administratively it became a Secondary School, Division A, Science and Art only.

After the passing of the 1902 Education Act, the whole question of the relation of the School to the national scheme of education came up for further consideration. One of the last acts of Mr. King as high master was to forward a letter of application, dated February 16, 1903, to the Board of Education asking for complete recognition under Division B (all subjects). This meant such modification of its school teaching as would provide a three or four years' curriculum satisfactory to the Board of Education. The new curriculum involved the practical displacing of Art teaching in favour of increased elementary science and mathematical teaching, the displacing of the teaching of English literature in the higher forms above the thirds in favour of increased teaching in French and German. There were also some other less important changes. It was at this time that Mr. J. L. Paton was appointed as high master. After much correspondence a new curriculum was finally drawn up January 11, 1904, which embodied the desires of the Board: this is, in a general way, the scheme still in use. During the latter part of the year 1904, on the reconstruction of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, J. L. Paton and Albert Mansbridge, General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Union, were appointed new members.

The School of Art at the Grammar School, which had first received recognition in 1869, ceased to be a special department October 1905. It had completely lost its former premier position, and this was accompanied by a loss of touch with the higher aspects of pure and applied Art. It is true it gained some freedom by being released from the limitations imposed by South Kensington, but it also lost the stimulus of being in touch with a great centre of progress. It is to be regretted that, in spite of the great development of the Proctor workshop and the development of Dramatic Art at the School, so many boys leave school without having their imagination stirred by a love of creative Art. This is a problem for tomorrow, and the inclusion of handicraft and drawing among

the qualifying subjects for the school-leaving certificate of the Northern University Board should have great effect. Dramatic Art has made considerable progress as an out-of-school subject, and seems capable of very considerable further development, particularly in association with the Proctor reading prizes, for it appeals to certain boys who have no book memory, or book imagination, or poor visual imagination.

Consultation with representatives of the Manchester Educational Committee was held July 3, 1907, on the question of overlapping and possible conflict of aims. It resulted in the Manchester Education Committee supporting the application of the Grammar School for a full place in the general local scheme. It passed the following resolution :

‘That the Board of Education be informed that, in the opinion of the Manchester Education Committee, the Manchester Grammar School is required as part of the secondary school provision of the city and that article 24 of the regulations may be waived with advantage on its behalf, subject to the condition that the Governors of the School agree to the proportion of free places for scholars from public elementary schools being not less than 15 per cent. of the scholars admitted.’

This co-operation of the civil educational authority was no doubt greatly assisted by Dean Maclure, Chairman of the Manchester School Board till his death in 1906, and Mr. E. J. Broadfield, who had served as Chairman of the Manchester School Board in 1878, and under the 1902 Act had been Vice-Chairman, and became Chairman of the Educational Committee established by the new Act of 1902 in succession to Dean Maclure. Both were active governors of the Grammar School.

The increased financial resources secured by the change enabled the Board of Governors to increase the sum devoted to assistant masters by nearly £2000 and it now approached the sum formerly paid in Mr. Dill's time. A timely grant to School funds by the Hulme trustees on April 22, 1910, and continued yearly, enabled the Governors to increase the Masters' Pension Fund.

TABLE TO SHOW THE AGE INCIDENCE OF BOYS AT THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, AFTER IT CAME UNDER DIVISION A OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Year.	Under 10.	Between 10-12.	Between 12-14.	Between 14-16.	Between 16-18.	Over 18.	Total.
1907-8 .	6	46	271	405	145	6	879
1908-9 .	—	52	281	382	129	14	858
1910-11 .	2	47	305	397	116	14	881
1912-13 .	3	62	299	424	147	13	948
1913-14 .	2	76	314	427	160	12	991
1914-15 .	13	66	313	444	162	5	1003
1915-16 .	9	76	336	443	164	20	1048

The changes in the curriculum had the effect of increasing the number of boys who remained at the School during adolescence, while the further attempt to restore the School to its original position of being open to all comers by the now fully acknowledged position of the free-placer, rendered obsolete the class feeling which separated the boy of the elementary school from the boy of the secondary school. Two factors contributed to its disappearance: (1) Change in the traditions of the School itself; (2) Change in the type of boys obtaining scholarships. The social exclusiveness of the Victorian middle-class home was crumbling before the new spirit of social service, which was heralding a new epoch in the brotherhood of man, before which social snobbery and intellectual priggishness became ridiculous. This spirit of social service had to be harnessed to concrete facts. The need was at hand. The imagination of the boys was stirred by the great extension of school lectures and addresses given by distinguished workers and thinkers—Dr. Wilfred Grenfell of Labrador, Lieut. Shackleton, Captain Scott, and many others. The boy in the middle of the School received as much honour for work faithfully done as the distinguished graduate at Oxford and Cambridge:

‘[One] left 3B last year to go to the School of Technology. Besides gaining many prizes for home work and sessional examinations he won a Cheshire County Council scholarship

to be held at the School of Technology. . . . "The old Grammar School did well for him," writes his father, and we thank the father for the kind thought which prompted him to send us his letter.¹

The project for erecting a memorial in the School to commemorate the patriotism of the sixty-three old boys who had taken part in the South African War, which had languished, was again revived. A committee was appointed in November 1903 under the chairmanship of Dean Maclure, an old scholar and now Chairman of the Governors. Subscriptions were called for, and after a little further delay a memorial tablet was erected for those who had fallen, which was unveiled in September 1904 by two old boys, Colonel J. Wright, R.A., D.S.O., and Captain H. S. Nickerson, R.A.M.C., V.C.

Lacrosse, football, athletic sports, musical and orchestral societies were now increasingly used as a means of social intercourse, by which the influence of masters might act on the boys, while constant companionship with the boys humanised the attitude of those masters. Whitsuntide holiday camps for working-class lads had become very popular. Fifteen such, many with 500 boys, left Manchester each Whitsun week. Four or five Sixth Form boys began to assist as orderlies, at the one held among members of the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club.² In 1904 a holiday camp was held on ground lent by Lord Stanley of Alderly. In order to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of the boys attending these camps, and to stir up a love of inquiry, Mr. F. A. Bruton, who had already made valuable contributions to archæology by his excavations and records of the Roman Fort at Castleshaw, of that at Foothill and Melandra, and of the Roman Fort at Machele, drew up some very helpful notes for campers on Natural History and Geology. The establishment of scout troupes began in 1912.

We have noted the establishment of a Biology class by C. J. Bourne. Various geological and other collections had been given originally to the School Philosophical Society on the advice of Dr. Lazarus Fletcher, and were often studied by boys who possessed some little knowledge of chemistry, and were intending to follow such careers as mining, engineer-

¹ *Ulula*, October 1903.

² See *Ulula*.

ing, &c. A Natural History Society was formed in February 1885, under the auspices of Mr. Earl, Mr. Willis, and J. G. Milne, and succeeded in attracting some juvenile entomologists. After a number of miscellaneous collections had been gathered, a reconstruction of the Museum took place in 1905, when a committee of masters, members of the Natural History Society, and old boys, were invited to co-operate. Lessons on Botany by Mr. Willis were followed by Nature Study by Mr. Bruton. Five cases of birds presented by the Manchester Museum authorities and a series of Palæolithic specimens given by Mr. Sutcliffe of Littleborough formed a basis of an anthropological and archæological collection which is now steadily growing. These collections are also used for the voluntary classes held in connection with the Scout Movement. Not a few boys have discovered the direction of their own tastes and inclination by these means, and the future developments in agriculture with the need to understand bird and insect life which is so intimately associated with its scientific study, would indicate the advisability of extending this branch of school work.

The Old Mancunians Association was formed Sept. 7, 1904, firstly, for the benefit of boys who had recently left, or were about to leave, the School; secondly, for the past generation; and, thirdly, for the city and community, so as to secure renewal and continuance of friendships between schoolfellows and masters by reunions and cultivation of mutual interests, literary, social, and athletic. The first annual meeting was held November 3, 1905, with 278 members, J. L. Paton, the president, taking as the subject of his address, 'Each for all and all for each,' illustrated by the combining of loyalty to the School with loyalty to the city, and 'Be just to the Poor,' as expressed in the need for increased educational opportunities to enable every citizen to become and to do the best that is within him, since the ultimate cause of all social evil lay not in difference of material wealth but in violent contrasts of educational opportunity.

On December 19, 1903, 200 working lads of the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club were invited to meet the boys of the Grammar School and to share in their interests. A return visit of the Grammar School boys to the Working Lads' Club was paid the following March. This exchange of visits became annual. Hugh Oldham of Livesey Street again rubbed

shoulders with Hugh Oldham of Long Millgate, and some social prejudices received a shock.

The Natural History Club and the Photographic Club had for some time been Field Clubs with organised plans of country excursions.

‘The excellent teaching of such experts with the camera as Mr. Parrott and the late Mr. Sykes, and the practical lectures organised throughout the year by the Society are of inestimable value, but we must remember that boys in a day school have more leisure for such pursuits than those whose school hours are always compulsorily occupied.’¹

When the Ruskin Exhibition was held in the City Art Gallery in Manchester, 1904, the boys were sent, under the charge of the Art Masters or of Form Masters, as part of their school work. Pictures began to appear on the bare walls of the School, and Mr. Charles Rowley presented a series of photographs of figures drawn by Frederick Shields for the Church of the Ascension, London, in 1908. The Music Study Circle was formed November 1909, with the help of Mr. Sydney Nicholson.

To stimulate capacity for social service, the Ambulance Lectures, started in 1890, became increasingly practical by the addition of instruction in ambulance drill. Boys were encouraged to qualify themselves to obtain the St. John’s Ambulance Certificate. A Swimming and Life-saving Class was established, and in order to popularise it a demonstration was given by a champion team from the Royal Schools for the Deaf and Dumb, Old Trafford. Individual prizes at the Athletic Sports were abolished in favour of marks, which were credited to the form rather than to the boy, so that success in sports competitions counted like success in football or competition in cricket.²

While the larger proportion of boys come from homes whose restricted circumstances in no way imply restricted moral or social outlook, or lack of adequate parental guidance and inspiration, yet there is always a small proportion of boys, quite as often from secondary as from elementary

¹ *Ulula*, 1909, p. 111.

² Cf. ‘Sports without Prizes,’ *School World*, 1906, by A. Pickles, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

schools, whose homes are less favourably endowed ; where social failure has crushed effort ; where ineffectiveness finds constant expression in querulousness ; where overbearing manners have dried up the natural wells of sympathy ; where money-making has been pursued at the price of commercial honesty ; where carping criticism is regarded as a sign of social superiority ; or where servility is regarded as the sign of good manners. Fortunately these homes and these ideas are the exception. Their presence must be considered if the school is to carry out its work fully and the oncoming generation is to be better than the last. Attempts are made in the high-class boarding-schools, which have monopolised the term Public Schools, to moderate social exclusiveness by arousing a sense of social responsibility. The Public Schools of the democracy are called upon to repair deficiencies of home training by devising new ideals of personal and of social service.

The most effective way of keeping both capitation and scholarship boys under the influence of the great traditions of the school is by their personal association, both before and during adolescence, with masters who themselves fully recognise such influence and express it in their daily life. Companionship between individual boys and individual masters had never been absent in the past, but now masters were called upon to give most of their recreation and leisure time to the boys. So freely and generously were these services given, particularly by the junior masters, that there was at one time a danger of its being forgotten that they had been tendered as a voluntary gift and must not be regarded as an obligation, and that only single men, or those possessing independent means, could afford to render them, for the salaries of assistant masters were quite insufficient to allow them to maintain a family at their own social level, and those who were married men were compelled to seek additional work outside the school hours to make an income adequate to support a household. This extra work often impaired their freshness and efficiency, and prevented them from participating in, and furthering, the social and intellectual activities of the city to which they were entitled by tastes and education, and the cultivation of which is so important in the highest interests of the School. The urgency of the question of more adequate remuneration for the assistant teaching staff has

been acknowledged by the prominent position given to the matter in the appeal associated with the fourth centenary celebrations.¹

School Conversaciones, by bringing parents and masters together, had done something to break down the conventional barriers which had separated the interests of the School from those of home. The personal responsibility of form masters for the boys under their particular care and the granting of opportunity for the discussion of difficulties with parents had done much more, but there was still a considerable gap to be filled up before any complete understanding could occur. 'Parents' Social Evenings' were therefore established in 1906, at which parents were definitely asked to meet the assistant masters, who placed themselves at their disposal for the consideration of any difficulties that either might have met with, clearing up any misunderstanding as regards conduct or work, and often offering advice as to lines of future conduct. The first part of the evening was devoted to individual conference, the latter half to a general conference at which matters of wider and more public interest were brought forward and discussion invited between parents and School authorities. These have been regularly continued with mutual benefit. Here the School explains its aims. Here the parents can state their grievances or difficulties or get enlightenment and understanding, guidance and assistance on matters which must closely affect their method of training the children. Of the right of the School to speak upon all such matters and spreading its ideals, public testimony is not lacking. Mr. Walter Runciman, in distributing prizes at the Manchester Town Hall, September 17, 1910, remarked :

'The Manchester Grammar School occupies an almost unique position in English education, as it is not only one of the largest of our great schools, but it is also one of the greatest. It is very nearly 400 years ago since the School was founded, and I venture to say that never throughout its long career were its attainments so great, its record of scholarship so high as to-day, and I hope that Manchester realises how much it owes in that regard to the services and the scholarship of the high master.'

¹ *I.e.* in 1914. The question has been dealt with since by Mr. Fisher's grant.

A barrier also tended to exist between the boy from a secondary school and the boy from an elementary school. This was largely broken down by the change in type brought about by the greatly increased competition for scholarships and consequently the higher selection value. The free-placer so frequently distinguished himself, that the scholarship-holder became regarded with respect. The percentage of boys from elementary schools rose within a few years of the change from 38 per cent. to 55 per cent., but it is doubtful whether the increased proportion represented any material change of social status of the scholars. The disappearance of the too often somewhat ineffective private academy had compelled the middle-class parent to choose between an expensive boarding school, without traditions of learning, and a public elementary school, whose teaching efficiency was rapidly rising and where many keen boys were attending. Nothing shows more clearly the disappearance of the old prejudice against the public elementary schools than the number of boys from elementary schools who, after passing through a full course of study at the Grammar School, entered upon a course of university or technological study which involved considerable pecuniary outlay.¹ The elementary school was fast becoming the national school for the majority of lower middle as well as for industrial class boys.

With the popularisation of national education, greater attention began to be paid to all phases of child life and child welfare, which were likely to help in remedying inequalities of opportunity, or removing disabilities. An unexpectedly strong expression of public opinion caused the Liberal Government in 1907 to tack on to its Educational Administrative Provisions Act a clause requiring local authorities to make arrangement for medical inspection of the children in their elementary schools. The reports of the various medical officers appointed under this clause soon revealed such a mass of preventable illness interfering with the efficiency of teaching, that steps were taken by many progressive local authorities to extend greatly the teaching of hygiene and, later, even to provide medical treatment under their own auspices where such could not be secured

¹ Cf. the evidence given by H. J. Roby in 1894 before the Secondary Schools Commission.

elsewhere. So helpful did managers and teachers in elementary schools find these medical reports in the organisation and development of curricula, that a number of secondary schools appointed medical officers, so as to obtain fuller consideration of the physical conditions underlying higher education. In September 1909, the governors appointed a medical referee, and in the following July he was styled medical officer.

His duties were :

Status.—To be purely advisory. The medical supervision to consist in detailed suggestions to the high master.

Duties in General.—To inquire into and report upon all matters affecting the general health of the boys and the hygiene of the School. To draw up an annual report to the Board of Governors to be presented through the high master.

Duties in Particular.—To inspect all the general sanitary arrangements, such as lighting, heating, ventilation, desks, cleaning, lavatories, drainage, &c., and the general hygiene of the School premises. Also the arrangements for cooking and feeding.

Medical Inspection.—To examine all new boys as to their physical condition, and to examine from time to time such old boys as are reported by the assistant masters, through the high master, as being physically unfit for the strain involved in their school work or school games, gymnastics or other athletics.

Attendance.—To attend the School regularly at stated hours and to be available for particular reference when special circumstances arise which cannot be dealt with at the stated hours.

Relation of School Doctor to Parents and Guardians of Boys.—All reports upon the health condition of boys to be confidential to the high master, who shall, if he think fit, report in full, or in part, to the parents.

The need for securing greater physical efficiency among the general population had been brought before those responsible for the defence of the realm by the enormous number of rejects among those who had presented themselves at the recruiting stations during the South African War, 1899–1902. A Royal Commission on National Degeneration was appointed to consider the matter, and, at the urgent solicitation of the

War Office,¹ attempts were made to introduce instruction in military drill in elementary public schools, which most unfortunately resulted in supplanting the carefully graded and much more suitable systems of physical training which many educational authorities had already adopted. Scotland, with its usual caution, desired to make proper inquiries first, and another commission was therefore appointed to inquire into the opportunities already available. The inquiries extended to the physical condition of the people and were extremely valuable. They enabled the Scottish educational authorities to avoid the pitfall of confusing military drill with physical training into which the English authorities had stumbled when they issued a model course in 1901-2 based on exercises already out of date for the English Army, exercises which completely ignored all the principles of Swedish drill, and were in other respects singularly inappropriate for growing children. It was confessedly an attempt to provide recruits for the Army and was a conspicuous failure. France had made a similar attempt after 1870 by the establishment of 'bataillons scolaires,' which, after a brilliant beginning, had fallen into discredit on account of the excessive cost in money and time out of all proportion to results. By familiarising boys with the semblance of military habits, without their inspiration, it had disgusted them before the appeal of duty became clear, and had induced boys to affect the manners and language of the barracks and drill sergeant. Moreover, the regular officer of the army found that the precocious specialisation actually interfered with subsequent training. The last of such 'bataillons' was therefore suppressed in 1890, and a system of graduated exercises adopted, based on the Swedish system, and applicable to the young adolescent as well as to the adult. With a change in the English Government, there occurred a change in the policy of the Board of Education. The 'Model Course' was withdrawn, the help of the Scotch Commissioners was sought, and a 'Syllabus of Instruction' was drawn up, based on physiological principles and having close relationship with the teaching of hygiene now advocated by the Board of Education.

¹ See a series of articles on Physical Training and National Deterioration in *Manchester Guardian*, 1902-3.

With the creation of the Volunteer Territorial Force in 1908 as a special reserve to replenish the Expeditionary Forces in the event of a prolonged campaign, a condition of affairs arose which demanded new standards of physical efficiency. School Cadet Corps and University Cadet Corps became Officers' Training Corps. A section of the Old Mancunian Society was formed, September 1909, to maintain the mutual interests of the old scholars who were serving in various regiments. Sir William Bailey presented a challenge cup for shooting to be competed for among the members. A movement also arose to form an Officers' Cadet Corps among the senior boys in the School itself. Inquiry was made by the War Office as to the number of boys who, after leaving School, had taken up Commissions in the Army and Navy. The number was found to be much larger than was anticipated, among the more recent being Captain Nickerson, V.C. The idea was discussed at a parents' meeting, March 1910, and so strong was the expression of opinion in its favour that the high master, in making his statement to the governors, was able to say that it was the unanimous wish of the parents who attended the meeting. The formation of a School Corps was finally sanctioned by the War Office, May 1910, and enrolment began on the reopening of the School in the following November, Lieutenant (now Major) C. Potts, who had largely been instrumental in getting the movement started, being appointed Officer Commanding. The corps started with 56 members, and rapidly gained strength, for its appeal was to that spirit of corporate responsibility which the School had done so much to foster. In 1911-12 there were 106; in 1912-13, 118; in 1913-14, 124. Sixteen passed the A certificate before the outbreak of war. Consequently, the Government's call for assistance was readily acknowledged, and many old boys either took up commissions or presented themselves at the recruiting stations to join the ranks. Within less than one month, a list of 125 boys who were serving with the Colours was drawn up.

On September 3, a more or less informal meeting was held at the Manchester University to consider the proposed formation of a special corps of old Public School and University men, who were willing to enrol as private soldiers without waiting to obtain commissions. The meeting was short and to the point. The next morning, posters

appeared outside both the School entrances. The gymnasium was used as an examining station, and the drawing hall as an inquiry office. The School Scouts acted as orderlies,¹ and many old boys volunteered to act as examining doctors. Within a few days 1023 men were enrolled, and a first draft of 300 was sent off to London to be attached to the Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment). The numerical result was startling, but still more impressive was the quietude and fixed faces which showed the high resolve of the new recruits. Many had voluntarily thrown up lucrative and responsible positions, others had jeopardised important prospects. All were serious and realised the price they might be called upon to pay. Whatever their position in school or form had been, they had all learnt to play the game, and in after life had realised that the games of school were but the prelude to the struggle of life. In the world of nations a compact made for the protection of the weak had been ruthlessly broken, and a great Empire had decided that she could ignore the rules of the game. Nothing but war could repair the wrong and re-establish International Justice.

This was the beginning. As the struggle continued, the cost began to mount up, but there was no failure of response. Hardly a list of casualties came out without the news of one or more among the fallen.

It would be an impossible, as well as an invidious, task to estimate the services actually rendered. It may be possible to tabulate the military honours and distinctions awarded, but this would give no indication whatever of the sacrifices made; nor is it possible to enter adequately into the feelings which prompted them. These things must be left till the present oppressive darkness has disappeared; till Time, when it has somewhat lulled the pain and covered over the wound, will also have revealed something of the task accomplished. A single extract must be allowed, that of a boy who, after an undistinguished career at School beyond some success in nature study, paid the great price, but who, before so doing, was able to testify what the School had done for him. He wrote from British Columbia where he had just given up his fruit-farming to enlist, and was waiting for orders to sail for Europe. He lost his life in the fierce fighting

¹ Cf. *Ulula*.

of the days which followed the capture of Vimy Ridge, in which he had taken part with his battalion.

'The Southland is calling, calling me to come. I can hear the companionable coyote chorus, the lively whir-r-r of the rattlesnake, the wind sweeping through the mesquit bushes rattling the empty pods, through the yuccas and the cactus. The wide, wide desert stretches away into the distance, the mirage dances on the horizon, over there, just below the blue line of the mighty sierras. The sage-hens rise with a startled whirr from the sweet-smelling bushes from which they derive their name, and I am on the foothills, climbing up, up, terrace by terrace, until I reach the first stunted pines. On yet higher and higher, meeting the first streams of pure live water, babbling over the pebble beds, on into the glorious pine groves where axe and saw have never raised their harsh, merciless voices, where the great grey squirrels stare with wondering eyes at the creatures who trespass on their domain, and chatter to their fellows to "come and see." The summit of the trail, but, higher yet above, tower the peaks of everlasting snow. Those I will not tread, but leave them alone in their age-long solitude. Below, beyond the line of trees, stretches a vision of peaceful valleys, orchards, grain, homes, all that man holds dear—'tis California, and beyond that, calling the wanderer on, the enticing blue Pacific, telling secrets of far-away lands nestling on its shores.

'But the vision fades. "Over there" the sky is red with blood and flame. *There* is where men are found, men from the desert, the mountains, the orchards, the forests, aye, men from the blue Pacific, men of the Anglo-Saxon race giving their lives and their all for the cause of justice and liberty. Europe! *En avant!* The deserts, streams, mountains and woods will wait, will mourn, perchance, and will welcome back their old friends, when Europe's seething hell has cooled.

C. H. C.'

CHAPTER XVII

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

'The younger generation is bound to win : That's how the world goes on.'—WILLIAM STANLEY HOUGHTON (1881-1913).

THE prominent position which the Manchester Grammar School now holds in the English system of national education, as well as its inheritance of the high traditions which have been created by the devotion and foresight of so many generations of well-wishers, have made it the subject of much public criticism and impose upon it the duty of self-examination, in which its faults and failures should receive as much examination as its virtues and successes.

A number of questions arise—Is the School really open to all classes who desire or are capable of benefiting by its teaching, or does it in practice debar from its privileges, either by the scale of its fees or by a too rigid curriculum, many who should be admitted ? Does it succeed in inspiring its scholars both immediately and ultimately with a desire for excellence (i) in knowledge, (ii) in manners or conduct, (iii) in self-expression ? Does it deal justly with its moral and intellectual failures ? Does it adequately train the physique of the boys, or does it miss some of its opportunities for stimulating dormant activities and remedying the injurious effects of town life ? Does it serve the community efficiently in providing a useful sorting-house of character and ability ?

No existing educational institution would dare to claim a favourable answer on all these points, nor would any dare to deny that all these are included in its aims. Institutions must specialise, yet the perils of specialising upon such fundamental matters when dealing with the training of one thousand boys are serious indeed.

Is the School a Free Grammar School in the sense of the Renaissance, or does it, by fees or curriculum, debar any considerable class of boy for whom its benefits were intended? That three-quarters of the boys pay a part of the cost of their education in capitation fees would be no real disadvantage if the payment of such fees were well within their means. It would, however, constitute a failure to carry out the object of the School if the present scale of fees really debarred deserving boys, and no room was found for them on the Foundation.

The size and character of the stream of boyhood entering a school where the curricula of teaching are not obligatory on all citizens depends primarily on the desires and ambitions of the parents of the community from which the school draws its pupils. Their judgment is not always a purely utilitarian one. They expect their sons to obtain certain social and moral advantages, and to find opportunity for the use of their natural powers, if not advancement in status. In the case of boys intended for the learned professions, the parental task in the choice of a school is a comparatively simple one, for public opinion recognises that there is a stock of common training necessary for all professions. It is more difficult for commercial and artisan parents to realise that the proper preparation for non-professional careers is fundamentally of the same nature, and that to give a child a liberal education before entering a commercial occupation is quite as necessary as to have him trained in the subject-matter of that occupation. Supposing that a parent desires a liberal education for his child, the first question that presents itself is naturally the financial one. Are the earnings of the young adolescent actually needed for the support of the family? If they are not necessary, are the parents able and willing to provide sufficient financial assistance to pay for the food, clothing, books, school fees and other expenses till the youth becomes a wage-earner?

The stages by which the Manchester Grammar School has developed its scholarship system are as follows:

(1) Original 1515 plan, that of free higher education to applicants of all classes, provided by the old foundation. Those boys who wished to continue their studies at the Universities

and were approved were assisted as a natural course out of school funds.

(2) Lack of adequate income in 1856 caused the trustees to limit the School to 250 boys, and to stop the University exhibitions.

(3) The number of scholars was increased by the addition, in 1867, of capitation or fee-paying boys, the fees of the capitation boys being used for increasing the remuneration of the masters.

(4) Persistent deficiency of the School income caused the trustees in 1874 to appeal again to the Charity Commissioners, who authorised a reduction of the number of foundation scholarships to 160, i.e. one for each £15 of the net yearly income of the Foundation, one half to be preferentially offered to boys from public elementary schools.

(5) Twenty scholarships founded by E. R. Langworthy to encourage capable boys over sixteen to remain at school, and not to accept the tempting situations offered by commercial houses. Private philanthropists provide close scholarships to assist them at the Universities.

(6) The establishment of higher-grade schools in 1880 diminished the stream of exceptional boys from elementary schools seeking entrance by scholarship. The opening of the Hulme Grammar School and later the Municipal Secondary School, at a time when the proportion of citizens seeking higher education was limited, reduced also the number of those seeking entrance by capitation.

(7) Various public bodies and educational charities made provision by bursaries and exhibitions to assist able boys desiring to enter the school, to remain there during adolescence, and to proceed to the University.

(8) The pupil-teacher system, by which provision is made for particular scholars who are not selected for their outstanding ability, but because they desire to attain the power and position of teachers in public schools. The first pupil-teacher centre was established in Roby Street in 1890, and the second at the Manchester Commercial Schools buildings purchased in 1893; a Day Training College was opened at the Owens College; it was proposed to open one at the Manchester Grammar School, but the proposal was subsequently withdrawn on account of objections raised to

competition. The number of boys who held bursaries preparatory to attending the public teachers' centres is given on page 422.

(9) There remains yet unrealised the stage when every child who can show himself capable of benefiting by it receives secondary education free of cost, and if family circumstances are straitened a bursary for his maintenance.

In general terms we may say that there is a total attendance of some 1000 boys¹—300 enter the School each year, so that another 300 boys leave. The average period of stay is therefore over three years. Of these entrants, 45 at least must be boys from elementary schools whose education is to be paid for out of the Foundation funds of the School. They are to be free-placers through the whole of their school career. Analysis shows that another 120 at least come from elementary schools, some being assisted by various scholarships and bursaries, others paying full capitation fees of £15 a year. Thus altogether 55 per cent. come from elementary schools. These scholarship boys are in the main undoubtedly capable of benefiting by the School curriculum, and utilising their training for the benefit of the community in after life. They more than hold their own in the classroom, and in the public life of the School,² whether games, sports, or other activities, with the single exception of those activities which entail expense, such as camping, O.T.C., &c. An ever-increasing proportion of these remain in the School till they pass matriculation or school certificate examination, though, owing to the cost, a smaller proportion pass to the Universities or technological schools. For the last ten years, in inquiring into the family medical history of boys entering the School, I have regularly asked whether there have been elder brothers who have been educated at the School, and I have frequently been met with the answer: 'No, we were not able to afford it then, for the family expenses were heavy, or our means less able to support the expense'; on other occasions the answer has been, 'No, we did not know of the entrance scholarships.' It is rare to hear that the scholarship winner was the only one of the family capable of

¹ 1913-14. In 1918 about 1200 boys and probably 400 entries.

² See *Physique of the Modern Boy*, Manchester Statistical Society, Dec. 1912.

earning an entrance scholarship or benefiting by the School curriculum.

The standard of mental ability among the fee-paying or capitation boys is considerably more variable. Among these boys are many of the ablest, who, thanks to the wider interests of their home life and perhaps to better provision for their health from infancy upwards, continue to exhibit an expanding mind throughout their whole school career. Others—the great bulk—achieve a middling position, while a small proportion make so little progress that the question is frequently asked why they are sent to the School at all. Further examination of some of their characteristics and of the school problems they present is desirable. They are a complex group and difficult to understand, but in the meantime we may say that though their mental as well as their physical development has in many cases been gravely delayed owing to ill-health in early life, and their power of memorising and of reasoning lessened, so that the ordinary school curriculum seems unsuitable, yet knowledge of their after-careers shows that they make as good and as intelligent and as useful citizens as many of their brighter schoolfellows who formerly out-distanced them. They, even more than others, need a high-class education during their adolescence, and our failure to succeed with them indicates the weakness and limitation of our curriculum rather than the unsuitability of the boy for higher education.

The study of the life history of these boys leads to the second part of the first question—viz., whether the opportunities of the School are restricted to special boys owing to the rigidity of its curriculum. In a general way, the curriculum, even to minute details as to number of hours to be devoted to special subjects, is settled by the Board of Education,¹ which has never yet attempted to consider the problem of the retarded and backward boy in secondary schools, though it admits the still more difficult problem of the mentally defective scholar of the elementary school. Under the present arrangements the School would forgo certain grants by making special arrangements, but this deficiency from the Board of Education might be remedied by raising special funds;

¹ Some evidence on this matter is included in the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Practical Work Schools, issued 1912.

experiments could be made in the education of a number of such boys in handicraft work on a far more generous scale than at present exists, and lessons learned of high educational value for the benefit of the whole school.

While the desire to benefit by the opportunities of the Grammar School has caused the applications to be so numerous that only the highest-grade boys from elementary schools obtain scholarships at the Grammar School, the reverse process determines the home and family characteristics of the boys applying for free education at its near neighbour—the Chetham Hospital. This charity was founded for the benefit of a class of boy similar to the 250 free-placers at the Manchester Grammar School, with particular regard to those who had lost one or both parents. They have to forfeit what remains of their home life and enter a boarding school. They have to wear a garb distinctive of social dependence. Their education was intended to be preliminary to apprenticeship to the skilled crafts which flourished in the seventeenth century, for the school was founded before the present industrial era, at a time when the homes of the poor were broken up much more readily than now. It was necessary then to provide board and lodging and clothing if the children were to be kept from destitution. This is no longer the case. Public funds from many sources are available, and it would seem such a natural development to unite the two schools, for the distinction of social grade is entirely an adventitious and artificial one, and the problem of the establishment of a high-grade Craft School with a very liberal English education is an urgent matter at the Grammar School.

The question of Craft and Guild Schools should be clearly distinguished from that of occupational training, with which it may be readily confused. The craft training should be of the most liberal character and should cultivate all forms of natural expression. It should involve the early transference of the bulk of the curriculum from books to activity at the age of thirteen or fourteen. It should retain all the training in citizenship and leadership that is attempted at the Grammar School, but it should provide an alternative to grammar teaching. To a considerable proportion of intelligent boys *words* mean far less than *things*. Hearing and writing mean far less than doing and making. It should teach mathematics by actual measurement and utilise its methods in

actual construction. It should not train for the market but for the self-expression of the scholar. If the Board of Education already recognises a Science side, as distinguished from Classical and Modern Language sides, might it not also recognise an Art and Handicraft side?

Concerning the second question as to whether the School succeeds in inspiring its scholars with a desire for excellence in knowledge, in conduct, or in self-expression, it is more easy to supply an answer because two sets of judgment are already expressed. The one set consists in the examinations conducted by external authorities, the other in the reports which masters and high masters send at the end of each term to the parents.

The first set enables us to mark the success of the School in the pursuit of a clearly defined aim, whether competitive examination for scholarships and prizes, or efficiency examination for standardisation. Concerning the examinations for scholarships and the subsequent attainments of its scholars at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge the record of the School has always been remarkably high.¹ Of greater significance as regards the place the School occupies in the national scheme to raise the education of the whole community is the number of boys who present themselves for standardisation, and the proportion who succeed in satisfying the requirements of the standardising examinations of the local or other University.

Of the three hundred who leave, about eighty possess the School Leaving Certificate issued by the Northern Universities Board, whose examination has succeeded, and to some extent replaced, the Matriculation Examination. Concerning these the following figures are of interest:

Quinquennial Periods.	Matriculands from Elementary Schools.	Matriculands from Secondary Schools.
1893-1895 . . .	6	7
1896-1900 . . .	13	13
1901-1905 . . .	28	30
1906-1910 . . .	147	137
1911-1914 . . .	136	101

¹ See Appendix, p. 531.

boys both readier inlet and readier outlet, are consequently omitted for want of time. This matter directly involves the problem of method and aims in language teaching. Perhaps we are too much in a hurry to consider proofs of imaginative and creative thought afforded by artistic attainments, draftsmanship, handicraft, singing, or dramatic powers, and still less inclined to urge preparation during school life for their more complete acquirement.¹ It is not till we compare school reputation with after-school attainments that we realise how examination in knowledge gained from books often unduly favours the boy whose plastic mind readily adopts the opinions of his teachers, and handicaps the boy of more creative mind whose dormant powers await the stir of appropriate incentive, or the revelation of some particular interest, or the natural term of their proper appearance.

In addition to the formal school examinations, there are the informal examinations for Scout badges, which may be compared with the certificates formerly granted by the South Kensington Science and Art Department. Though of very limited value for estimating actual attainment, they are of great value as incentives to new studies, and as arousing the habit of observation. They can readily be grouped in accordance with particular interests and capacities and are less Procrustean than a formal grouped examination. If a sufficiently enlightened Board of Examiners could be secured, Scout tests might with advantage be taken over and standardised by the Board of Education, and perhaps some mathematical and physical tests be added. But the value of Scouting is not primarily intellectual, but social and moral: by encouraging comradeship between boy and master and corporate action between boy and boy under adequate supervision, natural and half-unconscious instincts are allowed fuller play than is possible in the class-room. Laughter and song, play and relaxation are quite as important in the development of character and health as formal training. Emulation and competition begin naturally in the home and in the school, and Scouting continues the work of both. Just as a very important part of the work of home and of school is to establish such conditions of emulation as

¹ The virtual, if not the actual, exclusion of art and handicraft training in the various matriculation examinations affords painful proof that limitation of outlook still prevails among University Boards.

prevent competition becoming socially destructive, so Scouting leads boys to be strenuous and yet play their parts in a larger game.

Concerning the judgment which the school passes on its own work in the terminal reports it sends to their parents, it is interesting to note how often, in the past, it has been assumed that conduct, progress, and diligence were exclusively expressions of the boy's nature, growth, and home training, whereas the school must participate in the responsibility for failures, since it was founded for the very purpose of training the boy. When the parent peruses these exceedingly valuable and often well-founded judgments, he naturally asks, first, wherein he has fallen short; secondly, wherein the boy has fallen short; and, thirdly, how far the school has done its work. Nothing but frank conference between schoolmasters and home will clear up doubtful points. The efforts and means at the disposal of the school are set forth in the parents' handbook. Parents are given the opportunity of conference with any of the masters in matters of special difficulty, and regular conferences are held to clear up outstanding points. Perhaps, however, a few of the problems might receive some notice here from the point of view of a physician and a parent rather than that of a schoolmaster.

An ever-increasing number of boys remain at school during the later years of their adolescence, when their wills are becoming stronger and more self-assertive. Fortunately the majority of them have entered school before their adolescence and have therefore come early under the influence of their schoolmasters, though there is still a small proportion who do not enter till the age of fifteen or sixteen, whose parents hope they will receive a 'final finish' which they showed no signs of obtaining elsewhere. Perhaps it is really a varnish that is then desired. Adolescence is a time when imagination and emotion are strong, and though the earlier period of unconscious imitation has passed and given place to one of self-assertion, yet the expanding mind is busy watching the behaviour of all with whom it comes in contact. Boys are uncomplimentary critics, but their generous emotions prevent them from being unkindly ones. They are influenced far more by the unconscious than by the deliberate behaviour of others which they often attribute to mere pose. Hence

the extraordinary value of patient courtesy and kindness, of evident earnestness of purpose, of unselfish devotion, and of quiet self-control, which so many masters exhibit daily and even hourly in dealing with boys, and the malign influence that sarcasm or loss of temper exerted in the evil days that are past.

Discipline must be the discipline of deliberate voluntary service, otherwise it is suppression or even oppression.¹ Self-control must not be based only on self-suppression, but upon the higher training which means higher freedom, for no one can use his powers on the world around to the full until he has learnt to govern and direct his powers from within. Without such training, increased freedom results in dissipation, not in conservation of energy. Thus, the discipline the school seeks is the discipline which arises from the inclination to learn and to serve and which proceeds from incentives within, not the discipline which is impressed from without and consists in the obedience to an external and arbitrary authority which may use its powers for ill as well as for good, and in any case is not always subject to the criticism of reason. On this account a full punishment school implies bad, not good, discipline. These things are truisms. Yet, though their actual observance in recognised cases may never be omitted, the principles which they embody need constant reconsideration before we can properly interpret the new duties which are, from time to time, imposed on a school.

The school is accustomed to give judgments in its terminal reports to parents on 'diligence' or 'application.' The term really includes two quite separate qualities: the power of sustained attention, and the desire to use that power in a particular direction. The opposite of diligence is frequently termed slackness, though the two terms are not entirely opposed, for slackness, on occasion, is a valuable relaxation after past effort and a proper preparation for the future. If mind or body is kept continuously on the strain, harm inevitably results. The person becomes 'nervy' and 'jumpy,' and judgment is unbalanced. At the age of fifteen or sixteen, quite normal boys frequently go slack. There is not sufficient vital vigour to keep the mind fully at work.

¹ It is this that constitutes the danger of placing physical training in schools under instructors who have been trained in the army only, and not in the gymnasium or playground.

If nature's warnings are neglected, a more severe reprimand will be given a year or so later, when some illness or other breakdown may occur, or perhaps, worse still, arrest of mental growth. The other form of want of diligence, or slackness, in school life depends on the failure of the boy to appreciate the claims of some particular piece of school work. He believes that he has a right to choose between one subject and another. The arbitrary assertion that he must do what he is told is useless. There seems some need for bringing before boys a clearer presentation of the significance of their present obligations and future careers, and so enabling them to realise the relation that their immediate tasks bear to their ultimate ones. If even educationalists are not agreed upon this relation, it is natural that many boys do not see it.

Traditions of behaviour, or 'manners,' to use the old English word, are the joint product of the influence, often unconscious, of the masters and of the home. A boy may respond to neither, his response may be delayed, or it may vary at different times. In spite of the decay of arbitrary discipline, perhaps even because of it, the real ultimate influence of the master on the behaviour of the boys is rapidly increasing. This is especially due to the increase of the school activities, both indoor and outdoor, in which he is brought into relationship with the boys. Although the home sees less of the boys in consequence of the greater demands of the school on his social life, it is by no means certain that the influence of the home is really lessened, though the manifestation of that influence may be delayed, for the seeds of truthfulness, honesty, and purity are set at a very early period. The first of such qualities to come under school influence is truthfulness. It is fostered by kindness and understanding. It may be killed by fear or by unwise punishment. It is an essential element of self-respect, and, without it, fair play is impossible; it is ennobled by public spirit, and often sanctified by religion, at school or at home. Another quality which grows up under happy school conditions is the readiness for service. This is deliberately cultivated in Scout troops, but is also unconsciously favoured in the class-room. The formation of Scout troops for the younger boys, and of the School Officers' Training Corps for boys over 16 who do not become Scout leaders, with their joint appeal to moral and physical efficiency to be used for corporate and

not selfish purposes, also offer valuable opportunities for acknowledging good, and showing disapproval of bad, conduct by means of the conferring or withholding of privileges or honour. The danger inherent in the Cadet Corps of introducing the manners and the language of the barrack-room, the worship of social caste and the uncritical deference to authority, the physical injury of subjecting immature boys to a training based on the powers of a man, which caused the failure of the system in the French schools between 1875 and 1890, is discounted by making form masters, who are the companions of the boys, into the officers. There are two drawbacks to the present arrangement for incorporating this work in school life, and both are removable. The first is that the old army traditions of separation between officers and men is utterly inapplicable to school life, where the relationship needs to be that of elder to younger brother; and, secondly, the limited training in the principles of physical growth and development possessed by those who have not made it a matter of special and prolonged study. Unless the physical training is in close relationship with school games and gymnasium instruction, the danger of actually injuring the development of boys by a mechanical form of training is very great.

Perhaps the greatest privilege which assistant masters enjoy is one which they share with the medical profession, and which brings them nearest to the parents of the boys. It is a privilege frequently withheld from members of the legal and clerical profession. They are brought into such close relationship with the boys that their own misunderstandings and failures are often brought before their notice by the boys without any carping or false interpretation. Failures are candidly discussed and forgotten as well as forgiven by the generous feelings of youth. The false dignity, which prides itself on never acknowledging its error, is very transparent to the searching eyes of boyhood, and the master who wraps himself up in it loses rather than gains in their esteem. In the presence of candour, the idols, which poor humanity erects for its own deception and enslavement, soon lose their glamour and fall harmless to the ground.

Owing to the pressure of events rather than to any particular intention on the part of its leaders, a good secondary

school, in addition to its work of fostering learning and training the immature faculties and powers of mind and of body to understand how to put forth and enjoy strenuous effort, also inevitably becomes a preliminary sorting-house of ability. If it is amply equipped and all its departments well organised, it cannot fail to discover the directions in which individual boys are likely to work to definite and creative purpose. There has been at the Manchester Grammar School for many years a department to which employers may apply when they are desirous of obtaining boys of good training and character for business careers. This is capable of very wide extension, and its records should be of high value for analysis and criticism. The School authorities will naturally place the ultimate interest of the boy first before recommending him to a particular employment; and, owing to the fact that the economic pressure which forces boys early into wage-earning has been somewhat less urgent of late years than was formerly the case, owing also to the fact that numerous bursaries and scholarships are available to maintain the abler and more strenuous boys at school, who are therefore less likely to leave school prematurely than was formerly the case, employers who desire to obtain sharp boys of fifteen have to be content to choose from the residuum which has been left after many of the ablest have been selected for higher training. The constant complaint of mercantile houses that they cannot get the quality of boy they were accustomed to get, so far from being an obloquy, is an honour. It shows that the better boy is better provided for than formerly. If employers want to secure first-class boys they should subsidise their general education till they have finished their college or technical training at the age of nineteen or twenty. The boy will of course then be a better educated man, though he will naturally require a higher salary. American enlightened employers have recognised the value of this, but so far not many English employers.

The Board of Education has for some years made efforts to tabulate the leaving age and the ultimate career of boys of different schools, but the data are imperfect and reliable results are difficult to obtain. Greater attention might be paid to the collection of facts, and such collections might be made available for study by the managers of the school. The Old Mancunians' Association would seem to be the best means

of gathering the facts concerning the immediate and also the ultimate careers of all old boys of the Grammar School. If an Employment Bureau, and perhaps a Benevolent Society, were established in connection with it, this would gather much useful knowledge for a board of studies.

The progressively increased use of the local University is indicated in the following figures :

School Eras.	Number of years included.	Passed Matric. London Univ.	Entered Owens Col. to prepare for Degree.	Entered Oxford University.	Entered Cambridge University.	Totals to all Universities in particular School Eras.	Average annual to all Universities.
1860-1868	9	1	?	37	19	56	6
1869-1877	9	50	?	64	21	85	9
1878-1887	10	97	199	93	44	336	33·6
1888-1901	14	121	308	126	74	508	36
1902-1914	13	47	360	96	49	505	38·8

The Fellowship of the Royal Society under present conditions is generally regarded, not only as guaranteeing a high standard of scientific attainment, but also as a recognition of some considerable personal contributions to scientific knowledge. Of recent years this honour has been conferred on nine old Grammar School boys, and in spite of the social advantages that connection with the older Universities affords, four of them had received their further scientific training at the Owens College, Manchester, four at Cambridge, and one at Oxford.

It is sometimes asked : 'Does the City really value the School ?' There is no doubt that a large proportion of middle-class parents have shown their opinion in the way most open to them. Perhaps it would be better to ask : 'Does the City really understand the School ?' To the modified question we might also add : 'Does the School really understand itself, and is it able to make its aims intelligible ?' Current newspaper accounts contain a summary of the advice of the eminent men invited to address the boys on successive Speech Days, together with the statement of the high master and that of any of the governors who put forth expressions of school policy. School aims have also been summarised in the 'Parents' Hand Book' which is given to parents or guardians of all boys in the School.

Social and political changes resulting in greatly increased organisation will undoubtedly be made in the near future. Their object will be to increase efficiency, but there is no little danger that decay or a lack of further development of the public interest in the School may lead the public to believe that greater organisation necessarily involves greater efficiency and implies adequate performance. There are too many valuable Parliamentary Acts on the Statute Roll rendered useless by lack of public spirit to enforce them, for English people to trust to organisation. Recent experience of the working of the Tuberculosis Act, of the National Health Insurance Act and others should lead us to beware of the re-entry of *laissez faire* habits in a new, and even more dangerous, because more insidious, form. We too often think things will be done because after much consideration we have agreed on a plan for doing them, or may have employed certain public officials to do them. Nothing but enlightened public opinion which really appreciates because it first examines and criticises its public service and its public servants will secure the efficiency of such public organisations as have been called into being. This is work which should be undertaken by boys who have left the Grammar School.

No school can be really progressive which does not consider its failures with as much assiduity as it considers its successes.

Previous to entering the school, the boys have received widely different training; many are backward owing to its imperfections, others because of frequent absences from school owing to ill-health. But still more commonly backwardness is due to the fact that there is a wide variation in the dates at which the several powers mature.

All vital activities, whether bodily or mental, have as a physical basis the setting free of a stream of energy. Their growth does not increase by steady and gradual stages coincident with the calendar age of the child or the adolescent, but by fitful and somewhat erratic leaps whose height as well as whose time of appearance vary greatly. With the full onset of adolescence a great and sudden increase of energy output usually takes place, which may be restricted to one or few of the functional systems of the body or may be uniformly diffused, though this is rare. The rate of develop-

ment of one system or function by no means affords a guide to that of another, and violent forcing the pace of any system will be accompanied by injury, the appearance of which may be delayed but will not be prevented, for, in the absence of unusual vigour, precocious growth involves premature decay.

Social circumstances decree that the organisation of a school must begin on an age basis, but in any adequate scheme this basis becomes modified according to attainment. In a second sorting, many boys of twelve and thirteen are found to be as mature in their powers of energising and making sustained effort as other boys of fifteen or sixteen, while many boys of twelve to thirteen retain the limitations of energy usually characteristic of boys of ten or eleven. This variation of vigour is independent of the growth of the bodily framework, and for its measurement the term 'stamina' is more applicable than physique, in which height and weight and muscular power are included. The output of energy at adolescence may show itself in the growth of the higher nervous system and thinking powers, in the muscular system, or in both at once. If the higher nerve centres of purpose and control are not ahead of the lower centres of emotional activity, the boy is noisy, boisterous and ill-controlled, and we must allow time for growth and maturity. Delayed development also occurs in the emotional nature, owing to physiological variation and independent of early ill-health, as expressed in the delay in the appearance of the instincts of self-preservation, mastery, combativeness, &c., in the retentiveness of memory and in the growth of the creative capacity, in all or one of which a child may retain the qualities of a period two or four years younger than that which he has attained, or he may be correspondingly precocious. If backward, he is characterised by undue excitability to outside impressions, and to a lack of control, which may lead him into trivial faults of behaviour or acts of rudeness which would be venial in those of more mature age, but in him are marks of childishness rather than serious faults. Unfortunately, in the past there has been a lack of adequate school tradition to guide masters in the understanding of the backward and delicate boy, and no adequate provision has been made for him. This is due to the fact that there has been no organisation of the knowledge of the conditions

under which retardedness occurs. Considerable extension of co-operation and consultation between teachers and medical officers will be necessary before satisfactory traditions can be created.

Lastly we come to the matter of failure from overwork, to deny the existence of which, in the face of such obvious facts as loss of weight, repeated absence from school with colds, &c., deficient number of hours of sleep, unsatisfactory school work and occasional notes in the magazine of the premature death from preventable illness of brilliant alumni soon after leaving the school, is to follow the conduct of the ostrich. Unfortunately, there are many cases in which the signs of overwork are not obvious but must be carefully watched for. Yet 'safety' can never be a rallying cry to inspire effort. It can only be the call of the umpire who expresses the matured and combined judgment of masters, parents, medical officers, and Old Boys' Associations which keep a record of after-careers, and record and study school failures as well as school successes. For, indeed, much of the price of overwork is paid in deferred bills.

In search of a national system of education and an adequate training for youth the Englishman has travelled far and many have told him that he has travelled to little purpose. He has not attained to a finality in any field of knowledge or of art, and he has not succeeded in imposing arbitrary authority upon a conquered empire. He has travelled rather carelessly without clear aims in view. Yet he has demanded that the overbearing will must be curbed and he has refused to believe that reason alone can solve the riddle of life. He has claimed that such human emotions as sympathy and benevolence must be called into council, as well as reason and established authority. In fact, he has shown his practical belief that justice and truth, love and holiness, are realities, and that it is man's work to seek to establish them throughout the world, rather than attempt to solve the unknowable or to master the unconquerable. Cruelty and indifference are no part of his awakened creed. He has bent his whole nature to the task of tempering learning with humanity, discipline with freedom, economic hardship with benevolence, social inequality with justice.

Wordsworth believed that 'our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,' that

'Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing Boy,
But He beholds the light, and whence it flows
He sees it in his joy.
The Youth who daily farther from the east
Must travel, still is Nature's Priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended;
At length the Man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day.'

The light of common day which guides man in the physical universe, and rouses him to put forth effort in pursuit of his needs, seemed too ordinary and simple a matter to engage his serious attention, until he saw that the rays of the sun, passing through rain as it fell from the alembic of the clouds, became broken up into the glorious majesty of the rainbow. Then he began to wonder, to think, and to observe. Aristotle watched the sunlight through the spray thrown by the oarsmen in the water and he knew that daylight was complex. Others extended their inquiries, by means of glass prisms and various glowing and florescent bodies, until they succeeded in discriminating the different elements, and they then found that daylight was more wonderful than they had supposed. Still other searchers found that, by special screens, some rays of light could be arrested while other rays of light were able to pass through. The difference between the red or heat-producing, and purple or chemically active rays, was thus discovered. By further study, the ultra-purple florescent rays were isolated and rendered evident, and the living flesh was rendered transparent, so that man could study the very structure and movement of the living bones, the expansion of his lungs, and the movements of his heart. Further studies were made of the effect of heat and light rays in sickness and in health. Man thus came to reconsider the effect that ordinary daylight exercised on his energies and activities, and realised that, without the heat-producing red, the restful and moderating green, and the illuminating and yet disintegrating purple, daylight would be robbed of much of its

virtue, and the guidance it afforded him in his daily life would be limited.

If this is all true of the light of common day; if, so far from the morning light alone giving guidance and direction, he needs the light of the whole day for his perfect growth and activity, what does it suggest as to the guidance man may hope for in his earthly pilgrimage? Are sentiment and emotion to be excluded, and reason to be his sole guide, or will to be his sole director?

In the sixteenth century, the Englishman began with the pursuit of Righteousness and Truth which he studied in the classical and Hebrew writers. In the seventeenth, he learnt the value of Liberty and Justice at the Inns of Court, and embodied these in the constitution of the State at the time of the Puritan Revival. In the eighteenth century, he sought and found Hope and Mercy in the humanitarian movement of the Broad Church, and in the religious revivals of the Evangelicals. During the nineteenth century, all the ideals which had survived the fires in the crucible of the French Revolution needed reconsidering. The Englishman had to learn the need of securing the political and social emancipation of all classes of the community. He witnessed and utilised the High Anglican movement for spiritual fervour combined with intellectual honesty. He strove, with only partial success, to achieve industrial efficiency by introducing into schools, at the bidding of trade interests, the study of science and, to a limited extent, handicrafts. In the twentieth century, he finds himself a wanderer, doubtful of his destination, somewhat anxious about his equipment, yet conscious of his ability to continue his journey to a still distant goal. He believes his route is already marked out for him, and every action he takes shows that he believes in an absolute Justice that he cannot yet define, an absolute Truth that he cannot yet discover, an absolute Beauty he cannot yet interpret, and an absolute Righteousness he cannot yet attain. His hope, though deferred, does not grow dim. His faith is undismayed. Before he was a wanderer abroad, he set himself to discover and establish these ideals in his own home. Hitherto he has believed he was only concerned with their establishment there. Shall he again put on the shackles of prejudice and exclusion and pride, or shall he render loyal, whole-hearted service in the new cause of a wider humanity?

The new spirit of Empire places on its citizens the duty of helping to establish the pursuit of these ideals in the Council-chambers, the Judgment-halls, and the Market-places of the world. For this Erasmus aroused him ; Shakespeare and Milton summoned him ; Newton and Locke instructed him ; Pitt, Fox, and Burke exhorted him ; saintly men of all ages and every branch of the Christian Church prayed for him ; Philosophers spent their lives in unravelling life's mysteries for him ; warriors innumerable fought and died for him. Because the children of the nation in elementary schools as well as in secondary schools, in Technical as well as in University Colleges, have believed that to render service is greater than to demand it, the nation has again become welded into a united Empire, with common aims and common aspirations.

‘To travel hopefully is better than to arrive,
And the true success is labour.’



APPENDICES

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21. Other Scholarships and Prizes available.

I. UNIVERSITY LIFE IN EARLY TUDOR TIMES.

SIR THOMAS MORE's comment on the diet at Oxford, and at the several Inns in London at which scholars were supposed to be trained for the higher branches of the legal profession, is interesting :

'I have been brought up at Oxforde, at the Inns of Chancerie, at Lincoln's Inn, and also the King's Court, and so forth, from the lowest to the highest. . . . So we will not descend to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right worshipfull of good years do live full well, which if we the first year find ourselves not able to maintain, then will we the next year step one foote lower to New Inn fare with which maine an honest man is content. If that also exceed our abilities,

then we will the next year after fall to Oxford fare where many grave and ancient fathers be continuallie conversant, which if our power stretch not to maintaine then may we like poor scholars of Oxford goe a begging with our bags and wallets, and sing salve regina at rich men's doors where for pitie some good folks will give us their merciful charitie and so keep company and be merrie together.

'There be divers there, whych rise dayly betwixt foure and fyve of the clock in the mornynge, and from fyve until syxe of the clock use common prayer, wyth an exhortation of God's worde in a common chapell, and from syxe unto ten of the clock use ever eyther pryvate study or common lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner, where they be contente with a perye piece of biefe amongst four having a few potage made of the broth of the same beefe wyth salte and otemele, and nothynges elles. After this slender dinner they be eyther teachinge or learninge untill fyve of the clocke in the evenynge, when as they have a supper not much better than their dinner, immediatlye after the which they goo eyther to reasoninge in problemes or unto some other studye untill it be nine or tenne of the clocke, and then being without fyre, are feyne to walke or run up and downe haulfe an hour to get a heate on their fete when they go to bed.

'There be menne not werye of their paynes but berye sorye to leve theyr studye, and sure they be not able some of them to continue for lack of necessary exhibition and relief.'

2. NATIONAL PHYSICAL TRAINING IN HENRY VIII.'s REIGN.

The matter of National Physical Training then received full attention. An Act was passed in 1542, which enjoined more strict training in archery. 'Also the father governor and ruler of such as be of tender age, to teach and bring up them in that knowledge of the same shooting, and that every man having a male child or men children in his house, shall provide, ordayne or have in his house for every man child being of the age of 7 years and above till he shall come to the age of 17 years, a bow and two shafts, to induce and learn them, and bring them up in shooting, bows of Yew only to be used by those whose fathers have estate yearly rental of £11 or be worth in moveables the sum of 40 marks sterling.' It was the duty of the Manchester Court Leet to provide shooting butts for the archers.

This statute of Henry VIII. was primarily designed to maintain the national defences of England, for in past times

English bowmen had won much renown. The neglect of active out-door sport by townsmen in favour of indoor and less active amusements such as cock-fighting, tended to promote effeminacy and to occasion some anxiety on the part of the rulers who, even at this date, thus sought to correct what a later age would have described as the physical deterioration of the town dweller.

Cock-fighting,¹ a favourite amusement with all classes on Shrove Tuesday, the public holiday, was particularly enjoyed by Grammar School boys, who were also accustomed to the cruel sport of tying cocks to a post and shying sticks and stones at them. These cocks were often kept by ushers or subordinates, who eked out their scanty stipends by the fees which they charged school boys for the maintenance of the cocks, such payment being known as cock-pennies. Cock-fighting had always been a source of social disorder by attracting a rabble. It had been forbidden in 1365, and was again forbidden by Henry VIII. Its prevalence is indicated by the fact that boys were expressly forbidden by the School Statutes to attend.

3. PURITAN EFFORTS TO FOUND A SCHOLARSHIP SYSTEM.

The remarkable efforts put forth by the Puritans to choose and train preachers is shown by the following extracts from 'A Model for the Education of Students of Choice Abilities at the University, and principally in order to the Ministry,' by Matthew Poole, April 1, 1658 :

Section 1.—That a Subscription be made by such whose hearts are affected with God's Glory and the Churches good in the advancement of learning and piety.

Section 3.—That the money collected be disposed of by persons chosen to be trustees not exceeding the number of fifty, whereof thirty to be gentlemen or citizens of eminence, and twenty to be ministers in or within five miles of the city of London ; of which number any seven to be a quorum, whereof three to be ministers.

Section 5.—That the trustees, or any five of them (whereof three to be ministers) appointed by the rest or any nine of the rest met together . . . shall go about to schools in or within twenty miles of the city of London, or thereabouts ; and shall confer with the schoolmasters, and out of six of the most ingenious boys being strictly examined, two of the best be chosen. And so to go from one school to another.

¹ Chambers' *Book of Days* ; Hone's *Every-Day Book* ; Notes and Queries, *Manchester City News*, December 24, 1886.

And because we would not have the benefit of this work confined to London and the adjacent parts : we would have ingenious boys of any county to be capable of it, and therefore if any lad of rare parts from any place be recommended and found to be such, that care be taken to maintain and instruct him more perfectly in some eminent school where the trustees think fit, and so send him to the University : and that for this present time (but no more) the students be picked out of the most ingenious scholars of the first or second year that now are at the University, six out of twelve ; and that more respect be had to their parts than learning, seeing learning may be added.

Section 6.—That the boys to be chosen be, as of eminent parts, so of an ingenious disposition, not enemies to godliness, nor such as have a sufficient maintenance any other way. That they be the children of such parents as are not scoffers at godliness. 2. Nor men of corrupt principles as to the weighty points of religion. 3. Such as are poor or but in a mean condition. Yet if a boy be towardly and pious, his parents' corruption shall be no prejudice to him, but godliness wherever it is shall be in a special manner considered.

Section 7.—That the boys so chosen be sent to the University, and be there placed under such tutors as the trustees shall choose . . . that there they have 10 or 15 or 20 pounds a year allowed them, as the trustees shall think fit, till they be bachelars, and if need require, and the trustees see fit, that they be considered for their degree (as also afterwards for their Master of Arts degree) and after they are bachelars, (if they have been very diligent, &c.) 20 or 30 pounds a year as the trustees think fit. And that they shall be obliged to study to be eminent in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and in the several Arts and Sciences, still reserving a power to the trustees to consider the differences of the parts or dispositions of lads, and accordingly to accommodate them as they see cause. And that over and besides their ordinary Universities exercises, they be tied to special exercises in those things as shall be thought fit by the trustees, and such learned men in the University as they shall advise with, as the making of speeches, verses, epistles, &c., in the languages, holding disputations and making lectures in the Mathematick, Civil Law, &c.

Section 8.—That they have their allowance continued for eight years and that they intend and direct their studies towards the Ministry.

Ten more sections follow, and the whole document, of

which seven editions were published, was signed by heads of colleges at Oxford University and at Cambridge University. Some £900 was collected. The whole scheme naturally fell to the ground on the restoration of the Stuarts.

4. NOTES ON THE TRADE RELATIONSHIPS AND CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS OF TUDOR MANCHESTER.

In an Elizabethan novel 'The Honour of the Cloth Working Trade or the pleasant and famous History of Thomas of Reading and other Worthy Clothiers of the West and North of England,' by Thomas Deloney of Reading, of which the earliest known edition is dated 1612:

'In this King's Days (*i.e.* Henry I, an entirely erroneous date), there were men of good credit, the six worthy husbands of the West.

'Then there were three great clothiers living in the North, that is to say—Cuthbert of Kendal, Hodgekins of Halifax, and Martin Byrom of Manchester. Everyone of these kept a great number of servants at work, spinners, carders, weavers, fullers, dyers, shearmen and rowers, to the great admiration of all those that came into their house to behold them.' To this account Hollingworth adds, 'He sayeth also that the said Martin gave much money toward the building of a free school in Manchester, which, if true, the money was lost in some way or other wickedly alienated (which in time of the civil warres might easily be done) for no free school was built for about 400 years after. The Byrom Chapel, however, is known to have existed in 1506.'

The demand for wool early caused sheep-rearing to be remunerative. This in turn raised the status of the yeoman and farmer classes. Immigrants, both merchants and tradesmen, gathered into the town, so that when John Leland, the King's librarian and antiquary, made his journey in 1533, 'with power to search all cathedrals, abbeys, and colleges, for records' he spoke of Manchester in the following terms:

'Manchester is the fairest, best builded, quickest, and most populous town of all Lancastershire, yet is in it but one parochial church, but is a College and, almost throughout, doubled iyled [aisled] (ex quadrato lapidi durissimo), whereof a goodly quarry is hard by the towne. There be divers stone bridges in the town but the best [is] of 3 arches over Irwell. This bridge divides Manchester from Salford, the which is a large suburb to Manchester. On this bridge is a pretty little chapel.

The next is the bridge that is over the Irk River, on which the fair built College stands, as in the very point of the mouth of it, for hard by it runs into the Irwell. On the Irk River there be divers fair mills that serve the town. There be two fair market places.'

In 1552 an Act was passed concerning the Woollen Trade, which shows the prominence Manchester had attained in making these goods. 'For the true making of woollen cloth, all the cottons called Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire cottons, should be in length 22 yards, &c., &c., . . . also all other cloths called Manchester rugs, otherwise Manchester friezes.'

The effect on the Grammar School of the administrative reforms of Queen Mary is shown at a Court Leet held September 30, 1556, when it was declared that 'all the inhabitants and householders shall have warning in the Church to come and grind their corn and grain at the mills belonging to the Free School of Manchester according to their duties and as they may be thereto bounden.'

The increased trade prosperity in Lancashire under Elizabeth is shown by the appointment, in 1565, of deputies of the Queen's Aulnegar (Seal-master) in Manchester, Rochdale, Bolton, Blackburn, and Bury, to examine and certify with the Queen's seal, cotton friezes and rugs. Much of the cloth was exported abroad. 'Rouen is the chiefest vent for Welsh and Manchester cottons (i.e. linen and woollen textiles), Northern Kerseys, White Lead, and Tin.' (Robert Hitchcock, 'Political Plan,' 1580.)

5. ABSTRACT OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDATION DEED OF THE MANCHESTER FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Extracted from the Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning Charities, dated 24th June, 1826.

By Indenture, bearing date 20th August, 7th Henry VIII. (1515), between Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, the Rev. Thomas Langley, rector of Prestwich, Hugh Bexwyke, chaplain, and Ralph Hulme, gentleman, of the first part; the abbot and convent of Whalley of the second part; and the Warden and Fellows of the college of Manchester, of the third part; reciting, that the said parties had often taken into consideration that the youth, particularly in the county of Lancaster, had for a long time been in want of instruction, as well on account of the poverty of their parents, as for

want of some person who should instruct them in learning and virtue, and therefore to the intent that there should be some fit person to teach youths and boys freely, without any thing to be given to, or to be taken by him, had covenanted and agreed as thereafter mentioned ; and further reciting, that the said Hugh Bexwyke and Ralph Hulme, together with Joan Bexwyke, widow, had by indenture bearing date 20th June then last, demised to the said warden and fellows all their lands, tenements, rents and services of the water corn-mills, called Manchester Corn-Mills, and all their tolls of, &c., to the tenants of Lord La Warr, for 70 years, at the yearly rent of 13 marks, payable to the said Lord La Warr ; and further reciting, that the said Hugh Bexwyke, Ralph Hulme, and Joan Bexwyke, had by deed, bearing the same date as that indenture, released to the said warden and fellows all their right in the said premises, to the use and intent thereafter expressed ; and further reciting, that the said Ralph Hulme and Richard Hunt had by indenture bearing date 2nd July then last, demised to the said warden and fellows the messuages, lands, and tenements, &c., in Ancoats, which they had held jointly with Roger Sondeforth, D.D., deceased, John Veysey, archdeacon of Chester, and Thomas Marler of the gift and feoffment of Barnard Oldham, archdeacon of Cornwall, to hold to the said warden and fellows for the like term of 70 years, paying the accustomed rents and services to the chief lord ; and further reciting, that the said Ralph Hulme and Richard Hunt had by deed bearing date 6th July then last, released all their right and interest in the said premises to the said warden and fellows and their successors, to the use and intent thereafter expressed. all which premises above mentioned were stated to be of the yearly value of £40, and were given to the said warden and fellows to the intent that they, with the rents and profits thereof, should perform the agreements thereafter expressed. It was witnessed, that for the performance and execution of so great a work, the said parties covenanted and agreed that the said Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, the said warden and fellows, and the said Thomas Langley, Hugh Bexwyke and Ralph Hulme, during the lives of the said bishop, and of the said Thomas, Hugh and Ralph, should provide and nominate a fit person, secular or regular, learned and fit to be master, to teach and instruct scholars in grammar, in the town of Manchester, according to the form of grammar then taught in the school in the town of Banbury in Oxfordshire, and an usher (hostiarius) or substitute to such master, to teach such grammar

in his absence, or for his assistance ; and after the death of the persons above named, that the said wardens and fellows for the time being should for ever provide such master, &c. ; and the said warden and fellows agree to pay annually, without any deduction, £10 to the said master, and £5 to the said usher ; and William Pleasington was thereby appointed as the person who should first, freely and without any thing to be therefore given to him, except his stipend, instruct in grammar all boys and children in the said town of Manchester, coming to him in the place appointed for the purpose ; and Richard Wolstoncroft was appointed to be the usher to teach such boys as aforesaid coming to him, without any thing to be taken by him, except his salary appointed as aforesaid ; and it was agreed, that in case the said warden and fellows for the time being should be remiss or negligent, or should not be able to agree in the election of a master or usher within two months after a vacancy, the abbot of Whalley and his successors for the time being should elect for that turn ; and that the said master and usher should not be removed except for reasonable cause, as for incontinence, or neglect of their scholars, or such like, which should be brought to the notice of the said warden and fellows ; and that the master and usher should perform certain services in the church therein mentioned, and that the said warden and fellows should provide for such services, and make certain payments for the same ; and that upon every nomination of a master and usher so to be appointed as aforesaid, the said warden and fellows should cause the said master and usher respectively to take an oath, impartially and indifferently to teach and correct the boys and scholars, and to use due diligence therein, and that they would not take any the smallest gifts, by colour of their office, or for their teaching, except their stipends.

By Lease, bearing date 11th October, 7th Henry VIII., the said warden and fellows demised the Manchester Corn-Mills, and the premises at Ancoats, to the said Hugh Bexwyke and Joan Bexwyke for 60 years, at the yearly rent of £15 18s. over and above the rent of £9 13s. 4d. payable to the said Lord La Warr.

Notwithstanding it appears from the above-abstracted indenture and the deeds therein recited, that the mills and other premises therein mentioned were vested in the warden and fellows of the college of Manchester, as trustees, for the support of a grammar school, yet within a few years afterwards they became, with some additional premises, the subject of the following conveyance from the before-mentioned

Hugh Bexwyke and Joan Bexwyke to other trustees, which conveyance, with the ordinances contained in the schedule annexed thereto, may be considered the foundation-deed of the school, as it at present (1826) exists, and in which no notice is taken of the former grants.

ABSTRACT OF THE FURTHER AND PRINCIPAL FOUNDATION DEED OF THE MANCHESTER FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, CONTAINING THE STATUTES.

Extracted from the Report of the Commissioners for enquiring concerning Charities already referred to.

By indenture of feoffment, bearing date 1st April, 16th Henry VIII. (1525), reciting, that Thomas West Lord La Warr had by deed indented, bearing date 3rd October, 1st Henry VIII., granted and confirmed to the said Hugh Bexwyke and Joan Bexwyke, with the said Ralph Hume, since deceased, all the lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and services of his water-corn-mills, called Manchester Mills, situate in the town of Manchester, on the stream of Irk, and also the tolls of all the tenants and servants of the said Lord La Warr in Manchester, and of all other residents there; and also his fulling-mill there, called a Walke Mill, on the same stream of Irk, and a close of land in Manchester, called Walker's Croft, and the water or stream of Irk, and the free fishery thereof from a place called Asshelle Lawn unto the river Irwell, and all his lands and tenements adjacent and adjoining without the several closes and burgages on both sides of the said stream of Irk, from Asshelle Lawn to the river Irwell; and also full power and authority to make and fix mills or messuages, and so many and such weirs, engines, and fastenings on both sides of the said stream of Irk, and upon, through and across the same stream, from Asshelle Lawn to the river Irwell, as to them should seem fit, and to repairing the same weirs, &c.; to hold to the said Hugh and Joan, and the said Ralph Hulme, and their heirs to their own use: The said Hugh and Joan granted and confirmed to Lewis Pollard, knight, Anthony Fitzherbert, justice and knight, William Courtenay, knight, Thomas Denys, knight, Alexander Ratcliffe, knight, John Beron, knight, Edmund Trafford, Richard Assheton, Thurstan Tildesley, Robert Langley, Richard Holland, and John Reddiche, esquires, and their heirs, all the said mills, lands, tolls, and premises; and the said Hugh and Joan further granted and confirmed to the said Lewis Pollard and others,

and their heirs, all their messuages, lands, rents, &c., in the hamlet of Ancoats, in the town of Manchester; and one burgage, lying in the Mill Gate in the town of Manchester, between a burgage lately of one John Platt on the one side, and the Hunt Lode on the other side, which burgage the said Hugh and Joan lately had to them and their heirs from the gift and feoffment of John Bishop of Exeter, and Thomas Marler, as appeared from a deed indented, bearing date 19th May, 16th Henry VIII. And the said Hugh and Joan thereby granted to the said Lewis Pollard, and others, and their heirs, the house called Manchester School House, and the land on which the same was built, in the northern part of the town of Manchester, between a stone chimney of George Trafford on the east, the eastern part of the college of Manchester on the west, the road leading from the said college to a street called Mill Gate on the south, and the water called Irk on the north; which messuage and land they had to them and their heirs of the gift and feoffment of Thomas Langley and Hugh Marler, as appeared by a deed dated 31st March, 16th Henry VIII.; to hold the said mills, messuages, lands, and premises to the said Lewis Pollard and others, and their heirs, to the use of the said Hugh and Joan for their lives, and the life of the survivor, so that they and the survivor of them should fulfil all the ordinances and constitutions contained and expressed in a certain schedule annexed to that deed; and after their decease, to the use and intent that the said Lewis Pollard and others should fulfil the said ordinances and constitutions.

In the annexed schedule, after reciting that the right reverend Hugh Oldham, late Bishop of Exeter, deceased, considering that the bringing up of children in good learning and manners was the chief cause to advance knowledge, and that the liberal science or art of grammar was the ground and fountain of all the other liberal arts and sciences, and for the good mind which he had and bore to the county of Lancashire, where the learning of grammar had not been taught for lack of sufficient schoolmaster and usher, had at his great costs and charges within the town of Manchester builded an house, joining to the college of Manchester in the west, the water called Irk in the north, the way going from the said college into a street called Mill Gate in the south, and a stone chimney of George Trafford in the east, for a free school, there to be kept for evermore, and to be called 'Manchester School,' and that for the same intent the said bishop at his further charge had purchased a lease of many years then to come of the Corn Mills of Manchester, with the appurtenances, and

had also caused other lands and tenements in Manchester, called Ancoats, and a burgage in Mill Gate, to be disposed and converted to the use of the continuance of teaching and learning in the same school for ever as thereafter was declared ; and also that for the continuance and maintenance of the same school, the said Hugh and Joan Bexwyke, at their cost and charge had purchased to them and their heirs, and to the said Ralph Hulme deceased, all the mills, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services and hereditaments contained and specified in the said indenture : It is stated that the said Hugh and Joan had by the said indenture given and granted all and singular the same premises to the said Lewis Pollard, knight, and others, and their heirs, to the intent, that they, their heirs and assigns for ever should stand thereof seised to the use therein specified, and should perform and observe all the acts, ordinances, and constitutions thereafter ensuing by the said Hugh and Joan made and specified in the said schedule for the maintenance of the same grammar school ; that is to say,

‘ First, The said Lewis and other his co-feoffees beforesaid, their heirs and assigns, of the issues, revenues, and profits coming, rising, and growing of the said mills, lands, tenements, and other the premises contained and specified in the said deeds indented, the said school-house called “ Manchester School,” sufficiently shall repair, sustain, maintain, or cause to be repaired, sustained, and maintained, for evermore, in covering, walling, and such other as by the discretion of the warden of the said college of Manchester or his deputy, and the churchwardens of the said college church for the time being, shall be thought necessary.

‘ Item, Within the same school, nor library of the same, by night or by day, any other arts, things, plays, or other occupations be had or used in them or any of them, but always kept honest and cleanly, as it beseemeth a school or a library, and that after the cleanest manner, without any lodging there of any schoolmaster or of any usher or either of them, or of any other person or persons.

‘ Item, That the said school be weekly, once in the week, made clean, by two poor scholars of the same house thereunto assigned by the high master for the time being, or in his absence by the usher ; the same poor scholars therefore to have of every scholar, at his first admitting, one penny sterling, and therefore to write in a several book all the names of scholars that do come into the same school as scholars, and that book and books thereof always to be kept, and every third year to be delivered to the warden of the said college of Manchester,

or his deputy, to the intent that therein may and shall always appear, which have been brought up in the same school, and so they to have exhibitions to Oxford or Cambridge as hereafter is expressed.

‘Item, If there be sickness infective, as pestilence universal, the school to be left for the time being, by the discretion of the warden of Manchester college for the time being, or his deputy, and if such sickness continue by the space of twelve weeks whole, so that the master and usher there teach not usually by the same space, then the master and usher every of them to have but half the said wages for that time; and if it continue the half year, they to have in like manner; and if it continue by the space of 12 months, so then they to have £6. 13s. 4d. and no more, that to be divided between them according to their portions of wages; and the rest of their said wages then to go to the store chests set and ordained to keep the money and receipts of the said lands and tenements.’

‘Acts concerning the naming of the Schoolmaster, and Usher, and their Ordinances.’

‘Item, The said Hugh Bexwyke and Joan Bexwyke, during their life and the longer liver of them, shall name, choose and elect a convenient person and schoolmaster, single man, priest or not priest, so that he be no religious man, being a man honest of his living and whole of body, as not being vexed or infect with any continual infirmity or disease, and having sufficient literature and learning to be a schoolmaster, and able to teach children grammar after the school use, manner and form of the school of Banbury, in Oxfordshire, now there taught, which is called “Stanbridge Grammar,” or after such school-use manner as in time to come shall be ordained universally throughout all the province of Canterbury.

‘Item, The said Hugh and Joan, during their life as beforesaid, shall name, choose and elect a convenient usher in like manner as they do elect and name the abovesaid high-master.

‘Item, After the death of the same Hugh and Joan, and either of them, the president of Corpus Christi College of Oxford for the time being, and his successors, shall within one month after the death or departure of every schoolmaster and usher, and either of them, name, elect and choose a schoolmaster and usher, and either of them as before is expressed,

being a man honest and literate, not regular, as he shall think convenient ; and if the said president do not name, elect and choose the master and usher within the said month as is after expressed, then the said warden or deputy of the college of Manchester for the time being shall, within one other month then next ensuing, name, elect and choose such master and usher, and either of them, as before is expressed in the first chapter of the master, being a man honest and literate, as they shall think convenient.

‘Item, that every schoolmaster and usher, for ever, from time to time shall teach freely and indifferently every child and scholar coming to the same school, without any money or other rewards taken therefor, as cock-penny, victor-penny, potation penny, or any other whatsoever it be, except only his said stipend and wages hereafter specified.

‘Item, That the high-master and his usher for the time being, if they be within holy orders, at every festival day and double feast, being kept holy day, in the year, yearly be at Divine Service in their surplice in the choir of the college of Manchester aforesaid, and be there at the commandment of the warden of the said college, or his deputy for the time being.

‘Item, The high-master and the usher, for the time being, every Wednesday and Friday weekly for ever, with their scholars being and going two and two together, shall go in procession solemnly before the warden of the same college, or his deputy for the time being, and fellows of the same, and their successors for ever, if they have any procession for the day ; and every scholar to say, if he be able of learning, the common Litany, with the suffrages following, and “De profundis” for the soul of Hugh Oldham, late bishop of Exeter, and founder of their school, his father and mother’s souls, and for the souls of Sir Richard Ardern, Henry Trafford, and Thomasin his wife, deceased, and for the souls of George Trafford, of “The Garrett,” and Margaret, his wife, then next and immediately ensuing, when and what time it shall please God Almighty of his mercy and grace to call for the said George and Margaret, or either of them ; and for the souls of Hugh Bexwyke, clerk, and Joan Bexwyke, widow, special benefactors of the said school, when and what time it shall please God Almighty of his mercy and grace to call for the said Hugh and Joan, or either of them, and for the souls of all the feoffees and benefactors to the maintenance of the same school at that day departed, and all Christian souls, and for the good prosperity of the feoffees and benefactors then being in life.

‘Item, That no high-master or usher be expelled or

removed against his will from the said school and office of high-master or usher, except it be for his or their mis-living, or insufficient attending or teaching the scholars there, or having any sickness or disease incurable, as pox, leprosy, or such other great offences or sicknesses, which be and shall be reserved to the discretion and order of the warden of the college church of Manchester aforesaid for the time being, or his deputy.

‘Item, Every schoolmaster and usher, in form aforesaid elect and chosen, within one month of his said election or putting in to the said office, shall, before the warden of the said college of Manchester, or in his absence before his deputy of the same college, swear upon the Evangelists that he shall diligently and indifferently teach and correct all and every the said scholars of the same school for the time being, all fraud, guile and deceit in that behalf only laid apart.

‘Item, The master or usher, which of them cometh first into the school in the morning, say openly with the scholars there, this psalm, “Deus misereatur nostri,” with a collect as they use in churches Dominical days, and every night in such like manner, the master or usher to sing the anthem of our Blessed Lady, and say “De profundis,” for the soul of the late bishop of Exeter, Hugh Oldham, founder of that school, his father and mother, and for the souls of Sir Richard Arderon, Henry Trafford, Thomasin his wife, deceased; and for the souls of George Trafford, of “The Garrett,” and Margaret his wife, then next and immediately ensuing, when and at what time it shall please Almighty God of his mercy and grace to call for the said George and Margaret, or either of them, and for all the souls of the feoffees and benefactors of the same departed, and all Christian souls, and to say in audible voice in the school before the beginning of “De profundis,” in this manner, For the soul of Hugh Oldham, late bishop of Exeter, founder of our school, and his father and mother’s souls, and for the souls of George Trafford and Margaret his wife, and for all the souls that they be bounded to pray for, and for all the benefactors’ souls, and all Christian souls, “De profundis.”

‘Item, That no high-master nor usher leave or depart from the said school, except he thereof give openly knowledge to the warden or his deputy, and openly in the school before the scholars, by the space of 14 weeks before his or their departure, or else to leave and lose his or their quarter’s wages that so departeth.

‘Item, The said high-master, nor his usher, shall grant no license to the scholars there to play or depart from their school and learning, except it be by the consent of the warden or deputy of the said college of Manchester for the time being,

and then to play honest games and convenient for youth, and all together and in one place, to use their Latin tongue.

‘Item, The said high-master and usher to continue teaching in their schools before every feast, unto four days next before every feast, as Easter and Christmas.

‘Item, Every high-master and usher shall take yearly only 20 days to sport them at one time or sundry times, as they be not both absent at one time.

‘Item, That if the high-master be sick of sickness incurable, or fall into such age that he may not conveniently teach, and hath been a man that long and laudably hath taught in the said school, then he to have of the surplusage and store belonging to the same school, yearly, £4 sterling.

‘Item, In like manner the usher to have yearly four marks.

‘Item, If the high-master be sick of sickness curable, the usher to help him, and to take the more pain upon him, and also to have for his said pain, by the discretion of the said warden or deputy of the said college of Manchester, of the wages of the said high-master; and in likewise if the said usher be sick, then the high-master to take more pain in teaching the scholars, and to have part of the wages of the said usher, by the discretion of the warden of the said college, or his deputy.

‘Item, The high-master for the time being shall always appoint one of his scholars, as he thinketh best, to instruct and teach in the one end of the school all infants that shall come there to learn their A B C, primer, and so forth till they begin grammar, and every month to choose another new scholar, so to teach infants; and if any scholar refuse so to teach infants at the commandment of the said high-master, or in the absence of the high-master at the commandment of the usher for the time being, the same scholar so refusing to be banished the same school for ever.

‘Item, The usher being well literated and honest of his living, shall have the high-master’s room and office, whenever it is void, before any other, if he be able in learning.

‘Item, If it happen the high-master and usher to be both sick at once, and of sickness curable, as agues and such other, then they to hire one sufficient after the use aforesaid, to teach for them, and they to pay his wages, that is to say portionably, after their wages, the high-master more than the usher or sur-master, after the discretion of the warden or his deputy.’

‘Acts and Ordinances concerning the Scholars.’

‘Item, There shall be no scholar nor infant, of what country or shire soever he be, being man-child, be refused

except he have some horrible or contagious infirmity infective, as pox, leprosy, pestilence for the time being, or such other infirmities which be, and shall be always remitted to the discretion of the warden or deputy of Manchester college for the time being.

‘Item, Every scholar within the same school shall be obedient to help the schoolmaster and usher for the time being, for the correction lawfully of any scholar or scholars of the same school, at the commandment of the schoolmaster or usher for the time being.

‘Item, No scholar then being at school, wear any dagger, hanger or other weapon invasive, nor bring into the school staff or bat, except their meat knife.

‘Item, That no scholar there make any affray within the same school upon the master, the usher, or upon any other scholar of the same school, upon pain of leaving off his said school by one month ; and if any scholar there make two frays as above is said, then to leave the same school by the space of two months ; and if any make the third, he to be banished the same school for ever without any favour.

‘Item, The scholars of the same school shall use no cock-fight nor other unlawful games, and riding about for victory and other disports had in these parts, which be to the great let of learning and virtue, and to charge and costs of the scholars and of their friends.

‘Item, That every scholar of the same school be at the said school in the morning betwixt Michaelmas and Easter before seven of the clock, and between Easter and Michaelmas at six of the clock, except such as come daily far to their learning, which shall come to the school at such an hour as shall be limited to them by the master, according to the distance of the place that they come from.

‘Item, That the master or usher be in the school at the hour limited to the scholars.

‘Item, Every scholar pay at his first admitting and writing in of his name in the book of scholars one penny sterling, and not above, that always to be paid to the two poor children for the time being which keep the book of scholars’ names, and make clean the school, as is before rehearsed.

‘Item, That no scholar shall bring meat or drink into the school, nor there to use their meat and drink ; but always, if any such poor scholars there be, that for their great poverty bring their meat and drink with them, they to go to some house in the town there to eat and drink, and so to resort again to the school.

‘Item, That if any scholar of the same school go from

and forsake the same, and repair to any other school, and after return again to the same school, he to be taken again for one time ; but at the second departure he to be excluded and banished the same school for ever without any favour.

‘Item, That the schoolmaster and usher shall cause all scholars, being learned in grammar, at all times to use to speak their Latin tongue within the school, and all other places convenient.’

‘Acts for the Wages of the Schoolmaster and Usher.’

‘Item, The said Hugh and Joan, and either of them longest living, with the issues and profits of the above-named mills, lands, tenements, reversions and services, called “Manchester Mills,” shall by them, or their sufficient deputy, pay or cause to be paid yearly, without fraud, guile, delay or deceit, at the feasts of Easter, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, and the Nativity of our Lord, by equal portions, £10 sterling, that is to say, at every of the feasts aforesaid 50s. to the high-master there for the time being teaching.

‘Item, That the said Hugh and Joan, in like manner, shall pay or cause to be paid of the issues and profits aforesaid yearly £5 sterling to the usher sur-master there for the time being teaching, that is to say, at every of the feasts aforesaid 25s. sterling.

‘Item, After the death of the same Hugh and Joan, the within-named Lewis Pollard, knight, Anthony Fitzherbert, Justice William Courtenay, knight, Thomas Denys, knight, Alexander Radcliffe, knight, John Beron, knight, Edmund Trafford, Richard Ashton, Thurston Tildesley, Robert Langley, Richard Holland and John Reddiche, and their heirs, by them, or by their sufficient deputy, shall, with the issues and profits aforesaid, pay or cause to be paid the wages yearly of the high-master and usher in manner and form as is aforesaid, for ever.

‘Item, That if any man, being high-master or usher sur-master for any time being, happen to die before the quarter payment as is aforesaid, then the same master or usher sur-master, his executors or assigns, that so shall happen to die, shall be paid after the rate and time of his death as the same quarter wages will amount.

‘Item, In like manner the high-master or sur-master that happen to come and teach in the same school before the quarter, he to have after the rate of his quarter wages for the coming and teaching before the quarter.

‘Item, The wages of the receiver of the lands concerning

the same school shall be 20s. yearly, to be paid at Michaelmas, when he maketh his accompts, and not otherwise.'

' Acts for the Feoffees.

'Item, When it shall happen the said feoffees to die to the number of four, then the same four to make like feoffment and articles, in manner as this is, to twelve honest gentlemen and honest persons within the same parish of Manchester, and so they in like manner to make from time to time for ever, when it cometh to the number of four, to the use aforesaid.

'Item, The feoffees for the time being shall make no manner of lease or estate of the said mills, lands, or tenements belonging to the same school, or any parcel thereof, above ten years.

'Item, The abbot of Whalley for the time being shall name from time to time one substantial person dwelling within the parish of Manchester, putting in surety to be bounden to two of the said feoffees, to make true accompts and pay quarterly the master and usher as is aforesaid, and also paying to the lords their rents due and accustomed, which shall receive the rents and profits of all the whole lands concerning the same school; which receiver shall make his accompts for the said receipt, and for all necessary reparations and payments done there, once in the year at Manchester, before the warden of the college, or his deputy, two of the feoffees, and the high schoolmaster for the time being, if they can be at it, or two of these persons at the least there, to make a true accompt of everything, and true allowance ask upon his oath, and bring and deliver yearly the surplusage above all wages, reparations, and such other necessary expenses; the same surplusage to be, by the auditors aforesaid there being present, put into a chest therefore made, remaining in the vestry of the said college of Manchester, whereof the feoffees for the time being shall have one key, and the master of the college for the time being another, the abbot of Whalley for the time being the third, the high schoolmaster for the time being the fourth key, so that the said chest in nowise may be opened except all four keys come together.

'Item, The said warden or deputy, the two feoffees, and the high schoolmaster for the time being, for their pain in hearing and viewing the said receiver's accompts, shall have a dinner of 5s. charge among them that be present at the said audit yearly.

'Item, When it shall happen the chest to be at surplusage

the sum of £40 sterling, the rest to be given to the exhibition of scholars yearly at Oxford or Cambridge, which hath been brought up in the said school of Manchester, and also only such as study art in the said Universities, and to such as lack exhibition, by the discretion of the said warden or deputy and high-master for the time being, so no one scholar have yearly above 26s. 8d. sterling; and that till such time as he have some promotion by fellowship of one college or hall, or other exhibition, to the sum of seven marks.

'Item, The feoffees of the time being shall pay of the stock being in the said chest all charges in the law, if any happen to be, for the defence of the lands of the said school, or any part thereof; and also shall pay the costs and charges of making of new feoffments, and acts and ordinances for the good maintenance of the same, when need shall require, as well to substantial learned counsel in the law, temporal and spiritual, as also for writing and engrossing of the same, with all other necessary expenses belonging to the same.

'Item, The masters and fellows of the said college shall have yearly for their good and safe looking to the same chest, and because it shall stand in their vestry, the sum of 3s. 4d. every Michaelmas yearly to them and their successors for ever be truly contented and paid.

'Item, Notwithstanding those statutes and ordinances before written, yet because in time to come many things may and shall survive and grow by sundry occasions and causes, which at the making of these present acts, ordinances, were not possible to come to mind; in consideration whereof, we the said Lewis, Anthony, William, and other our co-feoffees, trusting greatly to the fidelity of the above-named feoffees, and other hereafter to come, will that they hereafter from time to time, when need shall require, calling to them discreet learned counsel and men of good literature, they to have full power and authority to augment, increase, expound and reform all the said acts, ordinances, articles, compositions, and agreements, only concerning the schoolmaster, usher, and the scholars, for their and every of their offices concerning the said free school for ever.'

6. THE BILL OF COSTS FOR BUILDING THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The building of the Manchester School actually took place in 1515. The following is extracted from the documents in possession of the School:

'SUMMARY of the Account of Mr. Hugh Beswyck, Master

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of the work of the new Grammar School in the town of Manchester, from the foundation and expense of the Reverend Father and lord in Christ, Lord Hugh, Bishop of Exeter.

‘ Begun on 28th day of April in the 8th year of King Henry VIII. until 28th day of August in the 10th year of the King aforesaid.

‘ He is accountable for :

Received from the Bishop—	£	s.	d.
per Ralph Hulme & Richard Hunt .	100	0	0
per Thomas Langley, Rector of Prestwich	20	0	0
per Sir Alexander Ratclyff	20	0	0
per Richard Heton	20	0	0
per Lawrence Stavley, Receiver of Lancaster	20	0	0
per Thomas Langley aforesaid	22	0	0
from gift of Thomas Langley aforesaid	6	13	4
Total	£208	13	4

‘ He begs to be allowed off—

Paid in money to Thomas Langley by order of Bp. of Exeter	89	6	8
Paid in money to George Trafford for site of School 100 shillings	5	0	0
Paid in money to Masons and other workmen from 28th April 8 Henry VIII.—18 August following on construction of School as per bill shewn	12	1	10
Examd. and sworn to by said Accountant.			
Paid in money to Masons, carpenters, tilers and other labourers, also for lime, stones, sand, timbers, ironwork and other things employed			
From 18th August 8 Henry VIII. to 8 August 10 Henry VIII. as per book made up and written by said accountant and examined and sworn to by him	112	4	11
Total	218	13	5

Surplus of expenses	£10	0	1
Received rent of			
Ancoats, 2 yrs. .	£2	5	0
Paid — Two Oaks			
bought from Sir			
John Standley .	0	6	8
			<hr/>
		1	18 4
			<hr/>
		£8	1 9
			<hr/>

Received remainder and also £10 from
Bishop for necessary work at the
School.'

7. SOME LOCAL FRIENDS OF HUGH OLDHAM.

The friends to whom Hugh Oldham entrusted the oversight of the new School in 1515 were :

Robert Cliffe, who was in some way connected with Whalley Abbey, since, in 1478, he was in receipt of a pension from the Abbey funds. In 1483 Cliffe had become connected with the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen's, Westminster. He was admitted to Cambridge University 1488, had graduated B.C.L. in 1496, and was elected to the wardenship of Manchester Collegiate Church in 1506. He was evidently a close friend, and perhaps the *locum tenens* of James Stanley, the preceding warden, who had left Manchester and become Bishop of Ely.

John Paslow, the Abbot of Whalley, was also in the confidence of Hugh Oldham, for, in an early agreement drawn up in 1515, he was appointed co-trustee of the property together with Warden Cliffe and two members of Hugh Oldham's own family.

A third friend of Hugh Oldham was *Thomas Langley*, who had been appointed rector of Prestwich in 1498 and who died in 1524. He was a member of the family to which Cardinal Langley, Bishop of Durham, the founder of the Middleton School, belonged. Warden Cliffe and the Abbot Paslow were at first entrusted with the appointment of the future headmasters and ushers, and Thomas Langley was to be associated with them in the general supervision of the School. Their subsequent history gives further insight into their character as well as into the customs of the age.

Dr. Robert Cliffe resigned the wardenship of the Manchester College in 1516, on his appointment as chancellor, to James Stanley, now Bishop of Ely. In his new situation he showed his zeal for reform by inflicting punishment for grave immorality on a dissolute scholar, whom the University of Cambridge regarded as not under his but their own jurisdiction, though they would take no notice of his fault. It was claimed by the University authorities that he had exceeded his authority, and as he refused to withdraw, he was excommunicated by Cardinal Wolsey, but ultimately received pardon on acknowledging his error. Cliffe died in 1538.

John Paslow, who was the twenty-fifth Abbot of Whalley, showed an equally courageous spirit, for after the alienation and destruction of his abbey, so long regarded as a centre of learning, he joined in the insurrection of Robert Aske in 1536, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was caught, and with one of his monks was hanged at Lancaster by the Earl of Shrewsbury, ostensibly for resuming his preaching at the disestablished abbey, but really because he was known as an opponent of the great confiscation of Church property that had been going on.

If Hugh Oldham can be judged by his friends, these details will help us to elucidate his character.

8. EARLY SCHOOLMASTERS AND SCHOLARS.

A MS. list of the early high masters was compiled by the Rev. Henry Brooke (headmaster 1730–1749), which, though helpful, is manifestly imperfect. It has been copied with some annotations, which do not add to its accuracy, by William Whatton, in the ‘Foundations in Manchester.’ As two very evident mistakes occur in the Christian names, there may also be others not so readily detected, and this makes it impossible to identify all of those given. Perhaps also the names of some ushers are included in the list of high masters.

William Pleasington¹ and Richard Wolstencroft are mentioned in the 1515 deed as master and usher. On H. Brooke’s list the names of Henry Plaisington, William Hinde, James Pluntree and Richard Bradshaw, Thos. Wrench and William Jackson are given. William Plaisington was perhaps a Lancashire man, as the village of Pleasington is near

¹ ‘William’ in the 1515 deed; ‘Thomas’ in Whatton’s list; ‘Henry’ in H. Brooke’s list.

Whalley. His name does not appear on any University lists. He may have been in charge of the Chantry School of Manchester, established in 1506 by Richard Bestwick. He probably died before 1525, as his name disappears in the deed of that date.

A certain John Hinde applies for a B.A. degree at Oxford, May 1515, and is excused from attending processions because he is '*ipo-didascalos ludi literariae Magdalensis et est etiam conjugatus*' (under-master of the occupations of the boys of Magdalen College School, and also married); while another John Hinde, from Middlesex, is mentioned as being a scholar and Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

John Plumtree (James, *cf.* Whatton's list), son of Henry of Nottingham, was admitted Corpus Christi College 1522, and took B.A. 1525. He appears at Lincoln Grammar School, 27 February 1547-8,¹ while Richard Wrench is also of Corpus Christi, B.A. 1524, M.A. 1530, the latter being described as a 'poore schoolmaster.'

The name Nicholas Plumtree occurs in connection with the Nottingham Grammar School about this date, and another John Plumtree was master at Lincoln, 10 July 1576 and 12 December 1588 (A. F. Leach).

The Bradshaws were a well-known Lancashire family, mention of whom frequently occurs in the private letters of John Bradford, the Manchester martyr, and some of them must have been his fellow-scholars; and one of them founded the Wigan Grammar School. Richard Bradshaw, the high master about 1534, was also a Fellow of the local collegiate body in 1533, at which date he attested the will of a Thomas Pendleton, whose son subsequently became high master of the School. He also received volumes from the library of Sir Richard Turton, 1592.

The most famous Tudor scholar was John Bradford, the martyr. Members of the Bradford family are mentioned in connection with the administration of the affairs of the county palatine. In 1437 William Bradford was appointed Prothonotary or Clerk of the Common Pleas. Other members of this family held similar posts towards the end of that century, when the name began to occur in connection with the collegiate church in Manchester. Unfortunately the references are too obscure for complete identification, but they help to justify the claim made by Fox that he was of gentle family. He was closely related through his mother, Ann Bestwick, to Hugh Oldham, the founder of the School.

¹ A. F. Leach, *Victoria County History of Lincoln*, vol. ii. p. 441.

The following description of him occurs in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs':

'JOHN BRADFORD, 1510-1555.—The most pious, as Ridley was the most learned and Cranmer the most renowned of the martyrs.

'His parents did bring him up in learning till he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who, in the great affairs of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., which he had in hand when he was Treasurer of the King's Camps and Buildings at divers times at Boulogne, had such experience of Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in these affairs but also in many others of his private business, he trusted John Bradford in such sort, that above all other he used his faithful service. Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life after the course of this world, like to come forward (as they say) if his mind could have so liked or had been given to the world as many others be. But the Lord . . . called him His chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same Gospel of life. In which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. He departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge to learn by God's law how to further the beginning of God's Temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profitting in knowledge and godly conversation so pleased all men that within one whole year after he had been there the University did give him the degree of Master of Arts. Immediately after, the Master and fellows of Pembroke Hall gave him a fellowship in their college, yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatever else the Lord hath committed unto thee.'

John Bradford soon attracted the notice of Bishop Ridley, and was made Prebendary of St. Paul's, where his preaching attracted so much notice that he was sent down to Lancashire to influence the general people in the teach-

ing of the Reformation. In Queen Mary's reign numerous attempts were made to convert him to the Romish faith, and he was visited while in prison by several of the Marian bishops.¹ When his removal by death was decided upon, his enemies wished the execution to take place in Lancashire, in order to overawe the people, but further knowledge of the strength of local feeling caused this idea to be abandoned.

In the virulent persecution of the Protestants neither Warden Collier, who died 1557, nor his successor, Laurence Vaux, had any share or sympathy. Collier indeed visited and argued with Bradford while in prison, but the interview was as painful to one as to the other.

Another famous scholar was LAURENCE VAUX. He was born about 1520, near Blackrod. He is believed to have received his education at the Manchester School and Queen's College, Oxford, whence he removed to Corpus Christi, already noted for its attention to the study of Greek. Vaux deserves notice both for his steadfast adherence to the older form of religious belief, and for the moderation with which he dealt with his opponents when they were within his power. He had been ordained in 1540, and took an active part in instructing youths in the Catholic faith, and against the reformed doctrines. He was first a 'priest curate,' or Fellow of the College of Manchester, with an income of £12 19s. 6d., and 'no other living,' and was appointed Warden by Queen Mary about 1557. The spirit of the new learning was within him, for while remaining a member of the Catholic Church he joined with Cardinal Allen in endeavouring to meet scholarship with scholarship, and took active part in the counter-reformation set up by the Catholic reformers, which resulted in the establishment of the Jesuit College of Douay, France, which was largely frequented, if not actually founded and supported, by Lancashire Catholics. On his refusal to take the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth, Vaux was deprived of his position and retired to his native place, where he acted as private chaplain to the Standish family, to whose custody he left the collegiate plate, 'till the restoration of Catholicism.' He made frequent journeys to the Continent, and established a school for Catholics at Louvain, compiling a catechism for the use of the scholars. He was reported by enemies 'to behave himself very seditiously and, contrary to his recognisance, to lurk in Lancashire, and thought to be maintained there

¹ See Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and *Letters and Writings of John Bradford*, Parker Society.

by earls and gentlemen of the county.' He was 'laborious in good work, learned, conscientious, and much respected in Manchester.'¹

EDWARD PENDLETON, son of Thomas Pendleton, of Manchester, merchant, Bachelor of Grammar, Oxford, 1547, was probably educated at this School. He became gymnasiarch, or high master of the School about 1547. He is described by Anthony à Wood as the 'famous schoolmaster of Manchester,' but unfortunately his title to fame does not rest on the excellence of his teaching, nor the flourishing state of the School, but upon the pliability with which his conscience so adapted itself to the changing times that he gained or retained ecclesiastical preferment under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth alike. He is one of three whose claim to the dignity of being the original hero of the *Vicar of Bray* is an unsettled literary problem. He was Fellow of the Collegiate Church, Manchester, and Vicar of Eccles, 1559. There is some difficulty in distinguishing his several appointments from those of his uncle, Henry Pendleton, of Brasenose College, Oxford, who probably shared his pliancy of conscience. He was of a singularly coarse habit of body, and owing to the plausibility of his utterances he was employed in Marian times to endeavour to counteract the work which John Bradford had so successfully accomplished.

WILLIAM BIRCH was the second son of George Birch and of Marion, daughter of Thomas Beck. He was the younger brother of John Birch, elected trustee, and his mother was a relative of the founder. After being educated at Manchester School, he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, as pensioner in 1544, which was then 'a very hot-bed of heresy,' and became an ardent reformer. He became B.A. 1547-8, and was next elected Fellow of Corpus Christi College. In 1551 he was ordained by Bishop Ridley, and appointed in 1552 a Royal Preacher in Edward VI.'s time. He went abroad during Mary's reign, and, returning on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, succeeded Laurence Vaux, a fellow schoolboy, in the wardenship of the Collegiate Church. This he resigned in 1565, and was succeeded by Herle. In 1567 he was deprived of his canonry of Durham for nonconformity, but retained the rectory of Stanhope. He died in 1575, leaving £10 apiece to twenty poor scholars in Latin in Manchester School.²

¹ See *Biography* by T. G. Law; also Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*.

² Cf. Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.*

RICHARD HALL was a younger son of Thomas Hall of Salford, and brother of another Thomas Hall, a priest and friend of John Bradford. He was probably educated at the Grammar School, and, if so, must have been a school-fellow of Warden Birch. He had been ordained deacon by John Bird, Bishop of Chester, 1542, and appointed Fellow of the Manchester College, 1559. He took charge of the Middleton School for a time, and must have received boarders, for in the probate of his will it is mentioned that Katherine Pendleton owed him 40s. for her son's table and 20s. lent money. The abuse heaped upon him by his fellow clergyman, Daniel, should perhaps be taken as illustrating the tale-bearing and false testimony too common in times of suspicion, rather than as affording any trustworthy description. Daniel says: 'He was of unsound religion, favoured papistry and heresy privately, and never favoured the preachers of the Gospel'; that he 'was a frequenter of alehouses and a drunkard, and would hear no sermons. . . .' Perhaps illustrative of the custom of the time of combining medicine and theology is the statement: 'He doth minister a dormatory in physicke to dyvers which all do dye after the same, and also he doth let bloode or cut veins of dyvers, who after the same be done, do dye, and when he should serve God he runneth about after his physicke and surgery, and is altogether unlearned.'

9. THE FEOFFEEES AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE SCHOOL.

Considerable light upon the life of the School is afforded by the consideration of the public opinions, public activities, and social status of the twelve feoffees who from time to time were appointed to take charge of the School interests. Although their legal responsibility was limited to the care of the School property, and particularly to watching over the monopoly of the Mills, which provided funds to pay the salaries of the masters and University exhibitions for the advanced scholars, yet their influence was far wider than their legal responsibility. Owing to the growth and accumulation of School funds, they had indirect disciplinary power, for though they could not dismiss the high master, yet they could reduce his salary to a pittance of £10, and, in fact, twice so used their power for neglect. There were times, too, when they neglected their own duties, and there were other times when they acted with energy and public spirit. At first their attitude to learning was feudal, as

indicated in the clause of the foundation deed requiring the scholars to pray in church for the delivery of the souls of their benefactors from purgatory. As learning achieved independence, the feoffees sent members of their own families and encouraged others to attend the School, often as boarders or tablers with the high master, in order to benefit by the School training. There is evidence to show that their interest in the boys continued after they had left the School and needed advancement in life. The twelve feoffees who were nominated in the foundation deed of 1524 were :

Sir LEWIS POLLARD (1465-1540), 'a man of great honour and integrity,' of Wray, Devon, Justice of the King's Bench, 1515.

Sir ANTHONY FITZ-HERBERT (1407-1538), of Norbury, Derbyshire. Educated at Oxford and Inns of Court ; Justice of the King's Bench ; author of 'Abridgment of Common Law,' Book of 'Husbandry,' &c., &c.

Sir WILLIAM COURTNEY (d. 1548), of Ilton, Devon.

Sir THOMAS DENYS (1480-1560), of Holcomb Burnet, near Exeter, member of Privy Council to Henry VIII., Sheriff of Devon, resigned trusteeship in 1556 in consequence of old age and distance from Manchester.

Sir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE (1476-1548), of Newcroft Hall, Ordsall, Manchester, Sheriff of Lancashire 1546-1547, head of one of the most powerful families in Lancashire.¹

Sir JOHN BYRON (1487-1567), of Clayton and Newstead Priory, Nottinghamshire, steward of Manchester and Rochdale. A strong Catholic ; built private chapel at Blackley before 1545 ; will dated 1558.²

EDMUND TRAFFORD (1475-1533), of Trafford, near Manchester ; head of the family to which Hugh Oldham was related, and who sold the lands on which the School was built, and for whose soul 'De Profundis' was to be sung by the Grammar School boys when attending the collegiate Parish Church.

RICHARD ASSHETON (1480-1549), of Middleton, near Manchester, also related to Hugh Oldham. He raised a body of troops for Henry VIII., fought on Flodden Field, 1513 ; rebuilt Middleton Church, where his tomb still exists. 'De Profundis' for his soul was also to be sung by the boys.

THURSTON TYLDESLEY (d. 1553), of Wardley Hall, Worsley, Eccles, where he endowed a chapelry ; M.P. for

¹ Brass palimpsest figured in *Palatine Note Book*, vol. iv. p. 77.

² Printed in *Chetham Society*, vol. xxviii. p. 133 ; *Manchester Court Leet Records*, vol. i. p. 113.

Lancashire, 1547, and as such probably interceded to secure the property of the School from confiscation under the second Chantries Act of Edward VI., which dissolved chantries, though a commission received authority to grant pensions.¹

ROBERT LANGLEY, of Agecroft, son-in-law of Sir Edmund Trafford and brother of the Rev. Thomas Langley, rector of Prestwich, one of the three supervisors of the School in 1515.

RICHARD HOLLAND, of Denton, built Denton Chapel, 1532, resigned 1556, on the re-organisation of the School under Queen Mary.

JOHN REDDISH, of Reddish, also resigned 1556.

On October 3, 1556, as part of the general ecclesiastical settlement which took place after the Catholic Restoration, fresh names were added to take the place of those who had resigned or were deceased :

Sir EDMUND TRAFFORD (1509-1564), took part in the siege of Boulogne, 1549, knighted by the Earl of Hertford, Sheriff of Chester 1557. He had been appointed a Commissioner to collect the property of the Lancashire chantries dissolved in 1542. Son-in-law of Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall.

Sir WILLIAM RADCLIFFE (1502-1568), of Ordsall, captain at the siege of Leighton and during the rebellion of the North; notable warrior, for his heart was deposited in an urn at Sandbach Church. His tomb formerly in Manchester Church.

EDWARD HOLLAND (d. 1570), of Denton, sheriff of county 1568, son-in-law of Sir Edmund Trafford.

ALEXANDER BARLOW (resigned 1581) of Barlow; M.P. for Wigan 1547-1551, supposed to be related to Bishop William Barlow; died in prison; entrusted with the college plate by Laurence Vaux on his dismissal from the college.

JOHN BYRON (d. 1608), of Clayton and Newstead, Sheriff of Lancashire 1572; knighted 1579; resigned 1581.

OTTO REDDISH (died 1558, during the lifetime of his father).

EDMUND PRESTWICH (d. 1578), of Hulme, son-in-law of Sir Robert Langley of Agecroft.

ROBERT CLAYTON (d. 1559), of Clayton Hall.*

¹ Duchy Records, Division 25, 3rd portion, pro. 45, also 'Will and Inventory of Goods, dated 1547, confirmed 1553,' *Chetham Society*, O.S., vol. xxxiii. p. 97.

* Cf. *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. v. p. 240; and *Court Leet Records*, i. 53.

THOMAS BIRCH (d. 1595), of Hindley, Birch, resigned 1581; elder brother of William Birch, the first Puritan warden of Manchester. He left five nobles a year during the four years following his decease to his co-feoffees at the Grammar School.¹

JOHN CHETHAM (d. 1573), of Nuthurst, Moston, brother-in-law of Thomas Birch.²

WILLIAM HYDE, of Denton; with the Holland family built Denton Chapel 1532.

RALPH CULCHETH (d. 1564), of Newton.³

The influence exerted by this body of men on the School was probably limited to compelling the inhabitants of the town to observe their duty of grinding their corn at the School mills. During the reign of Queen Mary they were probably instigated to do so by Laurence Vaux, and during the reign of Queen Elizabeth perhaps by his successors. The majority of these early feoffees remained content with the old religion. Some of the younger ones had listened to the stirring appeals of their fellow-townsmen, John Bradford, the famous Puritan preacher, and though the virulence of the Marian persecutions prevented their open avowal of the reformed doctrines, subsequent events show how deeply many Lancashire families were being stirred to more serious views of life. During the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign till 1581, though trade was prosperous and general intelligence increasing, it is doubtful if the School made much headway. There is little evidence of activity when there were only three feoffees left. Two of these resigned, and the following were appointed to take office:

Sir EDMUND TRAFFORD (1526–1590), who had inherited the family estates, 1567; name occurs on the Muster Roll of 1579.⁴ He subscribed towards the defence of the country at the time of the Spanish Armada; a strong Protestant. Mention in his will of the furniture of a schoolmaster's chamber.⁵

Sir JOHN RADCLIFFE (1535–1589), of Ordsall, called a 'dangerous temporiser.' His house at Peel Fold was used as a prison for recusant Catholics; he served as one of the

¹ *Chetham Society*, vol. xli. p. 192.

² Will dated 1557, and inventory of goods printed.—*Chetham Society*, N.S., vol. iii. p. 57.

³ *Manchester Court Leet Records*.

⁴ Baines' *History of Lancashire*.

⁵ *Chetham Society*, N.S., vol. xli.

ecclesiastical commissioners appointed to recover alienated property of the collegiate body ; subscribed £100 to defence of the realm, 1588. Left careful instructions for the bringing up of his younger sons 'in virtue and learning,' till fourteen years, when they were to be sent to Oxford or Cambridge till one of them was willing and able to go to the Inns of Court and proceed in the Civil Law, 'either in England or beyond the seas.'¹

RICHARD HOLLAND (d. 1612), of Denton. On Muster Roll 1574. 'The Puritan'; subscribed to defence of the realm, and was specially thanked by Queen Elizabeth for his zeal against the recusants ; High Sheriff of the county.

JOHN BYRON (d. 1624), of Newstead, served on the ecclesiastical commission for suppressing recusant Catholics, but joined in a petition against the excessive severity of the persecution. Knighted 1603.

ALEXANDER BARLOW (d. 1628), of Barlow, established Chorlton Chapelry. On Muster Roll 1574.

ALEXANDER REDDISH, of Reddish.

EDMUND PRESTWICH, buried Manchester, January 15, 1598. Confidential adviser of Henry, Earl of Derby, who had joined with Dr. Chadderton in suppressing the Catholics ; keeper of Alport Park and tenant of the Lodge ; on Muster Roll 1574 ; placed in charge of the education of the children of Ralph Sorocold, merchant, 1591 ; sends both his sons to the Grammar School and to Gray's Inn.²

GEORGE BIRCH (d. 1602), of Birch, brother of William Birch, Warden of the College, and, like him, probably educated at the School ; founded Birch Chapel ; Muster Roll 1574.

ROBERT HYDE, of Denton, his son probably educated at the Grammar School, 1581 ; admitted Brasenose College, Oxford ; Muster Roll 1574.

EDMUND CHADDERTON (d. 1589), of Little Nuthurst Hall, nephew of the Bishop of Chester.

JAMES CHETHAM (1561-1615), of Nuthurst. Named in Muster Roll 1578.³

WILLIAM CULCHETH, of Newton, son of Ralph Culcheth.

There is no existing record of any appointment of feoffees between 1581 and 1648, though it is probable⁴ that vacancies were filled up on the appointment of Edmund Chetham as

¹ Will and Inventory, *Chetham Society*, O.S., vol. xli.

² Cf. Peck's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' and Will, printed in *Chetham Society*, O.S., vol. liv. p. 103.

³ Will, *Chetham Society*, N.S., vol. iii. p. 156.

⁴ Cf. *Records of Duchy Court of Lancaster*.

head master about 1595, or of Clayton in 1604. Among them would be Sir JOHN BYRON, of Newstead Abbey, M.P. for Nottinghamshire 1623–1625, who was knighted 1625 at York by James I., created Baron of Rochdale 1643, and commanded reserves at the Battle of Edgehill; Field Marshal at the Battle of Worcester, fled to France, and died 1652 without issue. Also EDMUND TRAFFORD (1531–1620), who succeeded to his father's estate in 1690. The affairs of the School were not neglected, for the stream of scholars to the Universities was maintained.

The new names were added April 14, 1628 :

Sir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, knighted at the Coronation of Charles I.; served in the Irish campaign, and assisted the Earl of Derby in the siege of Manchester.¹

Sir CECIL TRAFFORD (d. November 29, 1672), became a Catholic in 1632, and offered his services and those of his retainers to Charles I. at Shrewsbury; was declared a recusant; displaced 1647, but replaced 1660.

[ROBERT] HYDE, of Denton.

[RICHARD] RADCLIFFE (d. 1657), son of William Radcliffe, of Pool Hall Fold, Manchester; Presbyterian, Major of Parliamentary troops; elected M.P. 1656; one of the trustees of the new library 1663.

[RICHARD] TIPPING, of Tipping Gates, Manchester, probably admitted Brasenose College, 1606; Nowell Scholar 1609; B.A. 1610. Settled as a merchant in Manchester.

EDWARD STANLEY, Broughton Hall, natural son of Henry, Earl of Derby.

HUMPHREY BOOTH, of Salford, founder of Trinity Chapel and of Booth's Charity.

Richard Radcliffe, Richard Holland, Edward Stanley, Robert Hyde, ranged themselves on the side of the Parliament. Richard Tipping and Humphrey Booth of Salford, being merchants, were not placed at the head of retainers or troops, and it is doubtful whether they sided strongly with either party, though it is known they contributed funds to the defence of the town. During the Commonwealth, ecclesiastical and educational affairs throughout the country came under consideration. Sir Cecil Trafford was deprived of his place and a new body of feoffees was appointed by Orders in Council March 6, 1647. It comprised prominent townsmen as well as members of the local county families. Four of the old trustees were retained—viz. Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Richard Holland, Richard Radcliffe of Pool Fold, and Robert

¹ *House of Commons Journal*, vol. ii. p. 845.

Hyde. To these were added two landowners, Thomas Birch of Birch Hall, Rusholme, Colonel and Governor and M.P. for Liverpool, 1649-1650, a strong Independent and Cromwellian, and six merchants or professional men in the town, a step which was not without its influence in the prosperity of the school at this time.

RICHARD HOWARTH (d. 1671), of Thurncroft, Councillor at Law; admitted Gray's Inn, 1614; subsequently Recorder of Chester.

JOHN LIGHTBOWNE (d. Dec. 23, 1667), of Buile Hill, Salford; admitted Gray's Inn, 1630; intimate friend and correspondent of Humphrey Chetham.

HUMPHREY BOOTH (1607-1648), of Blackley, merchant; Borough-reeve.

EDWARD JOHNSON; of Manchester, merchant; Borough-reeve 1638, donor of books to the old Town Library of 1640.

RICHARD FOX (d. 1654), of Rhodes, merchant, special direction in his will for the education and upbringing of his children.¹

RICHARD LOMAS, of Bury. Subscribed towards defence of Marches against the Earl of Derby.

On December 1, 1654, some further names were added :

JOHN RADCLIFFE, of Ordsall (d. 1657), sold Ordsall Estates, 1663, to Captain Samuel Birch.

ALEXANDER BARLOW (1608-1655), of Barlow; unlike his father, he was a Parliamentarian, and served on the Committee of Sequestration 1643, and on the Committee for Relief of Plundered Ministers 1650; trustee under the will of Humphrey Chetham; Sheriff of County 1652.

GEORGE CHETHAM (1594-1664), of Clayton, merchant, nephew and executor of Humphrey Chetham.²

EDWARD HOLBROOK, of Brasenose College, Oxford, 1638, merchant.

ROBERT BOOTH (d. 1663), of Gray's Inn, became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

THOMAS MINSHULL, apothecary, bought Chorlton Hall.

The conflict of political parties at the restoration of the Stuarts is also indicated. The first list submitted to Sir Edward Nicholas, Principal Secretary of State, was agreed to on November 16, 1660.³ It consisted of six representatives of each party :

¹ Piccope, 'Wills,' *Chetham Society*, vol. iii. pp. 113-15.

² MS. Account Book, 1637-9, in Chetham Library.

³ British Museum MSS., fol. 283, E92537.

Sir RALPH ASSHETON, of Middleton, created Baronet 1661, son of the Parliamentary General, but who had gone over to the Royalist side on the rise of the Independents to power; M.P. for Clitheroe 1661-62.

WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH (1600-1669), of Belfield, third son of Alexander Butterworth; admitted Gray's Inn 1654.

EDWARD CHETHAM (1612-1684), son of James Chetham, of Smedley; admitted Gray's Inn 1659.

GEORGE CHETHAM (1623-1674), son of Ralph, of Clayton.

ROBERT HOLT (d. 1674), of Stubley, Castleton, near Rochdale.

RICHARD MASSEY (1620-1667), trustee of Humphrey Chetham's estate; son and heir of James Massey, of Sale; captain in the Royalist forces.

RICHARD HOLLAND, of Denton.

THEOPHILUS HOWARTH (1614-1671), of Howarth, Doctor of Medicine, practising in Manchester; ¹inventory gives £40 value of furniture, books, &c., in Library.

RICHARD HOWARTH, son of Lawrence Howarth, of Turncroft.

ROBERT HYDE, of Denton.

JOHN LIGHTBOWNE, Councillor at Law, Gray's Inn 1630; practising in Manchester.

THOMAS MINSHULL (d. 1698), apothecary, third son of Richard Minshull, of Wistaston.

Richard Holland died about this time, and influence was brought to bear, October 1660, by Sir Cecil Trafford, to regain power. On his nomination a new body was appointed by Order of Council, February 26, 1661, excluding the townsmen—that is, the last five—and substituting for them and for Sir Richard Holland:

Sir CECIL TRAFFORD.

Sir GEORGE BOOTH (1604-1684), of Dunham Massey; the leader of the Presbyterians in the Counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, who had organised the rising in favour of Charles II. in 1659; and at the Restoration was still in prison.

Sir EDWARD MOSLEY (1630-1665), of Hough End; M.P. for Mychell, Cornwall; a loyalist of loose habits.

EDMUND ASHTON (1628-1663), of Chadderton; Sheriff of the County 1627; fought on the King's side in the Civil War; surrendered at Oxford 1646; compounded for his estates.

EDMUND TRAFFORD (1625-1693), brother of Sir Cecil Trafford.

RALPH BRIDEOAK, the former high master, who had made

¹ Will printed *Chetham Society*, N.S., vol. xxviii. p. 109.

his peace with the new Government and was now Canon of Windsor and busy seeking for still higher appointments. It is believed that by the use of bribery he secured the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth, one of the mistresses of the King, and was made Bishop of Chichester. The following is a translation of the inscription on his monument in St. George's Chapel, Windsor :

Ripe for God
The Reverend Father in Christ RALPH BRIDEOAK
put off mortality.
A man bravely upright, great but humble,
A mighty storehouse of Attic, and of all Eloquence.
During the exile of Charles II. deprived of his possessions.
On his return appointed a Canon of this Chapel.
Dean of Salisbury, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.
Kind to strangers, a lover of good men,
A Father, so to speak, of his diocese,
Who, consulting the welfare of others, while visiting his flock
Being seized with a raging fever
died during the tenure of his episcopal office
at the age of 64.
This monument to her husband was placed by his virtuous wife
Mary Brideoak 1678.

On July 29, 1676, on the appointment of Mr. Barrow as high master, when the number of feoffees had fallen to four, new feoffees were appointed, perhaps at the instigation of Nicholas Stratford. That some new influence was at work in the management of the School is shown, not only by the securing for it the opportunity of sharing in the Somerset scholarships, but the fact that shortly afterwards regular accounts were kept of the names of scholars to whom University exhibitions were granted from the School funds. The new feoffees elected July 29, 1676, were :

Sir HENRY BOOTH (1641-1695), Lord Delamere, the husband of the talented Lady Mary Langham, who was niece of Sarah Alston, Duchess of Somerset, the donor of the Somerset exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge. Lord Delamere was the leader of the Whig party in the North of England.

Sir RALPH ASSHETON (1657-1716), of Middleton, and inheritor in 1697 of the estates of his maternal uncle, Sir John Assheton, of Whalley; elected M.P. for Liverpool 1678, but unseated on petition; M.P. for County of Lancashire 1690 and 1695.

500 THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Sir JOHN ARDEN (1630-1701), of Harden, Stockport; High Sheriff of Cheshire 1660; strong Presbyterian and friend of Henry Newcome; knighted at Whitehall 1660.

WILLIAM HULTON (1625-1694), of Hulton, near Bolton; of Gray's Inn 1650; J.P. 1688.

WILLIAM HULME (1636-1691), of Davyhulme; J.P.; founder of the Hulme Trust.

HENRY DICKINSON, linen draper; founder of Dickinson's Charity 1682; appointed but did not serve.

On August 9, 1676, RICHARD FOX was substituted for Henry Dickinson. In August 1686, soon after Richard Wroe had been appointed Warden of the College and therefore Visitor of the School, others were added :

EDWARD TRAFFORD (1643-1692), of Trafford; J.P.

RICHARD LEGH (1631-1705), of Lyme; of Brasenose College, Oxford; Sheriff of Cheshire.

EDMUND ASHTON (1643-1696), of Shuttleworth, Lancashire.

JAMES HOLT (1647-1712), of Castleton; Brasenose College, Oxford, and J.P.; memorial inscription in Rochdale Church.

THOMAS LEGH, of Lyme; Brasenose College, Oxford; M.P. for Newton 1705-10.

JAMES LIGHTBOWNE (1647-1696), of Moston; of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and of Gray's Inn 1688.

JAMES CHETHAM (1646-1692), of Smedley; of St. Edmund's Hall 1660, and Gray's Inn.

In 1696 :

Right Hon. GEORGE EARL OF WARRINGTON (1675-1750), who took little interest in public affairs.

JOSHUA HORTON (1658-1708), of Chadderton, son of Joshua, of Sowerby, Yorkshire; educated Brasenose College, Oxford.

WILLIAM HULME, nephew and heir of William Hulme of Davyhulme.

HENRY HULTON (1665-1737), High Sheriff of Lancashire 1701; said to be of eccentric and parsimonious habits (Halley).

JAMES CHETHAM (1641-1697), of Chetham.

JOHN ARDEN (1660-1701).

In 1706 :

PETER LEGH, of Lyme; eldest son of Richard Legh.

SAMUEL CHETHAM (1675-1744), educated at Manchester Grammar School; J.P. and Sheriff of Lancashire 1738.

PETER EGERTON (1642–1699), of Shaw, near Flixton; Sheriff of Lancashire 1703.

JOHN ATHERTON (1678–1707), of Bewsey.

In 1716 :

RICHARD ARDEN (1676–1752), of Stockport ; of Brasenose College, Oxford ; B.A. 1698 ; M.A. 1702 ; a very regular attendant at meetings of feoffees.

WILLIAM ASHTON (1650–1731), rector of Prestwich ; educated Manchester Grammar School and St. John's, Cambridge ; administrator of Hulme Benefaction ; sold the old family hall of Chadderton to Joshua Horton, of Sowerby, Yorks.

ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, of Foxdenton ; admitted Gray's Inn.

JOHN WARREN (1679–1700), eldest son of Edward Warren of Stockport.

All of these were members of well-to-do and influential Whig county families. Many of them had studied at English Universities and at the Inns of Court, London, after having been educated at the local Grammar School. Many also served as Governors of Chetham's Charity and took active interest in the selection of books for purchase ; many served as Justices of the Peace.

On August 8, 1726, the Rt. Hon. JAMES BARRY (1667–1747), fourth Earl of Barrymore, who had served as a Major-General in the French wars and had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards ; elected M.P. of Stockport 1710–1713, and for Wigan 1724 ; a strong Jacobite and Non-Juror.¹

Sir JOHN BLAND, of Kippax, son of Lady Ann Bland, the heiress of the Mosley family, who died 1734 ; M.P. for Lancashire 1713 and 1722.

Sir RALPH ASSHETON, (1692–1765), last of the male line of the house of Assheton, as his only son died whilst a boy at the Grammar School.

Sir HOLLAND EGERTON, (1696–1730), eldest son of Sir John Egerton ; he had inherited the extensive Heaton Estates through his grandmother, the daughter of the last of the old Puritan Holland family. He had been educated at the school and at Brasenose College, Oxford ; elected feoffee of the Grammar School and of Chetham's Hospital in 1726. The conscientious way in which he carried out his public

¹ Cf. York's *Journal of Parliamentary History*, vol. xiii. p. 680 ; Tyndall's *History*, vol. ix. p. 27 ; and Stanhope's *History*, vol. iii. p. 161.

duties is shown in the regularity of his attendances at the meetings of both institutions. He is described as 'a gentleman of fine accomplishments, well versed in literature, particularly heraldry and antiquities, of free, open and communicative disposition, exceedingly well-beloved by the country.' Many works of Heraldry were purchased for the Chetham Library about this time.

PETER LEGH (d. 1758), of Lyme; M.P. for Newton, 1743-1747 and 1754.

SAMUEL CHETHAM (1675-1744), of Turton and Castleton, son of George Chetham, of Manchester; educated at the School; satirised as Sir Minos the Justice in a famous parody by Tim Bobbin; a strong Whig and a violent partisan supporter of Warden Peploe.¹

In May 1733 the following names were added :

JAMES CHETHAM (1683-1752), of Smedley; son of George Chetham, of Manchester, and of Wadham College, Oxford, 1700, and of Inner Temple; High Sheriff 1730.

ROBERT RADCLIFFE (died 1749), of Foxdenton; Sheriff of Lancashire 1744.

ROBERT BOOTH, of Salford, feoffee of Chetham Hospital.

JAMES BANKS (1703-1743); admitted Brasenose College 1723; Rector of Bury; son of William Banks of Winstanley and of Frances, only daughter of Peter Legh, one of the awarders of the Hulme Exhibition.

On June 2, 1743, the feoffees elected the Rt. Hon. JAMES LORD STRANGE (1717-1771). He had been educated at the Westminster School and at Leyden University, but, dying before his father, did not succeed to the Derby estates. He began the famous Derby natural history collections and probably influenced the purchase of natural history books for the Chetham Library, of which he was a Trustee.

Sir EDWARD EGERTON, fifth but eldest surviving son of Sir Holland Egerton, succeeded to the Heaton Estates in 1730, and died 1744 within a few months of being elected.

JOHN PARKER (d. 1795), of Brightmet Hall, near Bury; Rector of Bury; perpetual curate of Chelford, Cheshire, where he founded a free school.

On July 29, 1749, the surviving feoffees elected :

JOHN ARDEN (1709-1786), of Harden; High Sheriff of Cheshire 1760; brother of Dr. James Arden. His two sons were both educated at the School; one became Lord Alvanley.

¹ Cf. *Byrom's Journal*.

ROBERT GWYLLIM (1725–1783), who, by right of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Atherton, succeeded to the Atherton estates in 1747, when he assumed the name of Robert Vernon Atherton; M.P. for Newton 1783.

MYLES LONSDALE (d. 1783), of Field House, Bury, barrister, who inherited considerable estates, which he increased by a marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James Greenhalgh. It is related that he was so incensed at the marriage of one of his daughters with a son of John Kay, the inventor of the shuttle, in 1738, that he expelled her from his home and would only allow her a bare pittance.¹

EDWARD GREAVES (d. 1783), of Culcheth Hall, Newton, son of John and grandson of Matthew Greaves, wealthy apothecaries in Manchester. He was related to the Gwyllim family of Culcheth Hall, Newton, through his mother, and he married the wealthy daughter of Darcy Lever, of Alkington.

On August 8, 1751: Sir THOMAS GRAY EGERTON (d. 1757); succeeded his brother Sir Edward Egerton; M.P. for Newton 1747–48, and like the rest of his family took active part in public affairs. He also served on the Chetham Trust.

PETER LEGH, of Lyme (d. 1792), M.P. for Newton 1743–1768.

About 1770 there were elected :

Sir THOMAS EGERTON, the only surviving son of Sir Thomas Gray Egerton. He had entered the school March 10, 1757, and was a favourite pupil of Charles Lawson, for whom he retained throughout the whole of his public life the highest regard and affection. Of Christ Church, Oxford, 1767; M.P. for Lancashire 1772–1784, when he was created Baron Gray de Wilton. He was very active in raising troops for the Government, and served as Hon. Colonel of the Lancashire Volunteers 1794, of Heaton Company Voluntary Artillery 1803. He was created Viscount and Earl of Wilton 1801.

SAMUEL EGERTON (1711–1780), of Tatton; M.P. for co. Chester, 1754, 1761, 1768, 1774. A very active politician.

ROBERT RADCLIFFE, of Foxdenton.

(The articles of agreement for the rebuilding of the School were signed on behalf of the body of feoffees January 26, 1776, by Sir Thomas Egerton, of Heaton, Edward Greaves, of Culcheth, the friend and executor of William Purnell, and Robert Radcliffe, of Foxdenton.)

JOHN PARKER.

JOHN HOUGHTON (1711–1794), of Baguley, who had been educated at the School, and, like his father, entered at Trinity

¹ *Raines MSS.*, vol. xx.

College, Cambridge. His mother was Mary Byrom, sister of Dr. John Byrom, F.R.S., the correspondent and critic of William Purnell. He is described as genial, refined, and of literary accomplishments, and a favourite associate of the clergy of the Collegiate Church; J.P. for Lancashire and Cheshire; attended the anniversary School dinner in 1783; died 1794.

On October 2, 1781, there were elected :

WILLIAM BANKS, of Winstanley (d. February 13, 1800); admitted to the School 1760; attended anniversary dinners 1782, 1783, 1785, 1786, 1789, 1792; High Sheriff of Lancashire, 1784.

WILLIAM EGERTON (1749–1802), of Tatton Park. He had entered the School as William Tatton of Withenshaw, but assumed his mother's name upon entering into possession of the Tatton estates of the Egerton family in 1780, previously held by his uncle, Samuel Egerton. Created M.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford; High Sheriff of Cheshire; acted with Sir Thomas Egerton as steward at the anniversary dinner 1782; M.P. for Chester 1800.

JOHN ARDEN (1742–1823), junior, of Harden and Ashley, near Stockport; entered School January 1752, with his brother, Richard Pepper Arden, the judge, who became Lord Alvanley. Appointed feoffee of Chetham; attended anniversary School dinners 1789, 1790, 1792, 1794, 1795, 1799, 1800; High Sheriff of Cheshire 1790; resigned the Trust; died at Pepper Hall, Northallerton, Yorks, 1823.

CHARLES FORD (1720–1789), of Eaton in Astbury, Cheshire. Manufacturer of checks and African goods. Probably, like John Houghton, entered the School when the register was carelessly kept, as his name does not appear, though it is known he was a scholar. Served as churchwarden 1761, senior constable 1761, borough-reeve 1767, feoffee of Chetham 1774.

In 1785, vacancies caused by several deaths and resignations were filled up by the election of :

JOSEPH PICKFORD (1744–1819), of Alt Hill, Royton, eldest son of Joseph Pickford. Feoffee of Chetham 1783; educated at the School, and attended anniversary dinners 1785, 1788, 1790, 1791, and in 1800 as Joseph Radcliffe, having in 1795 assumed his mother's name on succeeding to the estates formerly enjoyed by his maternal uncle, William Radcliffe of Milnes Bridge, Yorks. He was an active county magistrate of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, and West Riding.

THOMAS AYNSCOUGH (1719–1793), Fellow of the Collegiate Church, and the most prominent clergyman of the town. He had entered the School under Henry Brooke, and had held a School exhibition, 1735–39, at Brasenose College, Oxford. Graduated B.A. 1738, M.A. 1743. Held Hulme Exhibition, and finally took *ad eundem* degree, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1757. In 1786 he reorganised the Collegiate Charity School. He was the patron and friend of the celebrated Joshua Brooks, a poor boy, who was the son of a shoemaker, assisted him to Brasenose College, Oxford, and entrusted him with making a catalogue of his books at his death, and, after allowing William Allen, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to choose what he wished, to retain the remainder for himself; although reckoned a good preacher, he ordered that all his sermons and manuscripts were to be destroyed, otherwise we might have gained some further insight into the point of view of a high-minded, clear-sighted, and benevolent clergyman faced with almost revolutionary changes around.

SAMUEL CLOWES (1750–1799), of Chorlton Hall, Broughton; entered the School October 3, 1758, and Trinity College, Cambridge, 1768. He served as borough-reeve 1770, 1771, feoffee of the Chetham Trust 1773, sheriff of the county 1777; took part in organising the town militia 1778; regularly attended anniversary dinners 1781–1798. He was an active member of the society for preserving constitutional order, liberty, and property against the various efforts of levellers and republicans 1792.

WILLIAM HULTON (1762–1800), of Hulton; colliery proprietor, and sheriff of county 1789.¹

Rev. THOMAS FOXLEY (1752–1838); entered the School March 1758, Brasenose College, Oxford, and presented by his old schoolfellow, Sir Thomas Egerton, to the rectory of Radcliffe 1784. Fellow of Manchester College; rector of St. Mary's, feoffee of Chetham, and attended anniversary School dinners for many years.

In October 1794:

Sir ROBERT HOLT LEIGH (1762–1843); left the School for Christ's Church, Oxford, but left without graduating. M.P. for Wigan 1802–1820. High Tory and Churchman, and finally took his degree at Oxford in 1837 in order to secure a vote for Convocation. Classical scholar and trustee of Wigan Grammar School.

JOHN ENTWISTLE (1741–1802), of Foxholes, who had entered the School January 1753 as John Markland. In 1787, on succeeding to the estates of his maternal uncle, Robert Entwistle,

¹ See Baines' *Lancashire*, iii. p. 20.

he assumed the name of Entwistle. He was a magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant of Lancaster; feoffee of Chetham's 1794. He attended anniversary dinners 1789-1800, and served as Colonel of Rochdale Volunteers.

Rev. THOMAS CROXTON JOHNSON (1761-1814), son of George Johnson, of Manchester and Timperley Hall, Cheshire. He entered the School 1772, and passed to St. John's, Cambridge, where he graduated LL.B. in 1789; appointed rector of Wilmslow in 1787, and elected Fellow of Collegiate Church; feoffee of Chetham's 1803; attended anniversary School dinners 1783-99.

In October 1804 :

SAMUEL CLOWES (died 1811), of Broughton Hall.

THOMAS PARKER (1766-1840), of Astle; entered School July 1774, but did not proceed to Oxford, as he inherited his father's estate 1795. Served as Colonel of Volunteers. Appointed steward of dinners 1787-1792. Resigned 1834, owing to distance and inability to attend.

JOHN FORD (1768-1839), of Abbey Field; entered School July 1781; took part in School speeches 1785; entered Balliol College, Oxford; President of Manchester Pitt Club.

Rev. GEORGE HERON (d. 1833), of Daresbury.

To these was entrusted the duty of reconstructing the old School at which so many of them had been educated, and whose traditions they regarded with so much affection. The growing intensity of the struggle with France made things increasingly difficult, and after the cessation of hostilities a new order of things had come about with the social upheavals described in the body of the work.

The feoffees who were administering the affairs of the School under Lawson, and still remained when Dr. Smith became high master, were :

Sir THOMAS EGERTON (above).

Lord GREY DE WILTON (died 1814).

JOHN ARDEN, appointed 1781, resigned January 8, 1820, died 1823.

Sir JOSEPH PICKFORD, of Royton, Lancs, and Milnsbridge, Yorks, born 1744. He was created baronet for his conduct during the riots 1812; died 1819 (above).

Rev. CROXTON JOHNSON (died 1814) (above).

Rev. THOMAS FOXLEY (1752-1838) (above).

Sir ROBERT HOLT LEIGH, of Wigan, elected 1794 (above).

THOMAS PARKER (above).

Rev. GEORGE HERON, of Daresbury (above).

JOHN ENTWISTLE, banker, son of John Entwistle, of Foxholes, elected 1804, died 1837.

JOHN FORD, son of Charles Ford, of Abbey Field, Sandbach, elected October 2, 1804, died 1839 (above).

In October 1811: Rev. JOHN CLOWES (1777–September 28, 1846) was appointed. He was elected Fellow of the Manchester College.

In October 1812: WILLIAM FOX (1751–1833), who had practised as attorney in Manchester and subsequently became a banker. He served as borough-reeve 1805.

In October 1816:

THOMAS WILLIAM TATTON (died 1827), of Withenshaw.

WILBRAHAM EGERTON (1781–1856), of Tatton.

In October 1819:

WILLIAM HULTON (1787–1864), High Sheriff of the county 1809. Chiefly offensive to the Radical reformers for his conduct at Peterloo (1819). Was invited March 1820 to offer himself as a candidate for the representation of the county, which in the event of a vacancy he promised to do. He drew up an address to the Prince Regent signed by 1400 magistrates, clergy, bankers, merchants, and tradesmen, expressing approval of the acts of the magistracy in using civil force and military power. The Earl of Grosvenor on the other hand headed a subscription list for the relief of the sufferers and the prosecution of the military, and an action was brought against Hugh Hornby Birley and four others of the Manchester Yeomanry for assault, April 1822.

PETER HERON (1770–1848), admitted to School January 1781. Entered army and became colonel in 1800, residing at Moore Hall, Warrington; M.P. for Newton 1806–1809; attended some of the earlier anniversary dinners.

In October 1823: THOMAS GROSVENOR (late Egerton), born 1797, educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxon. Succeeded to the Heaton estate, in place of his father. He travelled about a good deal, and served as Plenipotentiary to the King of Saxony. He resigned September 25, 1838.

In October 1827:

GEORGE HENRY GREY, 1765, Earl of Stamford and Warrington, grandson and heir of Mary, daughter of George Booth, Earl of Warrington, who had served as Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire 1819.

WILLIAM LEGH CLOWES (1781–1862), of Broughton, who had served as colonel of Light Dragoons in the Peninsular War. On October 7, 1834:

WILLIAM TATTON EGERTON.

Lord FRANCIS EGERTON LEVESON GOWER (born 1800),

Viscount Brackley and Earl of Ellesmere, younger son of George Granville Leveson Gower, 2nd Marquis of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; assumed the name of Egerton under the will of his uncle, Francis Henry Egerton. Appointed October 3, 1837, resigned 1848. He bought the Old Quay Carrying Company for £400,000. A Liberal Conservative and follower of Canning, spoke eloquently in favour of Free Trade twenty years before Sir Robert Peel adopted the policy. He warmly supported the project of the London University. Presided at a great public meeting with Sir Benjamin Heywood and Mark Philips to open public parks. Entered Parliament as M.P. for Bletchingley 1822; became M.P. for Sutherlandshire 1825, and South Lancashire 1835, 1837, and 1841 to 1846. Lord of Treasury 1827. Chief Sec. to Marquis of Anglesey, who was Lord Lieut. of Ireland, 1828-30. President of the British Association meeting in Manchester 1848. Died in London, February 18, 1857.

JOHN WILSON PATTEN, (born 1802), appointed April 20, 1893, of Bank Hall, Warrington, and Winmarleigh, P.C. and D.L. (son of Thomas Wilson, late Patten, of Bank Hall, and Elizabeth Hyde, of Ardwick); died 1892. Entered Parliament 1830 as M.P. for North Lanes, voted for second reading of Reform Bill, but retired from that constituency in favour of Sir Benjamin Heywood, the wealthy banker and philanthropist of Manchester. Was appointed M.P. for South Lanes with his friend, Edward Stanley. He was a strong conservative, independent of party, and an advocate of industrial and labour reform. He opposed Lord Ashley's bill to limit hours, but secured the appointment of the famous Royal Commission of Enquiry into Factories, which resulted in more enlightened legislation. He became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1866, and was created Lord Winmarleigh by Disraeli in 1874.

September 25, 1838, JOHN FREDERICK FOSTER (1795-1858), stipendiary magistrate of Salford, 1825-38; appointed Recorder April 11, 1839, but resigned May 1839 for conscientious reasons. Connected with many public charities and educational institutions. Opened Salford Mechanics' Institute. Served as Trustee of Owens College.

October 1, 1839, HUGH HORNBY BIRLEY, of Manchester (died July 31, 1845).

10. LIST OF RELATORS.

The merchants who related a case in Chancery, allowed by Lord Henley, against the scheme of the feoffees were:

MARK PHILIPS, born 1800 ; died December 23, 1873. Merchant and manufacturer. Educated at Manchester College, York, and Glasgow University ; M.P. for Manchester, 1832-47. Chairman at the monster public soirée held in Manchester, October 28, 1837, to support the efforts of the Central Educational Society in London to secure a national system of education for England similar to that of Prussia and France.

JOSEPH BROTHERTON, born 1783 ; died January 7, 1857. Overseer of Salford, 1811, and as such inquired into the appropriation of the public charities of the borough. Became associated with Rev. William Cowherd and assisted in the establishment of the New Salford Grammar School and Academy of Science. Retired from his business of cotton-spinner in 1820 and took up matters of public reform. Elected M.P. for Salford, 1832, and continued its representation till his death. Active advocate for factory legislation, for Parliamentary Reform, and for Free Trade. Bust in Manchester Town Hall ; bronze statue in Peel Park.

‘A man whose support every Government must be proud of, and whose support would never be given unless he believed it to be honestly due, a man who by his personal and public conduct has acquired for himself the esteem and respect, and I may say the affection, of all the members of that House of which he is so distinguished a member—a man who has not an enemy in the world.’ (Lord Palmerston.)

THOMAS POTTER, born April 5, 1774 ; died March 20, 1845, brother of Richard and William, and third son of John Potter of Tadcaster, Yorkshire. Began life as a farmer, then entered business with his brothers in 1803. Political reformer, who largely brought about the union of other reformers, parliamentary and municipal. He was one of the founders of the *Manchester Guardian*, 1821. Established a day school at Irlams o’ th’ Height. Leader in the movement to obtain a Town Council and local control of the town by the Corporation Act, 1832. First Mayor of Manchester, 1839-41. Knighted 1840.

JOSEPH CHEESEBOROUGH DYER, born in Connecticut 1780 ; died May 3, 1871. Inventor and printer, scientist and political reformer. Founded the *North American Review* ; accompanied Mark Philips and Alexander Kay to Paris to congratulate the French Government in 1830 ; active supporter of the Bill for voting by ballot. Editor of *Manchester Chronicle* ; one of the original promoters of the *Manchester Guardian*.

THOMAS HARBOTTLE, born 1783 ; died November 1853.

Manufacturer, Pollard Street, Ancoats. Chairman of committee for establishing the Blackburn Independent Academy, 1816, which subsequently became the Lancashire Independent College. In Feb. 1823, together with Edward Baxter, George Hadfield, and about a dozen other citizens, he signed a petition requesting the borough-reeve to summon a town's meeting of ratepayers to oppose the erection of an expensive and unnecessary building for provide hospitality to the judges on circuit. At this time there was marked antipathy between the Judges and the Justices of the Peace on one side and the merchants who paid the taxes but were excluded from administration on the other.

When the riots of the handloom weavers against the introduction of power-looms into the manufactories took place in May 1829, Mr. Harbottle's factory in Ancoats was one of the places signalled out for attack, and it was actually destroyed by the mob. He presided over a town's meeting held August 23, 1830, to petition for parliamentary representation for Manchester, and in 1831 at another meeting to consider means to indemnify Rev. George Philips, D.D., Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, who had been condemned by the Legislature of the Cape of Good Hope to pay a fine of £200 and costs of £900 for publicly quoting the official figures of the Society concerning the slave trade in South Africa. Knowing the English law, the prosecutors avoided proceedings against the Society in London, but proceeded against their agent abroad. On March 5, 1834, he presided over a meeting held in Exchange Buildings, Manchester, for the ventilation and formulation of the political grievances under which the Nonconformists were suffering. They were (i.) the necessity of attending for solemnisation of matrimony in a building consecrated to the teaching of a form of Christianity of which they disapproved; (ii.) of the interment of their dead in churchyards, and according to rites, similarly consecrated, and (iii.) the limitation of official registration of births, and consequently the proofs of succession to property, to the public baptism in Anglican churches. Besides these civil grievances, there was also their virtual exclusion from the national Universities—a grievance which had already expressed itself in the support given to the foundation of the London University.

On April 17, 1834, George William Woodham placed on the books of the House of Commons a notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a Bill to grant to his Majesty's subjects generally the right of admission to the English Universities and of equal eligibility to degrees therein, notwith-

standing the differences of religious opinion—degrees in Divinity alone excepted. In May 1834 a further meeting of Dissenters was held in London, and Thomas Harbottle, who attended from Manchester, was one of the deputation appointed to wait on Lord Althorpe.

Mr. Harbottle's associations with Manchester Non-conformists were as follows. He joined Mr. Roby's Church in 1810. Soon after the death of Rev. William Roby in 1830, Thomas Harbottle resigned his position of deacon, and left the Grosvenor Street Church and settled with Dr. MacCall at Mosley Street Chapel. This church he, together with a group of forty others, left in 1842 to found the Union Street Chapel as liberal Baptists. They met in the building they erected in Oxford Road. When the Anti-Corn Law League was actively supported by philanthropists and Nonconformist ministers he took an active interest in its work, but as his health began to fail he left Manchester in 1847 and settled in Exmouth, Devon, where he died November 1853, aged seventy.

CHARLES JAMES STANLEY WALKER, of Longford Hall, Stretford, born 1788; died October 12, 1875. Son of Thomas Walker, borough-reeve and reformer, one of the first to join Richard Cobden in agitation for the self-government of the town. Elected town councillor and alderman, 1838. Member of Manchester Board of Guardians, 1841; chairman, 1843–1855. J.P. for Lancashire and for Manchester.

LOUIS BARTHOLOMEY DELANY, son of the Marquis de Launey who was Governor of the Bastille and 'massacred July 14, 1789. He was naturalised in England during 1821. His father started the first turkey-red dyeworks in England at Blackley, near Manchester. His first public appearance was at a meeting held February 25, 1830, to consider the general depression of trade and the need to readjust taxes. He died June 21, 1865, aged seventy-eight.¹

JOHN BROOKS, born 1786; died October 27, 1849. Calico printer; active supporter of the incorporation of the town; borough-reeve 1839–40, and alderman. He was a prominent and active Churchman, who generously supported the Church schools, though he also attended a public meeting, 1848, to oppose the placing of the teaching of the factory children entirely in the hands of the clergy. He provided several places of worship at his works for Churchmen, Independents, Methodists, and Roman Catholics.²

¹ Cf. *Notes and Queries*, December 21, 1889, and *Manchester Weekly Times*, October 5, 1889.

² *Manchester Examiner and Times*, November 3, 1849.

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EDWARD BAXTER, born 1791 ; died July 26, 1870. Entered business in 1813 as a gingham and shirting manufacturer, acting as agent for his father, William Baxter, of Dundee. Signed the celebrated protest against the vote of thanks to the magistrates who had ordered the charge of the military at Peterloo, August 1819. In 1823 E. Baxter and J. E. Taylor, Thomas Harbottle, Thomas Potter, and others signed a requisition for meeting of townsmen for improving Market Street and building a new bridge into Salford. Took the chair at public meeting, August 1826, to consider the distress of the working people. One of the active workers who established the *Manchester Guardian* 1821. Presided at a public meeting to adopt congratulatory address to be sent to Queen Charlotte on her victory in the House of Peers. Signed the parliamentary nomination form for Mark Philips, 1833 ; actively supported the agitation for incorporation. One of the seven founders of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law League proposed by A. Prentice on Monday, September 24, 1838, at York Hotel. It is interesting to note that, of the seven, six were members of the Presbyterian Church in Lloyd Street, to which Dr. McKerrow had been appointed in 1827. It has been sometimes urged that the Anti-Corn Law League was founded by wealthy manufacturers to enable them to obtain cheap labour, but its primary object was that of social amelioration, to relieve the poorer classes from the pressure of the heavy taxes on the necessities of life. The agitation was as much religious as political, for an Anti-Corn Law conference which was convened in 1841 was attended by 648 ministers from all parts of the kingdom. In 1867 Mr. Baxter gave £2000 as a supplementary grant to poor scholars in Dundee.

11. TRUSTEES AND GOVERNORS AFTER 1849.

The new trustees appointed by the Court of Chancery in 1849 were Manchester merchants of position and public experience, six being chosen to represent the Church and six to represent Nonconformity.

Sir ELKANAH ARMITAGE (born September 6, 1794, resigned September 26, 1876, died December 2, 1876). Merchant and borough-reeve of Salford 1837. President of the Manchester Athenæum. Councillor of Manchester 1838, Alderman 1841, 1846-47, and 1847-48. Knighted 1848 for his services in preserving the peace during a time of rioting. Trustee of the Royal Infirmary, J.P. for Manchester, and J.P. and Deputy Lieut. for Lancs. High Sheriff 1866. Chairman of Trustees of Grammar School 1849 till his resignation. A

man of exceptional administrative ability and integrity of purpose, benevolent and far-sighted.

JOHN MAYSON, of Newmarket Buildings, Manchester, cotton merchant, born 1800, died April 15, 1857, active worker among the Wesleyan community, especially educational, and took active interest in development of Sunday Schools, Salford. Member of Committee, Royal Schools for the Deaf, Old Trafford, 1837; elected Councillor for All Saints Ward, Manchester; alderman 1844–1850, and invited to be Mayor in 1851, but declined (*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1858, p. 91). Supported the Church of England Local Education Bill. Memorial tablet in Oxford Road Old Wesleyan Chapel.

E. R. LANGWORTHY (born in London 1797, died 1874). Travelled in South America and Mexico; came to Manchester 1832; alderman of Salford 1844. The establishment of Peel Park Museum and Library carried through by his energy and munificence, by contributing £6000. Chairman of Parks and Library Committee till 1858. Mayor of Salford 1848, 1849. Generous subscriber to Salford Hospital, Salford Mechanics' Institute, and Owens College. Gave £10,000 to building fund and left money to endow twenty Langworthy Scholarships. Vice-chairman of trustees till death.

R. N. PHILIPS, resigned August 7, 1868, died January 17, 1885.

ROBERT BARBOUR (1797–January 17, 1885). Member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church but generous contributor to the Church of England Building Society. Merchant and bank director; donor of £12,000 to endow a professorship at Presbyterian College.

THOMAS HUNTER, of Whalley Range, resigned 1864. Partner with J. C. Harter, as Thomas Hunter & Co. Supported the Manchester School of Design 1838, and the Commercial Schools 1845. Either he or his son continued to subscribe to Royal Schools for Deaf 1853–1854.

W. B. WATKINS, drysalter, of Legh House, Ardwick. Mayor of Manchester 1845, and as such one of the original trustees of John Owens' will. Educated for medicine, and continued his interests in classical authors. He was elected Councillor for Ardwick 1838; Alderman 1844. A Liberal in politics, and a member of the Anti-Corn Law League. Died June 24, 1864, aged 75.

OLIVER HEYWOOD (1825–March 17, 1892), son of Sir Benjamin Heywood, banker, founded the Mechanics' Institute and Athenæum. Educated at Eton. At the School he served as vice-chairman and treasurer, 1849–1876;

chairman 1876–1892. Vice-president Mechanics' Institute 1850. Assisted in the formation of the Working-men's College 1858. President of Athenæum. First honorary freeman of Manchester. 'His attachment to the interests of learning, culture, and social elevation and refinement was invincible, and to them he gave a loyal and lifelong support; such indeed was the family tradition: the quiet constant labours of philanthropy, the management of the hospital, the regulation of provident effort, the promotion of sanitary reform, the extension of knowledge and intellectual resources among the poor, and the salutary influences of healthful and innocent recreation—these have been for more than a generation the noble aims, the worthy ambitions of the Heywood family.'¹

C. H. RICKARDS (born Salford 1812, died July 8, 1876), son of a cottonspinner; educated at the School 1820. City and county magistrate, trustee of Henshaw's Blind Asylum, member of the Board of Guardians and Chairman 1855 and 1859. Steward of Old Boys' Dinner 1849, and frequently attended subsequently. Chairman of Board of Governors. Recipient in 1869 of a presentation plate and purse containing £1365 from his colleagues on the Board of Guardians. He devoted the sum to foundation of a scholarship in Classics at the School. The most active and farseeing of the trustees who carried the reform in 1864–66. Buried at Sandbach Parish Church.²

THOMAS ARMSTRONG, of Adelphi Street, Broughton, and Broom Hill, Bury New Road, engineer, died 1867. Trustee of the Royal Infirmary and member of committee 1837; auditor 1848, deputy treasurer 1844–1867. Vice-president 1851 and sub-treasurer of the Manchester School for Deaf and Dumb 1839–1867. Generous subscriber to Manchester Diocesan Church Building Society and other charities. (Resigned December 15, 1864.)

JOHN PEEL, fifth and youngest son of Thomas Peel, calico printer, Manchester, and of Peel Fold, Blackburn; admitted to the School August 5, 1817; lived at Swinton and Middleton Hall, Tamworth; generous subscriber and vice-president Diocesan Church Building Society; elected M.P. for Tamworth 1863 and 1870. Died April 27, 1872.

J. C. HARTER (born 1788; resigned October 11, 1861; died March 2, 1862). Fourteen years treasurer of the Royal Infirmary; treasurer Church of England Education Society; vice-president Diocesan Church of England Society, and con-

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, March 18, 1892.

² Obituary notice, *Ulula*.

nected with most of the Manchester charities. He presented MSS. of the prayers and meditations of John Bradford, the martyr, to Chetham's Library. He was succeeded by his son, also James Collier Harter, who resigned October 11, 1865.

The agitation on behalf of public elementary education, conducted by opposing parties under the Public Schools Association and the National Education Society, combined with the inertia of Nicholas Germon, the high master, prevented the new body of trustees or governors, as they were now called, who were equally representative of both sides, accomplishing any great change in the policy of the School. They had repeated conferences with the President of Corpus Christi College and with the Visitor of the School, but it was not till the resignation of Mr. Germon that they gained their long-sought-for opportunity. Mr. F. W. Walker soon found the practical solution of their financial difficulties by indicating how a current income adequate to provide salaries for the masters could be secured by admitting capitation or fee-paying boys rather than boarders, and combining English and Grammar Schools into one. They had already expressed their willingness to find fresh capital for building. They had to face a very bitter struggle with blind prejudice, party feeling, and misunderstanding in securing the ratification of their scheme in Chancery. Thomas Hunter resigned, and four new governors were appointed to fill up vacancies October 1864 :

WILLIAM ROMAINE CALLENDER (1794–May 24, 1872), of The Elms, Didsbury. Merchant and cottonspinner. Alderman Manchester City Council. Took active part in the incorporation of Manchester 1839. Member of Manchester Reform Association, but resigned on the adoption of John Wright's candidature. Not to be confused with his son William Romaine Callender, M.P. for Manchester.

JAMES CHADWICK, deputy chairman of governors. Subscribed £500 to refound the Library. Died April 13, 1892.

MURRAY GLADSTONE (died August 23, 1875). Civil engineer and merchant. Trustee of Royal Infirmary, and treasurer 1861–64; governor of Owens College 1868; chairman of Royal Exchange. Speaker at Speech Day 1870. His home in Higher Broughton subsequently became Bishop's Court.

RICHARD JOHNSON (1809–February 16, 1881), of Fallowfield. Metal merchant; member of Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1866–1878; vice-president 1871–1874; president

¹ Obituary notice, *Ulula*.

1875; deputy chairman of governors of School 1875. Active supporter of the Owens College. Friend of John Ruskin.

In 1866 JOHN MORLEY (died 1873), merchant.

In 1868 THOMAS ASHTON, of Ford Bank, Didsbury. Born in Bury and educated at Heidelberg. Active worker during the cotton famine, and from the first associated with the foundation of the Owens College. One of the leaders in the City Art Treasures Exhibition 1857. Intimate friend of Cobden and Bright. Organised and maintained day schools for children of his employees, with scholarships for specially deserving children to Technical School, School of Art, and the Owens College. One of the governors of the reformed Hulme Trust, who organised the Hulme Schools at Manchester and Oldham, and subsidised Manchester Grammar School and the Owens College, &c. High Sheriff of Lancashire 1888 and subsequently deputy-lieutenant. Elected honorary freeman of Manchester October 26, 1892. Died Jan. 21, 1898.

In 1872 W. H. HOULDSWORTH, M.P. for Manchester 1885. Created baronet. Died May 1917.

In 1872 ABRAHAM HAWORTH (1830–March 11, 1902), treasurer 1892. Born in Bolton. Came to Manchester 1840, entering the firm of Dillworth & Sons. Took active part in philanthropic work in Manchester during the cotton famine. Treasurer of the Grammar School in succession to Oliver Heywood from 1876. Chairman of Estates and Building Committee which raised the funds and planned the gymnasium and laboratory extensions of 1881. One of the most indefatigable workers of the School.

In 1873 EDWARD HARDCASTLE, M.P. for Salford 1874. Died November 4, 1905. Feoffee of Chetham Hospital. Trustee of the Owens College. Founder of the Reformatory School, Blackley.

In 1873 HENRY LEE (1817–December 27, 1904). Treasurer and deputy chairman. Organiser and supporter of the School Library. M.P. for Southampton 1880.

In 1873 PETER MACLAREN, resigned 1890.

In 1875 BENJAMIN ARMITAGE, of Chomlea, Pendleton. Visited Paris in 1860 and 1870 concerning a commercial treaty; thrice president of Manchester Chamber of Commerce. With his brothers founded scholarships in Political Economy at the School, 1877–1910, in memory of their father, Sir E. Armitage, M.P. for Salford 1880 and 1885. President of Manchester Reform Club. Supporter of the Owens College. Died December 4, 1890.

In 1875 CHARLES FREDERICK BEYER (died 1876).

Generous bequests to the Owens College and the Grammar School.

Before the resignation of Mr. Walker the governors had already decided on such extension of buildings as would provide school accommodation for 1000 boys. They announced their intention of pulling down the old Grammar School buildings, which had been standing since 1776, and which, since 1871, had been used for the Chemical Laboratory and Lecture Room; of covering the River Irk; of erecting new buildings, consisting of a large Gymnasium with which would be grouped a new Chemical Laboratory more than twice the size of the existing one, a large Lecture Theatre, a new Library, and many new class-rooms. The plans were drawn up by Messrs. Mills & Murgatroyd. Funds were soon forthcoming, and a brass tablet commemorates the energy of the governors and the generosity of the public.

Under the Endowed Schools Act of 1868 all Educational Charities had to present their scheme of management for approval by the Charity Commissioners. In order to secure continuity of policy and maintenance of high scholarship, as well as to keep constantly in touch with local movements, the scheme proposed by the Manchester Board of Governors included, *ex officio*, representative and co-optative governors. The influence so long and so beneficially exerted by the successive Presidents of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the Wardens or Deans of Manchester, was retained. Indeed, the University interest, like that of the town, was increased. By the inclusion of representative governors adequate steps were taken to secure the freedom of entry of poorer boys who showed their ability to profit by the School curriculum, while those unable to benefit were excluded by entrance examination. The older traditions were secured by the retention of the old governors as co-optative members.

The new Governing Body consisted of :

Four Ex-officio Governors :

The President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford—Dr. Thomas Fowler. Died November 20, 1904.¹

Dean of Manchester—Dr. John Oakley. Died August 1890.

Mayor of Manchester—Philip Goldschmidt.

Mayor of Salford—C. Makinson. Died June 1895.

Eight Representative Governors from :

The University of Oxford—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Manchester—Dr. James Fraser, 1870–1886.

¹ Obituary notice, *Ulula*.

The University of Cambridge—H. J. Roby. Died January 1, 1915.

The Justices of the Peace of Manchester—Francis J. Headlam.

The Justices of the Peace of Salford—James Worrall. Died 1890.

The City Council of Manchester—Alderman Grundy.

The Town Council of Salford—Alderman J. B. McKerrow.

The Manchester School Board—Herbert Birley. Died 1890.

The Salford School Board—Richard Radford. Died January 21, 1897.

Twelve Co-optative Governors, being the old governors with power to fill vacancies when the number had fallen below nine.

With the enlargement of the governing body and the raising of funds for the gymnastic extension the work of the governors has been corporate rather than individual. New problems concerning the maintenance of the stream of boyhood, of modifying the curriculum of the teaching in view of changing opportunities and of furthering the careers of promising scholars have constantly arisen. The way in which they have been dealt with by the governing body and the high master is indicated in the continued progress of the school. Mr. Oliver Heywood¹ continued to hold the chairmanship in succession to Sir Elkanah Armitage, till his death in 1892, when Mr. H. J. Roby² became chairman. During his tenure of office, the national aspects of public secondary education were discussed, and a Secondary Schools Commission appointed in 1894, before which Mr. Roby and other Manchester educationalists gave evidence. Mr. Roby resigned January 1906, and was succeeded by Rev. Edward Craig Maclure, D.D.,³ who had been educated at the School 1844–50, and, after holding other important posts, had been appointed Dean of Manchester 1890, when he became an *ex-officio* member of the governing body, and chairman of the School Committee in 1896. He became chairman of the School Board 1891. He served as a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1894, and was elected member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education

¹ Obituary notice, *Ulula*, 1892.

² Obituary notice, *Ulula*, Feb. 1915, and *Manchester Guardian*, by Archdeacon Wilson.

³ Obituary notice, *Ulula*, May 1906.

May 8, 1906. Mr. E. J. Broadfield had been the representative of the School Board on the Grammar School governing body from 1890, having served on the School Board from 1873, and had been its chairman for many years. He filled the position of chairman at the Grammar School till his death in 1913.¹

12. NOTES OF AN EARLY SPEECH DAY.

The following names of speakers occur in a MS. book of verses delivered by present and past scholars at the School celebration in 1640. The book belonged to one of the feoffees of the School, who was himself probably an old pupil, viz. :

JOHN LIGHTBOWNE, of Buile Hill, Salford. He was the son of James Lightbowne, merchant, and admitted Gray's Inn, London, 1630 ; an intimate friend and correspondent, and subsequently one of 24 supervisors of Will of Humphrey Chetham, appointed feoffee of the Manchester School, 1647, and died December 23, 1667.

The book next passed into the possession of GEORGE CHETHAM, a nephew of Humphrey Chetham. It was lost sight of for nearly 150 years, when it was picked up from a bookstall by Thomas Barratt, the antiquary.

The names of the speakers :

JOHN HOPWOOD, either John Hopwood of Hopwood, or a son of Edmund Hopwood, Chaplain of the College under the Charter of 1635, and supervisor of the Will of Humphrey Chetham. Admitted King's College, Cambridge, and then Clare, 1641.

JOHN BOWKER, son of Robert Bowker, baptised at Manchester 1624 ; admitted Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1642 ; Fellow of All Souls' 1647, and Master of Standish Grammar School.

JOHN BRIDEOAK, baptised 1621, son of Richard Brideoak and brother of the high master ; admitted St. John's 1653.

OSWALD MOSLEY, grandson of Anthony Mosley, clothier, who bought Ancoats Hall from Sir John Byron, and who left legacy for poor scholars at Manchester, Middleton, and Rochdale Schools.

MICHAEL DICCONSON, of Moss Side, Rusholme.

¹ *Ulula*, 1913.

RICHARD ASHWORTH, admitted Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1612.

RICHARD ASSHETON, son of Ralph Assheton, of Little Lever, admitted Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, 1640.

SAMUEL MOSLEY, son of Oswald Mosley, of Ancoats; baptised May 11, 1628; lived in Ireland, but buried at Collegiate Church, Manchester, 1673.

PETER DEVENER, son of Peter of Knutsford; born 1622; admitted Brasenose, Oxon, 1638; licensed to practise surgery, 1646.

EDMUND BYROM, fourth son of Adam Byrom of Salford; baptised Collegiate Church, Manchester, August 8, 1623; died, unmarried, 1668.

STEPHEN HALL, son of Stephen Hall; baptised Collegiate Church 1623.

THOMAS WORSLEY, son of Thomas Worsley, of the Inner Temple; buried at Eccles 1649. A 'recusant' in 1642.¹

THOMAS SMITH, son of John Smith, of Heyworth; admitted Christ's College, Cambridge, 1648; B.A. 1652, M.A. 1656. Appeared before the Wirksworth Classis, Derbyshire, 1656, and after examination ordained minister. Ejected 1662.²

JAMES JOLLIE, son of Major James Jollie; admitted Trinity College, Cambridge, 1645; B.A. 1648, M.A. 1652. A strong Independent, yet joined the union to promote co-operation between the Presbyterians and the Independents.

THOMAS BROWNSWORD.

WILLIAM BROWNSWORD, son of John, of Manchester; admitted Brasenose, Oxon, 1642; M.A. Oxon, 1645, Emmanuel, Cambridge, 1645. Became vicar of Kendal.³

JOHN ASHTON, son of Ralph Assheton, of Little Lever; admitted Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1645.

WILLIAM GARNER, probably son of William Garner of Kendal and late rector of Little Linford.

ROBERT WAUGH cannot be traced.

THOMAS PRESTWICH and EDMUND PRESTWICH, sons of Edward Prestwich, who farmed the School mills, but was turned out in 1645 by order of the sequestrators.

13. INVENTORY OF GOODS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL MILLS, 1649.

The following copy of an inventory of the goods belonging to the mills appears in a series of articles on the Grammar

¹ See *Historical MSS. Commission, Eleventh Report*, App. ix. p. vii.

² Cf. Palmer, *Nonconformist Register*.

³ See Nicholson and Axon, *Nonconformity in Kendal*.

School contributed by John Harland to the *Manchester Guardian*, December 1849–May 1850.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, two mill horses and a boat, three loads of hay	12	14	0

Item :

In nearer mill :

2 two-arkes	5	0	
A coffer (a box), a small tub	6	4	
A bedstead, a flock bed, a bolster, 2 blankets & coverlet, 2 feather pillows, a pair of sheets	15	0	
An ironcrow, a chisel, & 14 picks & a mill hammer	1	4	0
2 great ropes to draw up millstones	10	0	
New mill step of brass	—		
2 great wiskets and 2 mill sieves	3	0	
A new hoop and new pick	1	0	
A garth of iron for trendle head		8	
2 trendle heads, 2 bushes	2	6	
A tallow box		6	
3 loose boards & an old piece of wood	1	0	
A fleake to lay corn on	1	0	

At the further mill :

A bedstead, a flock bed, a bolster, 2 blankets, a pillow & a pair of sheets, new	15	0	
A tridearke & a tub	4	0	
A mill crow-chisel, & 12 picks	16	10	
A mill hammer & a level	3	10	
A tallow coffer and an old form	1	0	
A measure, a pick, a sieve	2	0	
Two mill sheets, ropes and 2 eye ropes to draw up stones	1	6	3
New iron piggin 34 lbs. weight	9	10	
A shover, some 35 ring staves & about 180 caps & 6 ladle stocks	1	4	
Some loose pieces of timber	1	6	
An old millstone, an iron crow at the Walker mills 20 lbs. weight	5	10	

Sum of all priced is	20	16	7
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Priced by Wm. Cooke X his mark.

John Chadderton X his mark.

John I. P. Percival X his mark.

14. THE SCHOOL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The real civic and intellectual value of school training depends upon the opportunity which boys get to cultivate their natural interests and powers. This is quite as dependent upon the spontaneous play of their budding powers during their leisure as it is upon the formal instruction and training they receive in the class-room. Indeed, it is probable that the greater the innate capacity, the more independent of organised curricula the boy becomes, the more dependent he is upon the provision of opportunity for the free and voluntary exercise of his talents. It follows that every school should be provided with libraries, museums, workshops, &c., in which freedom is encouraged, though guidance is offered, but not insisted upon. The school curriculum should never absorb all a boy's energies. It is noticeable that the immediate cause of these new opportunities being provided is generally benevolence and interest which realises the limitations of the school life, and this constitutes another reason for the school being kept in close association with the civic life around. Among these provisions libraries are the oldest and most necessary. If the few books which remain in the Grammar School library are to be regarded as typical of their lost companions, there can be no doubt that a wise humanism has generally prevailed in the School, and that as soon as it has been in danger of losing touch with the common life outside, influences to break down its limitations have begun to operate. The earliest indications of a school library are associated with the books from the town library of 1680. It received great additions soon after Richard Wroe had become warden of the local collegiate body and consequently visitor of the School, *i.e.* about 1680. Richard Thompson, who became assistant master in 1690, was credited with an extensive knowledge of botany. He was also one of four trustees appointed to supervise the distribution of property of George Ogden, a famous local collector of Roman antiquities, intaglios, coins and urns. The extant list of subscribers to the School holiday library of 1725-40 shows how much the School interests were regarded by the townsmen. A perusal of the books subsequently added during Charles Lawson's time, and still in the School library, show that the same liberality of thought and width of outlook was maintained. It was probably pleasant early reminiscences that induced William Arnold, the distinguished alumnus who became senior wrangler in 1761, and tutor to the two elder sons of George III., to leave in his will, dated 1802, £50 for the purchase of books for the

School library.¹ That the books were read is shown by the impression De Quincey records of the conversations of his fellow pupils when he joined the School in 1800. The first evening was spent in the discussion of Grotius' 'Evidences of Christianity,' and subsequent discussions on other matters showed the ability and knowledge which were expected of those who were subsequently destined to take high places in intellectual life. During the high mastership of Rev. Jeremiah Smith (1808-1837), while there was a great increase in efficiency of formal classical teaching, there was probably a distinct narrowing in outlook, a condition of affairs that was even more marked at Oxford, and which caused two of its most distinguished alumni, Sir William Hamilton² and Sir Charles Lyell,³ to comment upon it adversely. It is true that extracts from French and English as well as from classical authors were recited by boys on speech days 1825-26, but the subsequent publications of his scholars, which Dr. Smith so diligently collected, and the books which remain of those added to the School library at this time, show the limitations of outlook. For it can hardly be claimed that Harrison Ainsworth was a typical product of the School, for his success was due to a rebellion against its formalism. It is also probable that the decision to include in the scheme of extension which the School feoffees put before the Court of Chancery in 1833, plans for the annual expenditure of £50 upon the School library, and plans for teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, German and English Literature, originated from the laymen rather than from the high master or from the representatives of the English Universities. Indeed, the specific appeals of Rev. Robert Elsdale and Rev. John William Richards, who succeeded Dr. Smith, in their speeches at the anniversary meetings of 1838 and 1840, to redeem that function from partisanship, indicate that the danger was expressed as well as recognised. The new liberalising spirit became evident in a register of books borrowed from the School library dated 1845 onwards. The entries indicate that small payments were made for the use of the library at the time, which was opened once a week.

During the years 1845-47 French plays were got up by the boys themselves and performed on speech days. The School library made rapid strides under the care of Richard Thompson (1811-62).⁴ He had been admitted to the School

¹ Cf. *Manchester School Registers*, vol. i. pp. 76-8.

² Sir William Hamilton, *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*. Chiefly from the *Edinburgh Review*, 1853.

³ Sir Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America*, 1845, chap. xiii.

⁴ Obituary notice, *Courier*, Feb. 1, 1862, and *Ulula*, 1876.

in 1819, and had entered Brasenose 1830. He passed with first-class honours in Classics 1834, and was awarded a Hulme exhibition, but being disappointed of a fellowship had returned to his old School, first as assistant, then as second master. Owing to the virtual stoppage of boarders, he was compelled to augment his income by acting as private tutor.

Many valuable books were given to the School about 1850 by friends and visitors, such as Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, who gave a complete set of his writings. So rapidly did the library grow that a catalogue was printed in 1855. John Harland, a well-known antiquary and bibliographer, contributed a long article to the *Manchester Guardian*, August 1856, in which he described in detail a number of the valuable old books in the library. The humanising influence which was at first associated with the English School was increased when John Deas Mackenzie, whose portrait still hangs over the mantelpiece of the Boardroom, came to the School in 1854. It is unfortunate that so little is known about him. So highly was Richard Thompson respected, and even beloved, that after his death a sum of money was collected by his pupils and invested to secure an annual income for the Thompson History Prize. Perhaps it was the gift of volumes for the library by his sister in 1876 that caused Henry Lee to persuade his fellow-governors to set apart a large room in the 1881 buildings for the School library, and Mr. James Chadwick, deputy chairman, to give £500 to increase the further purchase of books.

Another humanising influence came into the School life with the introduction of the South Kensington Science and Art examinations. It has been said that the teachers were often overpaid for their work, but they were certainly underpaid in other directions. Private collections, geological, natural history, &c., began to appear in the School. A School Philosophical Society was founded and a Natural History Society. Old boys, like Dr. C. H. Hurst, spent much spare time there with the boys. Masters like Mr. Willis and Mr. Bruton widely extended the interest which was being aroused and held the botany and nature-study classes. Not a few cultivated an early interest in natural history and used this to good effect later. Cases of birds were presented by the Manchester Museum, Palæolithic implements by Mr. Sutcliffe of Littleborough, geological specimens by Dr. Lazarus. The recent remarkable extension of the museum under Mr. Bruton hardly comes within the space of history; it is rather the promising beginning of a new department of school life.

15. AN ACCOUNT OF THE BOOKS BOUGHT WITH THE
MONEY ON THE OTHER SIDE AND OF ALL
THE BOOKS SUCH AS BELONG TO YE SCHOOL
LIBRARY.

(The date of publication is added for reference.)

	£	s.	d.
1729. Waller's Poems, presented by Rev. William Goole, H.M. Witney School, Oxon.			
1713. Basil Kennet's Antiquities of Rome, presented by Rev. William Goole, H.M. Witney School, Oxon			
1729. Spectator, 8 vols.	18	0	
1672. Cowley's Works, folio	7	0	
1713. The Guardian, R. Steele, 2 vols.	5	6	
1727. Stanyan's Greek History, 2 vols.	5	6	
1733. Don Quixote, 4 vols.	10	6	
1721. Dryden's Fables	3	3	
1701. Savage's Letters of Civil Politics and Morality	3	6	
1713. Henry Felton, 'A Dissertation on Reading the Classics and forming a just style'	2	6	
1683. Fontenelle's 'Dialogues of the Dead'	2	6	
1725. Fénelon, Telemachus, English translation	5	6	
1727. John Gay, Fables	5	6	
1727. Vertot's Roman Revolutions, 2 vols.	10	6	
1727. Gulliver's Travels, 2 vols.	9	0	
1722. Sir Richard Steele's Plays	3	0	
1692. L'Estrange's Aesop's Fables, 2 vols.	9	0	
1728. Pope and Swift's Miscell., 3 vols.	15	0	
1720. Pope's Homer, 6 vols.	19	0	
1723. Blackhall 'On ye Sacred Classicks'	2	0	
1728. The Art of Logic and Rhetorick (given by Mr. Christopher Byron).			
1717. Ovid, 2 vols. (English translation by Garth)	5	0	
1723. Philipps, A Compendious way of Teaching Ancient and Modern Languages	2	6	
Plutarch's Lives, 5 vols.	12	0	
1721. Matthew Prior's Poems, 2 vols.	5	6	
1719. Robinson Crusoe	5	6	
1725. Herrera's History of America, 6 vols. translated by John Stevens	1	14	0
1731. Peter Kolben's History of the Cape of Good Hope, translated by Guy Medley	5	0	

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	£	s.	d.
1699. Sir Samuel Garth's Dispensary . . .	1	6	
1712. Michael Mattaire's English Grammar. (Master at Westminster School) . . .	3	0	
1719. Ward's Algebra . . .	5	0	
John Sheffield, the Duke of Buckingham, 1649-1721, Works . . .	11	0	
For binding a Greek lexicon quarto. . .	1	3	
1718. Lucan, 2 vols. (English) . . .	2	8	
1697. November 27. Paid for binding Mark Antony . . .			7
1721. Camden's History of England (English) . .	3	6	
1701-3. Addison's Travels . . .	3	0	
Milton's Paradise Lost . . .	4	6	
1721. Musæ Anglicanæ, 2 vols. . .	5	6	
1721. Musæ Anglicanæ, 3rd vol. . .	2	6	
1721. Addison's Works, 3 vols. (12mo). . .	12	6	
1731. Thomas Stackhouse on Language. H.M. of Hexham Grammar School. Reflections on language in general and the advan- tages, defects, and manner of lisping the English tongue, edited by Richard Rawlinson . . .	3	0	
1718. Abelard to Heloise. . .	1	6	
Bennet's Hebrew Grammar . . .	2	6	
English Histories by Question and Answer (three copies) . . .	7	6	
1708. Patrick Gordon, Geography Anatomised . .	6	0	
Ward's Algebra (2nd copy) . . .	3	6	
1725-6. Pope's Odysseus, 5 vols. . .	15	0	
H. Gore's Algebra . . .	3	6	
1713. Fénelon, Telemachus, in French . . .	5	6	
1668. Sir John Denham's Poems and Travels . .	2	0	
1699. Boyer's French Grammar . . .	2	6	
1717. Ovid's Epistles (Eng. by several hands, Dryden and others) . . .	3	0	
1698. Thomas à Kempis, by George Stanhope . .	8	0	
Littleton's Dictionary and Hedericus' Lexicon (bought by ye feoffees). Four Blackwall's On ye Classicks . . .	10	0	
Charles Rollin's Method of Belles Lettres . .	1	0	0
Felton's On ye Classicks (six copies) . .	14	0	
1724. Aesop's Fables in English, Lond. 1740 . .	2	6	
Homer, 2 vols. (Greek and Latin) . . .	5	0	
	30	2	0

16. SOME SCHOLARS OF JOHN CLAYTON.

Robert Johnson, son of William, of Mitton, Yorks (born 1736); admitted St. John's, Cambridge, 1755.

Roger, son of Robert Sedgwick (born 1723); admitted St. John's, Cambridge, 1742. M.B. 1748.

Richard Assheton, son of Richard Assheton, of Salford; Brasenose College, Oxon, B.A. 1748; Chaplain 1760, Fellow of Manchester College 1791; died 1796. Feoffee of Chetham's Hospital and Manchester Grammar School; Warden 1783.

Richard Houghton, son of Richard, of Winwick, admitted St. John's, Cambridge, 1756.

James Dawson, son of William Dawson, druggist and apothecary; admitted St. John's, Cambridge, 1737; captain in 1745 Rebellion; tried July 3, 1746, and executed at Kennington Common. 'He was so hearty in the cause that he beat up volunteers himself and took abundance of pains to prevail on the young fellows at Manchester to enlist.'

Sam Adderton, of Preston (born 1738); admitted St. John's 1756.

Edward Byrom, of Kersal (1724-1760), son of Dr. John Byrom; feoffee of Chetham's Hospital 1757; borough-reeve of Manchester 1738. His sister Mary married John Houghton of Baguley.

Sir J. Darcy Lever, of Alkrington; feoffee of Chetham's Hospital, and began the natural history collection expanded by his son, Ashton Lever, into the famous Leverian Museum; died 1742.

17. ESTIMATES AND SUMMARIES OF FIGURES COLLECTED TO ESTIMATE THE NUMBER OF BOYS IN THE SCHOOL, AS WELL AS THE NUMBER PROCEEDING THENCE TO THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES DURING SUCCESSIVE PERIODS OF THE SCHOOL'S HISTORY.

I. The first series of quinquennial figures deals with the years 1515-1680. It is based on an analysis of lists of scholars who are known to have passed from Manchester or its immediate neighbourhood to one or other English University. It is necessarily incomplete, but even as a conjecture, affords some indication of the work of the School. It includes many

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who were not educated at the School, and excludes others who were. It takes no account of those going to Edinburgh or the Dutch Universities; these were not few. The School probably consisted of fifty to one hundred scholars.

Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.
1515-1520	—	—	1571-1575	1	3	1626-1630	2	3
1521-1525	—	—	1576-1580	4	2	1631-1635	7	3
1526-1530	—	1	1581-1585	2	1	1636-1640	7	2
1531-1535	—	—	1586-1590	1	5	1641-1645	1	8
1536-1540	2	1	1591-1595	2	—	1646-1650	7	18
1541-1545	2	—	1596-1600	5	1	1651-1655	2	16
1546-1550	3	—	1601-1605	5	—	1656-1660	—	13
1551-1555	2	—	1606-1610	1	1	1661-1665	4	6
1556-1560	4	1	1611-1615	2	1	1666-1670	7	19
1561-1565	1	—	1616-1620	2	1	1671-1675	6	16
1566-1570	5	—	1621-1625	6	2	1676-1680	5	5

II. A second series of quinquennial figures (1680-1735), less conjectural, but certainly incomplete, being based on lists of those who were awarded exhibitions from the School funds for their University training, or concerning whom there is other evidence that they were trained at the Manchester School. As the petit or junior school was established in 1686 it is probable that the total number of scholars was between 150 and 200.

Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Year.	Oxford.	Cambridge.
1681-1685	1	9	1701-1705	7	4	1721-1725	5	2
1686-1690	6	3	1706-1710	4	5	1726-1730	11	2
1691-1695	9	3	1711-1715	8	1	1731-1735	9	1
1696-1700	11	5	1716-1720	6	3			

III. A third series of quinquennial figures (1735-1835), based on the details in the School registers edited by Finch Smith, and published by the Chetham Society.

A few additions and alterations have been made, and

the registers are known to be very incomplete for certain years. Hence these figures are minimal. The new buildings were opened in 1776, but the School soon reached its eighteenth-century maximum.

Years.	Total Entries in Register.	Town Boys.	Country Boys.	To Oxford.	To Cambridge.	Years.	Total Entries in Register.	Town Boys.	Country Boys.	To Oxford.	To Cambridge.
1736-1740	133	107	26	14	5	1786-1790	168	103	65	30	11
1741-1745	105	83	22	11	4	1791-1795	126	94	32	25	11
1746-1750	87	60	27	17	7	1796-1800	136	107	29	11	2
1751-1755	151	96	45	11	6	1801-1805	109	93	16	11	1
1756-1760	217	136	81	14	7	1806-1810	226	172	54	12	5
1761-1765	209	135	74	12	8	1811-1815	214	139	75	20	10
1766-1770	200	134	66	12	8	1816-1820	220	170	52	17	9
1771-1775	271	161	110	20	10	1821-1825	210	142	68	25	17
1776-1780	296	173	123	33	12	1826-1830	298	213	85	21	15
1781-1785	274	170	104	22	12	1831-1835	298	235	63	15	9

18. THE SOCIAL STATUS AND FUTURE OCCUPATIONS OF THE BOYS.

The following analysis of the occupations of parents as given in the School registers shows the extent to which the Grammar School was used by the different classes. The registers do not indicate which boys were boarders with the masters, so it is assumed that boys coming from a distance were boarders and necessarily of a more favoured social position, while boys from the town itself were less selected and generally of a less favoured social position. Another table shows how wealth and social position gained an increasing share of University training, and ultimately succeeded in virtually monopolising it, till the attempts at the beginning of the twentieth century did something to restore the balance.

In comparing the social status of the scholars during Mr. Purnell's high-mastership (1749-1764) with that during Dr. Jeremiah Smith's (1808-1837), we notice a decreased use of the school by the country gentry, yeoman and farmer classes, and still more by the shopkeeping and artisan class, all of whom, during the later period, sent a smaller proportion to the English Universities. Indeed, owing to the growth in the

number of the boarders, the lower middle classes tended to be crowded out. There was a greatly increased number of the sons of the professional and official classes and of the wealthier merchant class, who formed the large bulk of the

Years.	Nobility and Gentry.	Clergy and Liberal Professions.	Official Classes.	Farmers and Yeomen.	Manufacturers and Merchants.	Shopkeepers and Tradesmen.	Innkeepers, Malsters, Brewers, &c.	Artisans and Handicraftsmen.
1740-1745	5	3	2	8	8	28	8	11
1745-1750	10	9	3	7	11	41	12	14
1750-1755	18	16	5	4	8	54	14	16
1755-1760	17	30	8	10	6	56	13	2
1760-1765	16	24	4	6	5	58	19	28
1765-1770	21	26	5	7	22	61	10	30
1770-1775	29	43	5	13	29	56	23	38
1775-1780	39	37	8	12	30	66	12	25
1780-1785	42	37	7	13	48	60	14	28
1785-1790	16	23	5	17	40	25	9	18
1790-1795	11	17	12	7	32	31	12	12
1795-1800	9	15	9	3	29	26	9	13
1800-1805	4	12	6	3	20	24	8	12
1805-1810	13	29	13	4	46	31	13	9
1810-1815	19	43	13	6	89	28	16	5
1815-1820	13	43	13	7	67	28	10	1
1820-1825	23	45	10	14	76	27	29	4
1825-1830	25	22	24	6	48	38	17	4
1830-1835	20	42	11	6	46	51	10	15

boarders and the great majority of those proceeding to the Universities.

IV. A fourth series (1836-1869), partly quinquennial and, after 1860, annual, based on lists compiled from newspaper reports of annual meetings, and from class lists which were

Five Years.	To Oxford.	To Cambdge.	One Year.	Boys on School Lists.	To Oxford.	To Cambdge.
1836-1840	17	9	1861	232	2	—
1841-1845	16	8	1862	249	1	4
1846-1850	15	2	1863	306	4	1
1851-1855	12	6	1864	286	6	2
1856-1860	6	5	1865	240	1	2
—	—	—	1866	258	5	4
—	—	—	1867	245	9	1
—	—	—	1868	288	6	1
—	—	—	1869	365	5	—

first printed in 1860, give the number of boys actually in the School, not the number of entries. The marked influence of Mr. Walker in inducing many day scholars of poorer middle classes to pass from the School to Oxford and Cambridge Universities, when the well-to-do boarders of the previous series had ceased to attend the School, is shown below, and also the effect of the strenuous exertions put forth by the boys as a result of Mr. Walker's stimulus.

QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS.

At Oxford—Honours.

Years.	Total at Oxford.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Not Classed
1811-15	20	6	4	—	10
1816-20	17	—	3	2	12
1821-25	25	1	2	5	17
1826-30	21	4	—	6	11
1831-35	15	1	1	3	10
1836-40	17	1	—	1	15
1841-45	15	2	2	3	8
1846-50	15	—	3	2	10
1851-55	12	5	4	1	2
1856-60	9	5	4	1	—
1861-65	14	7	4	—	3
1866-70	33	16	2	3	5
1871-75	35	17	17	1	—
1876-80	41	17	12		4

At Oxford and Cambridge.

Years.	Fellow-ships.	Univ. Scholars.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.	Open Scholar-ships.	Closed Scholar-ships.
1881-1885	1	—	24	31	17	51	32
1886-1890	3	4	23	34	53	31	22
1891-1895	3	10	53	43	16	53	19
1896-1900	4	11	45	31	12	42	19
1901-1905	3	7	37	41	11	51	16
1906-1910	5	25	43	32	13	50	16
1911-1915	4	17	30	32	7	47	11

V. A fifth series, annual figures, beginning with the opening of the extension built to accommodate the extra fee-paying Capitation boys, who now mingled with the free foundationers or scholars. The Owens College had been

Year.	Total in School.	Oxford.	Cambridge.	Matriculation for London University Degree.	Entering for Manchester Degree Course at Owens College.	Manchester School of Technology.	Passed Matriculation or Leaving Certificate, having entered Manchester Grammar School from Elementary School.	Passed Matriculation or Leaving Certificate, having entered Manchester Grammar School from Secondary School.	Certificates in Science.	Certificates in Art.
1881 .	899	7	5	8	26	—	—	—	—	—
1882 .	915	8	4	11	25	—	—	—	917	356
1883 .	953	9	4	14	17	—	—	—	839	412
1884 .	860	12	4	11	20	—	—	—	841	335
1885 .	874	13	3	7	26	—	—	—	1107	533
1886 .	827	8	6	16	20	—	—	—	740	570
1887 .	788	10	5	7	13	—	—	—	968	371
1888 .	831	7	6	16	21	—	—	—	964	870
1889 .	751	6	9	12	23	—	—	—	997	608
1890 .	860	11	6	1	20	—	—	—	715	627
1891 .	814	9	4	9	23	—	—	—	508	472
1892 .	806	13	8	4	18	—	—	—	723	525
1893 .	788	6	5	10	25	—	0	3	474	359
1894 .	746	9	5	10	27	—	3	1	394	433
1895 .	755	5	7	6	31	—	3	3	430	468
1896 .	725	12	3	10	25	6	2	2	285	562
1897 .	720	9	4	13	23	6	2	4	312	567
1898 .	765	7	3	7	22	1	1	1	286	510
1899 .	770	10	6	6	21	12	3	1	256	688
1900 .	731	10	3	10	22	7	5	5	274	307
1901 .	753	12	5	7	25	6	5	6	71	152
1902 .	757	14	1	3	21	8	8	3	100	118
1903 .	737	6	4	4	23	1	4	8	—	—
1904 .	840	5	6	7	38	9	7	6	(a)	(b)
1905 .	853	8	5	3	40	4	4	7	2	—
1906 .	870	5	10	13	40	8	35	23	3	—
1907 .	894	8	3	3	51	15	23	22	9	2
1908 .	892	11	4	6	55	9	24	36	5	3
1909 .	881	8	6	2	62	14	31	29	3	5
1910 .	866	8	5	—	63	15	36	26	2	11
1911 .	847	10	5	2	43	13	34	24	1	4
1912 .	847	12	8	2	36	7	33	23	0	3
1913 .	1016	10	—	2	39	12	36	21	—	5
1914 .	1025	8	—	—	26	—	36	24	—	2
1915 .	1010	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	3
										4

(a) Entering Municipal Day Training Colleges after leaving School.

(b) Entering University Day Training College after leaving School.

**ANALYSIS OF FACULTIES ENTERED AT THE OWENS COLLEGE,
VICTORIA UNIVERSITY, AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL COL-
LEGE BY BOYS FROM THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.¹**

Year.	Arts.	Science.	Techno- logy.	Law.	Medi- cine.	Unclas- sified.	Total.
1873	2	2	—	1	6	8	19
1874	4	—	—	—	—	6	10
1875	1	2	—	—	6	9	18
1876	1	1	—	—	5	5	12
1877	1	—	—	—	4	7	12
1878	2	1	1	—	2	6	12
1879	2	—	—	3	4	13	22
1880	1	3	1	4	3	5	17
1881	7	2	—	—	7	10	26
1882	6	3	—	3	11	9	32
1883	3	4	—	1	6	7	21
1884	6	4	—	3	7	6	26
1885	4	6	1	—	10	5	26
1886	1	4	2	2	8	9	26
1887	2	6	2	1	4	—	15
1888	3	3	—	1	12	7	26
1889	3	4	1	—	9	8	25
1890	4	3	2	2	7	6	24
1891	2	6	1	3	9	4	25
1892	5	6	5	2	9	1	28
1893	4	4	—	2	12	8	30
1894	3	6	1	2	14	6	32
1895	4	6	2	2	24	7	45
1896	2	6	12	2	11	5	38
1897	4	9	8	2	11	2	36
1898	4	8	3	—	15	4	34
1899	1	5	12	4	7	6	35
1900	4	3	9	4	9	1	30
1901	4	8	9	3	8	9	41
1902	2	7	9	5	7	8	38
1903	2	6	2	3	9	8	30
1904	7	3	10	3	8	8	39
1905	4	5	5	3	11	12	40
1906	3	7	11	4	7	8	40
1907	6	12	19	2	4	8	51
1908	7	8	13	1	10	16	55
1909	7	9	15	2	4	15	52
1910	12	9	16	1	6	20	64
1911	4	4	15	1	3	16	43
1912	4	4	10	—	6	13	37
1913	3	2	15	1	7	11	39
1914	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
1915	—	—	—	—	—	—	16

¹ The list is somewhat imperfect. It is compiled from the entrance register of the Owens College (now Manchester University), which does not always describe the previous centre of education where the scholar was trained. It is sufficiently accurate to be descriptive and suggestive.

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opened in Quay Street in 1858, and had little effect on the Grammar School until its new buildings in Oxford Road were opened in 1873 for the teaching of science and medicine as well as mathematics, art, &c.

Year.	Totals in School.	To Oxford.	To Cambridge.	Matriculation of London University.	Entered the Owens College.	Oxford and Cambridge School Certificates.
1870 . .	444	8	5	7	7	—
1871 . .	488	4	2	10	11	—
1872 . .	539	7	2	1	7	—
1873 . .	538	5	3	9	19	—
1874 . .	570	8	2	5	10	—
1875 . .	700	12	5	8	20	—
1876 . .	760	5	2	5	12	—
1877 . .	799	10	5	5	12	27
1878 . .	789	10	4	7	12	28
1879 . .	780	12	6	6	22	19
1880 . .	884	4	—	10	17	32

Analysis of Number of Pupils proceeding to Oxford and Cambridge during several Quinquennial Periods.

—			Oxford.	Cambridge.	Total.
1801-5	...	...	11	1	12
1806-10	...	...	12	5	17
1811-15	...	...	20	10	30
1816-20	...	...	17	9	26
1821-25	...	...	25	17	42
1826-30	...	...	21	15	36
1831-35	...	...	15	9	24
1836-40	...	...	17	9	26
1841-45	...	...	16	8	24
1846-50	...	...	15	2	17
1851-55	...	...	12	6	18
1856-60	...	...	9	5	14

19. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND THE MANCHESTER HIGHER-GRADE SCHOOLS IN FURTHERING THE EDUCATION OF THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASSES IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING FIGURES, TAKEN FROM THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON SECONDARY EDUCATION APPOINTED 1894.

—	No. of Pupils. Standard VII.	Extra Standard.	Scholarships.	Subjects Studied.
Manchester Central Higher Grade School, 1892	330	310	27 Science and Arts 7 Lancaster	Prepared for London Matriculation, Victoria University, Natural Science Association, and Royal College of Preceptors
Manchester Waterloo Road Higher Grade	none	100	as above	as above

In 1893 there were six such schools in Manchester with 7,104 scholars. Their defect was their early specialisation in science teaching and the exclusion of foreign language teaching from the curriculum, hence the failure of the ex-Higher Grade scholars, when they came to compete for entrance scholarships to the Grammar School with boys from Secondary Schools possessing less knowledge of science, but having had better training in the humanities and general outlook.

‘We find that a boy leaving one of our Higher Grade Schools will, in the subject in which he has been taught, be on a level with any boy in such schools as the Manchester Grammar School, but in Latin or Greek he will be nowhere. I would so organise the Higher Grade School that this might be obviated. But this organisation needs freedom from the present rules affected.’¹

‘I cannot conceive why many persons with a scientific and mathematical tendency should not go to a first-grade modern school instead of to a classical school.’²

¹ Evidence of C. H. Wyatt, July 18, 1894.

² Evidence of H. J. Roby, January 22, 1895.

Further evidence was given by Mr. Roby to show that, of the boys selected originally by merit from Public Elementary Schools, it was only a very few who, from one cause or another, carried on their education to the higher forms. Of those who reached the sixth forms in the School, 12 per cent. were scholars who had been awarded entrance scholarships restricted to boys from the elementary schools, and of these 8 per cent. passed by means of such a ladder to the Universities; 28 per cent. were scholars who had been awarded open entrance scholarships, and of these 16 per cent. passed by means of such a ladder to the Universities.¹

20. PECUNIARY AND OTHER ASSISTANCE OFFERED TO BOYS DESIROUS OF BEING EDUCATED AT THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Entrance.—Fifteen per cent. of the entrances must be awarded to boys from elementary schools, who receive their education free of cost, and are called Free Placers. They are chosen after an examination held at the School, though a certain number of them, up to 5 per cent. of the total number, may have had a scholarship or exhibition awarded to them by one or other of the educational authorities mentioned below, as a result of a special examination held either at the School or elsewhere. Under these circumstances the School accepts the results of such examination.

The following are the most important of such external exhibitions and scholarships, which are tenable at the Manchester Grammar, or at some other Secondary School :

Mynshull Scholarships.

Lancasterian Scholarship, M.E.C.

Junior Secondary Scholarships, M.E.C., £75 during five years.

Junior Secondary Scholarships, Salford, E.C.

Lancashire Education Committee, Junior Exhibition, £10 a year.

Cheshire Education Committee, Junior Exhibition, £10 a year.

Denison Naylor.

Ann Hinde.

Dean Exhibition, Earlestown district, £25.

Winwick Exhibition, £15.

J. W. Clegg Scholarship, Rochdale.

Hardman Scholarship, Rochdale.

McKerrow Exhibition.

¹ H. J. Roby, Question 16,759.

21. SCHOLARSHIPS, EXHIBITIONS, PRIZES, &C., AVAILABLE FOR BOYS AT OR LEAVING MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Date.	No.	Name.	Annual Value.	Where held.
1874	20	Langworthy Scholarships	£ 20 s.	Tenable at the school.
1876	2	Walker Scholarships	20	"
1907	5	Charles Oldham Scholarships	15	"
1865	3	Shakespeare { Two Scholarships { One	20 14	"
1897	2	Cartwright Charity Exhibitions	17 10	"
1909	1	Ellis A. Franklin Scholarship (for Jewish boys)	15	"
1914	1	Stanley Houghton Scholarship	10	"
1916	1	Arthur Powell Bursary ¹	10	"
1847		Lawson Medal (Classics) and sum of money	17	"
1847		Lawson Medal (Classics) and sum of money	2 10	"
1874		Bishop Lee Greek Testament Prize	10	"
1867		Richard Thompson History Prize	4	"
1878		Perkesian Latin Prize	4	"
1881		Francis Kelly Science Prize	4	"
1885		Pritchard Art Prize	3	"
1888		Early English Text Society, English Prize	Books	"
1888	1	Caine Hebrew Prizes	2 10	"
1890	2	Caine Greek Testament Prizes	3	"
1890	2	Proctor History {	3 1	"
	8	Proctor Reading	2 10s. to 10s.	"
	4	Proctor French and German	3 to 15s.	"
	1	Organ Playing	0 15	"
		A. J. Ashton, Greek Prose	3 3	"
		E. G. Wilkinson, English Essay Prize	3	"
	2	Harold E. J. Cory, Mathematical } {	3 2	"

¹ Several War Memorial Bursaries have been founded recently, or promises to that effect received.

Date.	No.	Name.	Annual Value.	Where held.
			£	
1686	2	Somerset Scholarship	50 to 60	At Brasenose, Oxford.
1686	2	Somerset Exhibitions	50	St. John's, Camb.
1861	3	The Owens College Exhibitions	25	Manchester University.
1869	1	Rickard Classical Scholarship	50	Oxford or Camb.
1870	} 6	Brackenbury	50	{ Any College in Oxford.
1872				
1874		Philip Wright Exhibitions	50	
1878		Armitage Scholarships		(Lapsed 1910.)
1882	1	James Seaton Scholarship for Physical Science teaching	30	At either University.
1887	1	Richmond Scholarship for Classics, Mathematics, or Physics	30	At Oxford or Cambridge.
1892	1	Bradford Scholarship for Classics, Mathematics, or Physical Science	45	At Oxford or Cambridge.
1893	1	Derby Scholarship for Classics, Mathematics, or Physical Science	40	At Oxford or Cambridge.
1906	3	Alexander Mills Scholarship	40	

Technical and Commercial Scholarships of the Manchester City Council.

University Scholarships are awarded by the

Manchester City Council.

Salford Town Council.

Lancashire County Council.

Cheshire County Council.

Open Scholarships at Oxford, Cambridge, and Manchester.

THE SCHOOL DURING WAR TIME

‘ From the first to the last all wanted to win, not in order to dominate but to be free.’—MARSHAL FOCH (*Mansion House, July 30, 1919*).

The School during war time—Modification of plans for commemorating the 400th anniversary on the outbreak of war—Special difficulties associated with the increased number of boys in School and changes of the teaching staff—The Scouts initiate war service by assisting in the recruiting for the Public Schools Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers—Others catch the spirit of service—Increased earnestness among the scholars shown in the examination results—Increased restlessness also present—Outlet for this found in the multiplication of outdoor and physical activities, during holidays by greatly extending the camp system, for which the School was already famous, and during term time by organising various forms of service at home—Methods adopted to maintain health in spite of food economy and control—Home and combatant services rendered by Old Mancunians—Work of the School O.T.C.—Military honours awarded to old boys—The coming of peace—The war memorial fund—The real Commemorative Service and the ‘ Last Post.’

So closely had the life of the School become woven into the life of the city and the nation by the events of the last twelve years that the shock and strain of the great European War affected every form of its activity, and left, for good or ill, many traces, concerning the significance and permanence of which we can as yet form little opinion. In justice to those who planned and carried out the adaptation of the School to war conditions, and led a whole generation of schoolboys to serve their country without abandoning their studies, some account of the incidents should be given while they are still fresh in our memories. Moreover, in a commemorative volume like the present, this may appropriately be combined with some account of the services rendered by the several thousand old boys who had been gathering round the School since the formation of the Old Mancunians’ Association, who were cultivating similar traditions in home, school, or univer-

sity, and whose influence and example were helping to inspire the oncoming generation.

In 1913 a Fourth Centenary Committee had been appointed, consisting of representatives of the governors, masters, and members of the Old Mancunians' Association. Its duties were to make arrangements to celebrate the 400th anniversary in the summer of 1915. It had been decided to invite the Archbishop of York to give the annual address, to hold an historical pageant, and to collect a sum of money, for the following objects :

1. To acquire new playing-fields on the south side of the city.
2. To pay off an outstanding debt on the new physical laboratories.
3. To increase the remuneration of the teaching staff.
4. To publish a history of the School.

The outbreak of war suspended the operation of the scheme. No public appeal for funds was made, but some £8,000 was collected privately. With this a playing-field of eight acres adjoining the Athletic Ground, Fallowfield, was purchased, and a substantial sum was placed in the hands of the School Treasurer towards paying off the debt. The Archbishop of York, who had promised his support and presence at the Celebrations, distributed the prizes in July 1915.

The general disturbance associated with the outbreak of war led many middle-class parents to realise more thoroughly than before the need to secure a high general education for their children, and the Manchester Grammar School, like many others, became fuller than ever. For the first time in its history, the register contained over 1,000 names. This soon rose to 1,100, and even to 1,199. Fortunately the classrooms, though at times overcrowded, were just able to provide accommodation. They were the scene of double shifts of work, for the School offered the use of its buildings, after ordinary school hours, to the Manchester Education Committee, whose Evening School of Commerce had been rendered houseless, the buildings in Whitworth Street having been commandeered for military purposes.

The strain imposed on the teaching staff was very heavy. Several of its most active and energetic members, including Mr. C. W. Merryweather, Mr. C. E. Fry, Mr. N. V. Holden, and Mr. M. Warriner Brown at once volunteered for active service. All four laid down their lives. Mr. C. Potts was summoned for work at the Intelligence Department of the

War Office. This depletion was soon further increased by the death of Mr. J. H. Worthington in March 1915, of Mr. R. C. Corbold in August 1915, and of Mr. J. T. Jackson in May 1916. A number of new men were appointed in their stead, but, under the Derby Scheme of October 1915, all males of military age, *i.e.* between eighteen and forty, were urged to register, and many who did so were subsequently called up. The first Compulsory Military Service Act became law on February 12, 1916, and the second in May 1916. The constant disturbance of the teaching staff which resulted was saved from becoming a disorganisation, and even disaster, by the fact that several older teachers who were unfit for military service, and a number of old boys, who had recently left the University and were in the lower categories of physical fitness, came back to the School as assistant masters, while Mr. Earl, who had retired from the teaching staff some years previously, also returned to give a helping hand.

The Boy Scouts were ready. In April 1914 the Chief Scout, Sir Robert Baden Powell, had presided at a Scouts' Conference held at the Manchester Grammar School and had reviewed a great rally, some 2,000 strong, at Fallowfield, where 200 Grammar School Scouts had been responsible for the Old English Fair. The Boy Scouts mobilised for home service as soon as the men began to mobilise for war. They were everywhere. They hunted up reservists. They helped at recruiting offices. They posted notices on lamp-posts. They distributed literature for the Government. They ran innumerable messages for the civic authorities or for those who were organising the Red Cross Hospitals. They were handy men and willing helpers everywhere, and won golden opinions from all. Not only did they work strenuously and eagerly themselves, but they fired others with ideas. In consequence of the practical character of their training, the effect was first noted in the workshop, where the boys began to make furniture for the homes which had been opened in Manchester for the Belgian refugees. When the need for this had been met, they manufactured bed-tables, splints, leg-rests, book-holders, and other conveniences for the patients in the Red Cross Hospitals. In 1915 Mr. Von Böckel, a refugee and master metal-worker from Brussels, gave the boys a practical demonstration of the national wrought-iron art industry, for which his country is so famous.

Early in 1915, after consultation with Mr. Dempster Smith of the Technological College, the metal workshop which had recently been fitted with electrically driven drills,

grindstone, lathe, shaping machine, &c., was organised as a training school for boys willing to qualify for the industrial reserve. The work was continued till January 1917, when the lathes were offered to the Ministry of Munitions, and accepted. Subsequently the Air Board loaned to the School a Curtis 90 horse-power engine for instructional purposes.

At a general meeting of the School, the boys decided to devote the money usually expended in prizes to various Red Cross funds, to the Y.M.C.A. and to other institutions for the relief of suffering. In this, the boys of the Preparatory Schools joined. The prefects of the School were left to assign the money to particular societies.

As regards the general class-work, an increased seriousness was noticeable among the more intellectual boys, and, in spite of the depletion and changes in the staff, this was shown in the results of the external examinations.

	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.
Open Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge	6	7	10	12	11	11
Northern Universities Senior or Higher School Certificate or Matriculation Examination .	75	74	90	72	88	110

At the same time, a greater restlessness was noticeable among the older and less purposeful boys. There had grown up, especially during the last twelve years, a multitude and variety of activities which permitted practically every boy to find some opportunity for the expression of his half-formed and still growing instincts. The continued conferences, and the co-operation between masters and parents, had enabled traditions of public service to be established, so that the energy associated with these was being largely directed into socially helpful channels. But, under war conditions, home life became preoccupied and disturbed by anxiety and bereavement; home discipline became relaxed; and there was all the greater call for the School to put forth new efforts. It responded to the demand. There was little difficulty with boys whose social instincts, or whose desire for personal excellence in knowledge, predominated, but in those whose dislike of any restriction, or whose desire for individual freedom or self-will, was strong, the matter often presented difficulties. Truancy among senior boys, hitherto quite unknown, began to occur. Many boys under combatant age left the School, with or without the consent of their parents, to join the Navy or the Army. Others left to help at home. All the activities of school life, whether indoor or outdoor, increased. Mr. Carney, in charge of the swimming-bath,

reported, in the summer of 1915, that 80 per cent. of the boys had passed the swimming test. Life-saving (swimming) classes became better attended. The O.T.C., of which further anon, became crowded.

Changes began to appear in the spirit as well as in the routine of the School holiday camps. The Scouts' camps had always been planned for useful service: now the camps attended by the older boys began to follow suit. For the Llangynog and the Grasmere Whitsuntide Camps, handbooks to encourage observation in surveying and archæology had been prepared by Mr. Bruton. These handbooks were used to good purpose. It was decided that the 1915 summer camps should cease to be purely recreational, and some should be organised for agricultural work. Arrangements were made to hold a plum-picking camp at Charlton, Worcestershire. As the volunteers were very numerous, the boys were grouped in two relays, sixty working from July 20 to August 18, and sixty from August 19 to September 7. When it was realised that many of the boys had had no experience of farm work, special instructions were issued to leaders, and regulations drawn up about the management of baskets, use of ladders, &c. An element of emulation was introduced into the plum-picking by the periodic announcement of the number of hampers filled by different gangs. Six of the assistant masters, together with Mr. Cox and Mr. Etchells, supervised the camps and shared the work of the boys.

During Whitsuntide 1916, arrangements were made for holding six separate camps, exclusive of the Combined Schools O.T.C. Camp at Ilkley. During the summer holidays following, all the School camps were definitely organised for war service. The camp at Charlton was again held, this time worked mainly by Scouts. A fresh camp for older boys was started at Pershore, near Stratford-on-Avon, another at Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire, another for Scouts at Cheltenham. In some, trekking was combined with farm work; others were arranged only for plum-picking. In all this work, the masters and office staff took a generous share.

During the Christmas rush at the Post Office many boys gave part of their holidays to assist, and, as labour grew scarce, several worked during the greater part of the Christmas vacation in the engineering department of Newton-in-Makerfield U.D.C. and helped to save a very threatening situation of the gas supply of the town.

The Scouts also took the initiative in encouraging public spirit by asking boys to help them to collect waste paper &c.,

also lead and tin foil, which were needed for making artificial limbs, splints, &c. This was sent from time to time to the Ministry of Munitions. Enough paper, &c., to realise over £200 was rapidly collected, and the sum was handed over to war funds.

Soon after the establishment of the National War Savings Committee, a School War Savings Association was formed, and a practical scheme produced which at once received general support. On the closing of the books in May 1919, it was found that 688 boys had joined, and £1,040 had been collected, mostly in sixpences. The strenuous and widely scattered efforts which the boys were making to assist in safeguarding the food supply of the nation by their work in holiday camps, and during term time in school allotments, caused them to follow with interest and intelligence the public appeals for economy, which began with the issue of food regulation orders in November 1916. Consequently the notice of the appointment of a Food Controller in December 1916 and the appeals of Lord Devonport and Lord Rhondda did not fall on deaf ears. Lectures were given to boys both of the Upper and Lower School in April 1917, on the necessity for avoidance of waste and the maintenance of health on a restricted diet. To save unnecessary expenditure of bodily energy, particularly as the spring was cold, the opening of the swimming-bath was postponed for a few weeks, and the items of the School sports were curtailed by the omission of the steeplechase and other more strenuous events: school games were limited to boys below fourteen, as the older boys were fully occupied on war work. The life-saving class in swimming was, however, continued, and its value was illustrated in the summer of 1917, when three Old Boys saved lives from drowning, and at Alderley Camp one present boy saved another life.

Although the School had for two years been using its leisure and recreation time for war work, on the formation of the Ministry of National Service, in March 1917, it was decided to organise the numerous activities even more thoroughly, and to mobilise a still larger number of boys. A School National Service Committee of masters and boys met on March 1, and issued a special school registration schedule, which every boy, after consultation with his parents, might fill up, indicating the way in which he was prepared to devote his leisure to public needs.

The list of National Service work included:

(1) Planting and subsequently lifting potatoes and other crops on waste land, and work on special allotments at Kersal,

Levenshulme, Fallowfield, Sale, Higher Broughton, and Gatley. Gardens were cultivated at Whalley Range, Victoria Park, and Dickenson Road.

(2) Ordinary labourer's work—*e.g.* emptying trucks &c., at the L. & Y. Railway Works, Newton Heath.

(3) Post Office work, assistance during the Christmas rush by delivery of parcels.

(4) Addressing envelopes, &c., for sugar and food ration cards.

(5) Trolley work on trams by junior boys.

School matches among the older boys had long fallen into abeyance; now any time allowed for games during school hours was definitely devoted to agricultural work. 'Hours of work' at week-ends were arranged from Easter half-term till the end of June, and special encouragement was given to Jewish boys to use their Sunday holiday. Different masters volunteered to take charge of particular working parties. Practical lectures on soil and cultivation were given to the whole School. This was specially useful to those concerned with work on the allotments.

In an article on 'School Work in War Time,' which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, May 19, 1917, the following passage occurs :

'The spirit of the High Master is initiative, consequently the note of the boys is initiative, and just now initiative is war work. Every week the Manchester Grammar School boys unload railway trucks to the extent of 150 tons. The School has taken up several acres of ground on the outskirts of Manchester, and every Saturday and Sunday as many boys as implements can be found for are hard at work. The Parks Superintendent came to give them tips. . . . He found them keen. To encourage the boys he offered three prizes for the best essays on the lectures he had given. Essays have poured upon his desk, and he says the task is going to be difficult because all the points of the lecture seem to have been caught by the whole body of essayists. . . . There are over 1,100 boys in the School, and perhaps 700 are helping in war work in one way or another. It is a golden page in the School record.'—*Daily Telegraph*, May 19, 1917.

If the financial results and the food income exhibited by the balance-sheets of the allotments were not always entirely commensurate with the efforts put forth, a whole generation of schoolboys was materially improved in physique by new forms of physical activity, and was learning valuable practical lessons in public service.

During the summer holidays of 1917, in addition to a number of senior boys engaged in Y.M.C.A. work, harvest camps were again arranged at Pershore, Worcester (fruit-picking); Holbeach, Lincolnshire (potato-lifting); Northwich (pear-gathering); Stoke Rochford (tree-felling); O.T.C. camp at Thoresby. Altogether between 300 and 400 boys were engaged in the holiday working camps, and between 700 and 800 employed their leisure during term time.

When the boys ceased working at the railway works, the following letter was received :

‘LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY,
‘NEWTON HEATH,
‘Feb. 20, 1919.

‘DEAR MR. PATON,—The demobilisation of your war workers is from many aspects a source of keen regret to all those at the Lancashire & Yorkshire Carriage and Wagon Works, Newton Heath, who have had the pleasure of coming in contact with such an excellent body of willing helpers.

‘If the work done here is taken alone amongst your varied activities during the war, it is an effort to serve a great national industry of which you, the masters, and all the boys, may be very proud, for there is no doubt that history will record that the railways were one of the brightest spots in efficiency and services rendered to the State in a period of great anxiety and strenuous deeds, and you have done your share in achieving this.

‘Since the commencement of your work here on March 10, 1917, to February 1, 1919, the Grammar School workers have moved nearly 10,000 tons of material and unloaded about 1,200 wagons, in addition to which the excavations for our Timber Drying Kiln now in regular use, amounting to 1,330 cubic yards, were entirely carried out by the gangs you provided, and the benefit of which will be specially felt for some time to come whilst timber continues to be scarce. These are indeed great results.

‘I want to thank you all very much for the splendid work accomplished, and especially that you and Messrs. Lodge and Ashby have been workers amongst the boys on so many occasions; it will take a well-earned place in the War history of these Works, and we shall all remember your visits with much satisfaction.

‘Believe me, always,
‘Yours faithfully,
‘F. E. GOBEY.’

The cup presented by Mr. Nathan Laski, J.P., for public spirit in connection with cricket, was now awarded for public spirit in National Service work.

It should be noted that, though this work and the attendance at the O.T.C. parades, &c., took the place of School games for the older boys and the Whitsuntide athletic sports were entirely given up, yet, thanks to the maintenance of scouting, the younger boys were as keen as ever to qualify for badges in swimming, ambulance, signalling, prospecting, natural history, and astronomy, when not engaged on special service.

The winter of 1917-18 and the following spring constituted the darkest and most serious period in the whole time of the war, for it was not till July 1918 that the German offensive was completely crushed and the tide of arrogant oppression thrown back.

The Royal Proclamations on the need for economy of food first issued in May 1917 had been followed by restrictions in August. The provision of school dinners became difficult. A meatless meal was adopted in September 1917, and the Christmas conversazione was again abandoned.

It was at this time that the strain was heaviest, and it became necessary to watch closely for ill-effects; yet, thanks to the efficiency of the public food control and distribution, the general health of the boys even then did not show material signs of failure, though the severity of the influenza epidemics of November 1918 and Spring 1919 was perhaps due to the effect of strain upon the boys. After deliberation it was decided that the Whitsuntide camps of 1918 should again be held as working camps; flax-stripping was undertaken at Bridport and Lydiate, and other camps were arranged for the summer, especially in Lincolnshire, for, owing to the failure in the fruit harvest, plum-picking had to be abandoned. A camp was arranged at Holbeach, for four weeks, for potato-lifting and general harvest work: this was one of the first to receive Government help in the provision of tents, blankets, and other equipment. Another was held at Stoke Rochford, for five weeks, for harvest work and timber; two, mostly for Scout troops, at Fleet and Surfleet for flax-stripping, and other Scout camps at Poynton and Acton Bridge. A camp for general agriculture was held at Leadenhall, and another for two weeks at Lydiate for weeding &c. A report of the work of the agricultural camps appeared in *Ulula* in October 1918. Boys spending the whole or part of their holidays at home were invited to undertake week-end work at the railway sidings, Newton Heath.

The spirit of service was equally manifest among the

old boys, who had been gathering around the School since the formation of the Old Mancunians' Association. Those whose age, business pre-occupation, or health, precluded their undertaking military service enrolled in No. 94 company, Manchester Special Police Reserve, composed of Old Mancunians and their friends; acted as night orderlies, or performed other work, in connection with the Red Cross Hospitals; or served on the various Comforts Committees. The Hugh Oldham Working Lads' Club, whose relations with the School had deepened, passed through a severe crisis. Its working staff and 800 of its older members had volunteered for war service. The senior sections were emptied, the holiday camps abandoned. The junior sections were crowded with lads who were missing their boyhood. Closure was only averted by personal help from masters and scholars. Fourteen members gained commissions; many decorations were won; and sixty-three members lost their lives.

The most costly, as well as many of the noblest, services rendered by the old boys of the School to the combatant forces, in so far as they can be put into words, are to be gathered into an Album of Remembrance of those who have given their lives. This is to be published by the School War Memorial Committee. Here we can only describe the way in which these and other services were rendered, adding the record of public recognition of some of the deeds accomplished.

The recruiting at the School of ex-public schoolboys for the Public Schools Battalion, in response to Lord Kitchener's appeal in September 1914, was followed by a steady stream of enlistment of many old boys. From September to December 1914, 788 enlisted; from December 1914 to July 1915, 563; and, under Lord Derby's scheme, opened from October to December 1915, a further 245, making a total of 1,545, mostly members of Kitchener's army, in a period of fifteen months. The names of those who had been trained at the Grammar School, in so far as they could be obtained, were published in contemporary numbers of *Ulula*. The democratic spirit and love of comradeship and service were shown in the large number who thus entered directly into the ranks without waiting for or even desiring commissions. Practically all the boys who had recently left the Classical VI form enlisted in the ranks of the Sixth Manchesters, for the military authorities had not then realised that boys from the public day schools were among the best for providing officers for the new armies. The contribution of the School Officers' Training Corps to the

fighting forces was considerable. As the corps had only been formed in 1910, and as fifteen years was the liminal age, the oldest ex-cadet would not be more than twenty-six at the cessation of hostilities—few ex-cadets attained high military rank. Of the members of the corps, 468 attained military age during the war; of these 262 are known to have been given commissions, while 108 served in the ranks, 50 were rejected by Medical Boards, the other 48 were unaccounted for. Twenty-five decorations were earned, and 54 ex-cadets lost their lives.

The adaptations which enabled the O.T.C. to be carried on so successfully, in association with the rest of the work of the School, are worthy of record. Lieut. Geo. Waterhouse had been appointed O.C. of the Officers' Training Corps when Captain Potts was attached to the Intelligence Department of the War Office; W. S. Dann and W. Saddler also came forward to assist.

At the first formation of the corps, it had been taken for granted that boys fit to play games were fit to join the School corps; but as the work became more exacting the relation between military training among the older boys and the other physical activities of the School, which had become organised into a curriculum,¹ soon began to receive closer consideration. Discussions took place between games masters and scout masters and the officers of the corps, and a working arrangement was agreed to.

Field manoeuvres were at first carried out on a piece of ground at Pendleton, lent by the Salford Corporation, and subsequently on Holcombe Moor above Ramsbottom. At one of them the Scouts were invited to co-operate. In July 1915 Lieuts. Waterhouse and Saddler left, and Lieut. Dann was appointed to succeed. He was helped by Lieuts. Griffiths and Stafford. With the passing of the Compulsory Military Service Act in December 1916, and the rapid growth of the fighting forces, the need to select officers from the more highly trained intellectual members of the community became fully recognised; but to meet the case of boys whose work for scholarships would be permanently interfered with if they were called up at eighteen, six months' grace was allowed if they spent ten hours a week on military training. The corps became crowded with boys approaching military age, and the mental and physical training of the O.T.C. became very strenuous. It was only by the devotion of the

¹ 'The Organisation of Physical Activities at the Manchester Grammar School,' *School Hygiene*, 1914.

successive company sergeant-majors, and the prevailing grit among the boys, that the work was satisfactorily carried on. At one time nearly 200 boys were enrolled, and there were 70 boys on the waiting list. The difficulty of overwork, which was also experienced at other seats of learning, was finally satisfactorily dealt with, by the consent of the Board of Education to a remission of school work and by a more rigid medical examination of candidates, which excluded all but the toughest of the boys from the O.T.C.

The following letter has been received from the War Office :

‘ SIR,—I am commanded by the Army Council to express their appreciation of the great work carried out by Contingents of the Officers’ Training Corps during the recent war.

‘ In the early months of the war the number of vacancies filled in the commissioned ranks of the Army by ex-cadets of the Officers’ Training Corps fully justified the formation of the Corps in 1908, and afforded an able testimony of the standard of training and powers of leadership which had been inculcated.

‘ The Council have had before them the records of many schools. The lists of those who have fallen, and of those who have been mentioned in despatches and decorated, show how grandly the Officers’ Training Corps ex-cadets have fought for King and Country, and form a record of which the Schools may justly be proud.

‘ I am to ask you to convey the appreciation of the Army Council in this matter to all present officers and members of your Contingent, and I am to express the hope that this letter may be published in the School Journal, so that those who have left and their relatives may be informed of the appreciation by the Army Council of the work of the Officers’ Training Corps.

‘ I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
‘ B. B. CUBITT.’

The total number of old boys in the School Roll of Honour is 3,500, of whom 1,500 held commission rank. More than half enlisted before military service became compulsory. Most of the remainder enlisted when they attained military age.

The recognition of the military services rendered is evident from the number and characters of the distinction conferred :

No. of boys awarded the	D.S.O. and bar	.	.	.	1
”	”	D.S.O.	.	.	20
”	”	O.B.E.	.	.	10

No. of boys awarded the	M.C. and 2 bars	.	.	.	2
"	"	M.C. and 1 bar	.	.	10
"	"	M.C.	.	.	150
"	"	D.F.C.	.	.	2
"	"	D.S.C.	.	.	3
"	"	D.C.M.	.	.	8
"	"	M.M. and bar	.	.	2
"	"	M.M.	.	.	30
"	"	D.S.M.	.	.	6
"	"	M.S.M.	.	.	2
"	mentioned in	Despatches	.	.	100
"	awarded the	French Legion of Honour	.	.	2
"	"	Croix de Guerre	.	.	20
"	"	Chevalier Order of Leopold	.	.	2
"	"	Italian Medal for Valour	.	.	1
"	"	Italian Croix de Guerre	.	.	2
"	"	White Eagle of Serbia	.	.	2
"	"	Commander of Portuguese	.	.	
		Order of Aviz	.	.	1

As the end of the war came in sight, a War Memorial Committee was formed. It was decided to make a public appeal for a sum of £25,000 as a memorial for those who had served and suffered :

1. To enable widows of those old boys who had fallen to obtain adequate means for the upbringing of their children.
2. To place a permanent Memorial in the School.
3. To provide two new laboratories for the study of chemistry.
4. To publish a Book of Remembrance of those who had fallen.

The cessation of War work at the School first showed itself where it had begun, viz. in the workshop. The boys began to make furniture for Ancoats Play School and the Greengate School for Cripple Children. Next, the railway workers were demobilised. Eight of the masters on military duty were set free to return to their school duties. Athletic sports were again held. School games were revived. Senior football was resumed. At this time, the three Preparatory Schools were incorporated with the Grammar School, and in consequence agreed to provide 15 per cent. free places to boys from elementary schools. In April 4, 1919, an 'Annual' School dance was inaugurated. Letters from Oxford and Cambridge reappeared in *Ulula* and replaced letters from the seat of war. School concerts commenced. The Music

Study Circle was revived. The War Savings Association dropped the first part of its title. Perhaps symbolic of a fresh orientation of School activities, the School Astronomical Society was launched in Mr. Bruton's room in January 1919.

The dead were not forgotten. To render a last tribute to valour and to re-dedicate the lives of those who remained to the cause in which that valour had been spent, parents and friends were asked to join with boys in the School in a Memorial Service at the Manchester Cathedral, on July 16. Four hundred and eighty Grammar School boys had given their lives for their country: the high master read the names. An Old Mancunian, Principal Selbie of Mansfield College, Oxford, gave the address.

‘They died for our country!’ he said. ‘It is for us to live for our country. They gave themselves freely and willingly for noble ends; we remain to live for those ideals and to see those ends accomplished. . . . The boys who died for England wanted England to be great, and their mantle has fallen on us.’

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